

ETHIOPIAN STUDIES



Wolf 68

ETHIOPIAN STUDIES

Dedicated to

WOLF LESLAU

on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday

November 14th, 1981

by friends and colleagues

Edited by

Stanislav Segert and András J.E. Bodrogligeti

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ABBREVIATIONS OF PERIODICALS

AAL	Afroasiatic Linguistics
AE	Annales d'Éthiopie
AION	Annali. Istituto Orientale di Napoli
AuÜ	Afrika und Übersee
BSL	Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
CIH	Corpus Inscriptionum Himyariticarum (Semiticarum)
C.R.GLECS	Comptes rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'études Chamito-sémitiques
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
EMML	Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library
GLECS	see C. R. GLECS
GSAI	Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics
IOS	Israel Oriental Studies
JA	Journal Asiatique
JAL	Journal of African Languages
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
JES	Journal of Ethiopian Studies
MIO	Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung
MO	Le Monde Oriental
MUSJ	Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph
PO	Patrologia Orientalis
RES	Répertoire d'Épigraphie Sémitique
RRAL	Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei
RSE	Rassegna di Studi Etiopici
RSO	Rivista degli Studi Orientali
SBWAW	Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZfE	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie
ZVORAO	Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Rossiiskogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva

PREFACE

On the occasion of the seventy-fifth birthday of Professor Wolf Leslau, the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures at the University of California, Los Angeles, is proud to honor its founder, first chairman, distinguished member, and long-time friend with a volume of studies contributed by his colleagues, friends, and disciples.

Wolf joined UCLA in 1955 as an established scholar with an impressive record of publications and fifteen years of teaching experience in Paris, New York, Addis Ababa, and Waltham, Massachusetts. His achievements were recognized as early as 1946 and 1947, when, twice in succession, he was awarded the fellowship of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.

UCLA has become his permanent home, the focus of his manifold academic activities. Here, in 1958, he established the Department of Near Eastern Languages, later to become known as the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures. For two terms he served as its chairman: in 1958-65 and again in 1974-76. It was largely through his efforts that the department grew from modest beginnings to its present size: 17 professors in seven programs covering all important areas of the Ancient and Modern Near East and Central Asia. He also played a vital role in planning the Center for Near Eastern Studies, that under its first director, Gustave E. von Grunebaum, emerged as one of the leading centers for such studies in the United States. In 1967 he founded the Near Eastern Club (we call it The Leslau Club) that with its informal meetings has become a forum for exchanging ideas and debating scholarly issues.

Wolf's teaching has covered a broad area, from Hebrew to Ethiopic languages and Comparative Semitics. Many students, both graduate and undergraduate, attended his courses. Between 1964 and 1966 he served the country as director of a series of Peace Corps training programs in which about 1,500 volunteers learned Amharic and prepared for their mission to Ethiopia.

His scholarship has earned Wolf many distinctions. He has been awarded two honorary doctorates, one by the University of Judaism, Los Angeles (1961) and another by the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati and Los Angeles (1963). He is a fellow of both the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and

the American Academy of Jewish Research. In 1965 he was elected Faculty Research Lecturer of the University of California. On that occasion he presented a memorable paper, "The Land of Prester John". The same year he also received the International "Haile Sellassie Award for Ethiopian Studies".

Retirement has exempted Wolf from teaching, but it has not slowed his research, as his recent publications demonstrate. While working on a project sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities, he finds time to participate actively in the life of the department. His broad experience is so rare.

We are pleased that this volume, so long in planning, has become a reality. Our thanks and appreciation go to the individuals and institutes that have made its publication possible: at UCLA, to Albert A. Barber, Vice Chancellor, Research Programs; Elvin W. Svenson, Vice Chancellor, Institutional Relations; Philip Levine, Dean, Division of Humanities, College of Letters and Science; Speros Vryonis, Director, Richard Hovannisian, Acting Director, Gustave E. von Grunebaum Center for Near Eastern Studies; Michael Lofchie, Director, Center for African Studies; Fredi Chiappelli, Director, Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies; at the University of Judaism, Los Angeles, to its president, David Lieber.

We are grateful to Monica S. Devens for her meticulous bibliography of Wolf Leslau's works and to Rima Yoohanna, secretary of our department, for help in clerical matters.

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Dr. Helmut Petzolt and his co-workers at the publishing house of Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, as well as the exemplary work of the Imprimerie Orientaliste, Louvain, Belgium.

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and Northwest Semitics

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Chairman, Department of Near Eastern
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AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WORKS OF WOLF LESLAU

MONICA S. DEVENS
Pomona College

The community of specialists in Ethiopian studies is aware of the pivotal place that Wolf Leslau occupies in the field. The production of this volume alone attests to that fact. The contribution of Wolf Leslau to Semitic and Ethiopic studies has been great, both in quality and quantity. The reader need only glance at the bibliography below to gain an appreciation of this work of forty five years. But despite the breadth of Leslau's endeavours—including even recordings (nos. 276 and 277)!—certain aspects stand out as particularly “Leslav-ian”.

First and foremost, one thinks of Wolf Leslau as a comparativist and a lexicographer. The importance of the dictionaries he has produced cannot be overestimated. These are the only modern dictionaries—and, for some languages, the *only* dictionaries—available to us. Of particular importance to the field are the comparative dictionaries (nos. 1, 3, 7, 11, 14, 25 and 39) among which the *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage* (no. 25) stands out as a tour de force. Likewise of importance are the dictionaries of Amharic (nos. 23 and 24), as they are of use to a much wider public, and are the work for which he is known outside the confines of our field.

His comparative work is evidenced through the etymological dictionaries mentioned above as well as through the comparative and etymological studies in connection with Hebrew (nos. 9, 29), Ugaritic (no. 196), and Akkadian (nos. 167, 177 and 200). The Arabist will be interested in his articles on the Arabic loanwords in the various Ethiopian languages (see Index, “Arabic loanwords”). In the field of comparative grammars, mention should be made of his studies on Gafat (no. 7) and on Harari (no. 10).

Looking at Leslau's writings from a different vantage point, one sees that certain languages have particularly engaged him. Here we must give priority to Gurage and Gafat. Indeed Leslau might well be called the “Father of Gurage studies” with some 50 publications on various aspects of these languages and peoples. For the study of Gurage Leslau has been the prime mover, opening up an area which now interests others. On Gafat, however, Leslau has closed the book. His *Étude descriptive et comparative du gafat* (no. 7)

contains all the primary data which will ever be available to us as he caught the language on the eve of extinction.

The work on Tigre and Tigrinya is not of the same exclusive nature, but in fact his grammars of these languages (nos. 2, 33 and 37) broke ground as the first solid scientific works available to Ethiopic scholars.

While Wolf Leslau is, of course, a linguist, he has produced much which is anthropological in nature. One must single out in this regard the continuing series *Ethiopians Speak: Studies in Cultural Background* (nos. 17, 18, 20, 26 and 29), and *Gurage Folklore* (no. 27), for here one finds the first published texts in languages and dialects which would otherwise have no legacy of written literature. These texts were composed by native speakers and give unique insight into the daily lives of these peoples. One (no. 18) was so successful that it even appeared in English as a novel.

Wolf Leslau is known outside of the specialized circle of Ethiopian studies for two other achievements: his practical tools for the study of Ethiopian languages and his work on the Falashas. Many people with varied interests wish to learn Amharic; the *Amharic Textbook* (no. 19) and *An Amharic Conversation Book* (no. 15), added to the dictionaries mentioned above (nos. 23 and 24), make this possible. The former (no. 19) is the international student textbook for Amharic. In addition, his many annotated bibliographies (nos. 16, 34, 64, 131, 132, 140, 203 and 211) make the world of Semitic studies readily accessible to a broad audience.

His work on the Falashas came at a time when they were not in the public eye and Leslau did much to bridge the gap between the earliest interest in their history and culture and the prominence in which they now stand. The *Falasha Anthology* (no. 6) opened up the study of this interesting people to students of Judaica as well as others in the fairest and the most objective way possible: by making their own writings available in translation.

The account of Leslau's accomplishments in the field of Ethiopian studies would not be complete without mention of the fact that all of the research discussed above was the result of field work, numerous trips to Ethiopia undertaken over a period of many years beginning with 1946. Anyone who has worked in the field appreciates the difficulties involved and the sacrifices which must be made by the researcher and the researcher's family.

Much of this work makes significant if indirect contribution to general linguistics. Leslau's work has made Ethiopian languages, perhaps more than those of any comparable region of Africa, known to general linguistics, where they serve as a check on theories of language which tend to be based on European and other geographically and politically more important language groups. Many of the articles have dealt with linguistic features interestingly represented in, or specifically characteristic of, Ethiopian

languages, e.g. reduplicative morphology (no. 48), metaphors for "rainbow" (no. 121), laryngeal consonants and their reflexes (nos. 147, 207), expressions for "yes" and "no" (no. 168), expressions of future tenses (no. 194), the effect of frequency on phonological change (no. 198), nasalization (no. 205), spirantization (no. 216), influence of substratum languages (nos. 57, 98, 145 and 164), and phonetic adaptation of loanwords (to mention only one, no. 128). Here might be mentioned the linguistic-phonological resource of the "Outline of Gurage phonology" in volume III of the recent *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage* (no. 25), in which a wide range of specific phonological phonemes are catalogued and exemplified in the Gurage languages.

Finally there is the field of Modern South Arabian. This comes last because the present volume is dedicated to Ethiopian studies, but Modern South Arabian should come first in any discussion of Wolf Leslau's scholarly career because it came first chronologically. His first book, published in 1938, was the *Lexique soqotri*. This and some 15 other publications revived a field in which nothing had been produced since the early years of the 20th century.

The annotated bibliography presented here is divided into six categories: books, pamphlets, collections of articles, articles, reviews and recordings. Entries are given chronologically within each category and alphabetically under each year. A subject index follows referring to the consecutive numbering used throughout the bibliography.

Books

1938

1. *Lexique soqotri (sudarabique moderne) avec comparaisons et explications étymologiques*. (Collection de la Société de Linguistique de Paris 41). Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck. 501 pp.

Soqotri-French etymological dictionary (pp. 47-446) and French-Soqotri index (pp. 449-491), plus a discussion of Soqotri phonetics (pp. 14-43) and a grammatical sketch (pp. 9-13).

1941

2. *Documents tigrigna (éthiopien septentrional). Grammaire et textes*. (Collection de la Société de Linguistique de Paris 48). Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck. ix, 388 pp.

Comprehensive grammar (pp. 3-154) and texts (pp. 159-378) with both an interlinear and a free translation.

1945

3. *Gafat Documents: Records of a South-Ethiopic Language. Grammar, text and comparative vocabulary.* (American Oriental Series 28). New Haven: American Oriental Society. 188 p.

Grammar based on the text of the Song of Songs translated from Amharic at the initiative of James Bruce (pp. 1-99), text of the Song of Songs (pp. 101-138), Gafat-English vocabulary (pp. 139-181) and English-Gafat index (pp. 183-188).

1950

4. *Ethiopic Documents: Gurage.* (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology 14). New York: Viking Fund. 176 pp., 12 plates.

Chaha texts (pp. 33-81), folktales (pp. 82-111), songs (pp. 112-126) and proverbs (pp. 127-136) with interlinear and free translations, notes, an outline of Chaha grammar (pp. 12-32) and a Chaha-English glossary (pp. 145-168). See also nos. 85 and 93.

5. *The Fire on the Mountain and other Ethiopian Stories* (with Harold Courlander). New York: Henry Holt and Co. 141 pp.

Collection of Ethiopian folktales. Translated into Czech, Rumanian and Russian.

1951

6. *Falasha Anthology.* (Yale Judaica Series 6). New Haven: Yale University Press. xliii, 222 pp. Reprinted in paperback in 1969 by Schocken Books, New York.

Texts in translation with notes (pp. 3-184) plus a lengthy introduction (pp. ix-xliii), a selected bibliography (p. 190), glossary (pp. 191-192), and a list of scriptural references (pp. 193-201). Parts have been reprinted in nos. 89 and 90.

1956

7. *Étude descriptive et comparative du gafat (éthiopien méridional).* (Collection de la Société de Linguistique de Paris 57). Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck. xx, 277 pp.

Descriptive and comparative grammar of Ethiopic (pp. 7-168) with a Gafat-French vocabulary (pp. 169-252) and a French-Gafat index (pp. 253-260). The Gafat-French vocabulary is comparative. Gafat was considered extinct and indeed the author found only four speakers of the language.

1957

8. *Contumes et croyances des falachas (juifs d' Abyssinie)*. (Travaux et mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie 61). Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie. vii, 98 pp.
Amharic texts with translation and notes.

1958

9. *Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon*. (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology 20). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 76 pp.
Addenda to Ludwig Koehler, *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*. Includes indices of the languages under discussion.
10. *The Verb in Harari (South Ethiopic)*. (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology 21). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 86 pp.
Descriptive and comparative study of the Harari verb.

1959

11. *A Dictionary of Moča (Southwestern Ethiopia)*. (University of California Publications in Linguistics 18). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 83 pp.
Moča-English, English-Moča vocabulary with comparisons to other Cushitic and Semitic Ethiopic languages, plus indices by language of all the words mentioned in the comparisons.

1962

12. *African Proverbs* (compiled together with Charlotte Leslau). Mount Vernon: Peter Pauper Press. 61 pp.
Proverbs from various African countries.

1963

13. *African Folktales* (edited together with Charlotte Leslau). Mount Vernon: Peter Pauper Press. 62 pp.
Folktales from various African countries.
14. *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*. (University of California Publications in Near Eastern Studies 1). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. xv, 240 pp.

Analysis of the Harari vocabulary (pp. 17-170) giving Ethiopic, Semitic and Cushitic etymologies, with indices of Semitic roots (pp. 171-175) and Arabic loanwords (pp. 176-186), and an English-Harari index (pp. 187-240).

1965

15. *An Amharic Conversation Book*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. 169 pp.
Collection of dialogues dealing with everyday life in Ethiopia, with translation and notes.
16. *An Annotated Bibliography of the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*. (Bibliographies of the Near East 1). The Hague: Mouton. 336 pp.
Entries are given by language and subject within each language, with indices for authors, reviewers, and subjects, the last both general and by individual languages.
17. *Ethiopians Speak: Studies in Cultural Background. Vol. I. Harari*. (University of California Publications in Near Eastern Studies 7). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. xii, 262 pp.
Texts with interlinear and free translations, notes, and an index of Harari terms.

1966

18. *Ethiopians Speak: Studies in Cultural Background. Vol. II. Chaha*. (University of California Publications in Near Eastern Studies 9). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 219 pp.
Book-length text in Ethiopian script, transcription and translation, with notes. A literary translation of the text was published as *Shinega's Village: Scenes of Ethiopian Life* by Sahle Sellassie, translated by Wolf Leslau (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964).

1968

19. *Amharic Textbook*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press and Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. xviii, 675 pp.
A 50-lesson textbook with exercises, reading texts, Amharic-English and English-Amharic vocabularies, and grammatical tables.
20. *Ethiopians Speak: Studies in Cultural Background. Vol. III. Soddo*. (University of California Publications in Near Eastern Studies 11). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. ix, 236 pp.
Texts with interlinear and free translations, notes, an outline of Soddo grammar, and an index of Soddo terms.

1969

21. *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. 105 pp.
Amharic-Hebrew index to words of common origin, with a more concise Hebrew-Amharic index and a discussion of the principles involved. The Geez origin of the Amharic roots is indicated throughout.

1970

22. *African Poems and Love Songs* (compiled together with Charlotte Leslau). Mount Vernon: Peter Pauper Press. 62 pp.
Poems and love songs from various African countries.

1973

23. *English-Amharic Context Dictionary*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. xviii, 1503 pp.
English-Amharic dictionary illustrating the various meanings of each word by using them in complete sentences.

1976

24. *Concise Amharic Dictionary*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press and Otto Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden, xiv, 538 pp.
Amharic-English (pp. 1-253), English-Amharic (pp. 257-535) dictionary with phonetic transcription.

1979

25. *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage (Ethiopic)*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. 3 volumes.
Volume I (xxix, 1244 pp.) contains individual dictionaries of the twelve Gurage dialects translated into English. The dialects are: Čaha, Endegeñ, Ennemor, Eža, Gogot, Gyeto, Masqan, Muher, Selṭi, Soddo, Wolane, and Zway. Volume II (xii, 702 pp.) is an English-Gurage index. Volume III (cvi, 856 pp.), the etymological section, gives all Semitic Ethiopic comparisons, selected Semitic comparisons, and selected Cushitic comparisons with an emphasis on Sidamo. In addition, this volume contains an outline of Gurage phonology (pp. xv-xcii) and indices of Semitic roots (pp. 737-756), Arabic loanwords (pp. 757-761), and Ethiopian roots (pp. 762-854). See also no. 218.

1981

26. *Ethiopians Speak: Studies in Cultural Background. Vol. IV. Muher* (Äthiopistische Forschungen 11). Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag. ix, 205 pp.
Outline of Muher grammar (pp. 6-50) plus texts in transcription with both interlinear and free translations (pp. 53-183), notes, and a subject index.

1982

27. *Gurage Folklore: Ethiopian Folktales, Proverbs, Beliefs, and Riddles*. (Studien zur Kulturkunde 63). Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag. xiv, 327 pp.
Folktales in Soddo, Eža, Muher and Ennemor (pp. 4-219), folk wisdom in Soddo (pp. 220-224), proverbs in Ennemor and Soddo (pp. 225-256), superstitions and beliefs in Endegen (pp. 257-281), and riddles in Endegen and Soddo (pp. 284-317). All have translations, notes and indices.
28. *North Ethiopic and Amharic Cognates in Tigre*. (Supplemento no. 31 agli *Annali* 42). Naples: Istituto Orientale di Napoli. 86 pp.
Suggestions for comparisons between Geez, Tigrinya, Amharic and Tigre using Enno Littmann and Maria Höfner's *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache* as a base.

1983

29. *Ethiopians Speak: Studies in Cultural Background. Vol. V. Chaha and Ennemor*. (Äthiopistische Forschungen 16). Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag. ix, 243 pp.
Brief outline of Chaha and Ennemor (pp. 1-22) with Chaha texts (pp. 25-133) and Ennemor texts (pp. 136-205), notes, and a subject index.

Pamphlets

1956

30. *The Scientific Investigation of the Ethiopic Languages*. An inaugural lecture delivered at the University College of Addis Ababa on 12 February 1954. Leiden: E. J. Brill. 31 pp.
Survey of Semitic Ethiopic with a discussion of the importance of the study of Ethiopic. Includes a selected bibliography.

1968

31. *The Land of Prester John: Problems and Challenges*. Faculty Research Lecture, University of California, Los Angeles, December 2, 1965. Los Angeles. 35 pp.

Problems and challenges encountered by the scholar in the study of Ethiopia.

32. *Three Addresses to His Imperial Majesty, Haile Sellassie First*. Addis Ababa. 19 pp.

Texts of three speeches in Amharic, with translations, delivered on the occasions of the author's acceptance of the Haile Sellassie Award of Ethiopian Studies, the International Congress of Ethiopian Studies, and Charter Day ceremonies at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Collections of Articles

1945

33. *Short Grammar of Tigré*. New Haven. 66 pp.

Reprint of nos. 55 and 61. No. 73 is a supplement to this work.

1946

34. *Bibliography of the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*. New York: New York Public Library. 94 pp.

Annotated bibliography reprinted with additions and corrections from the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 49 (1945):287-302, 375-390, 438-455, 516-529, 597-606. Published in condensed form in no. 64.

1964

35. *Ethiopian Argots*. The Hague: Mouton. 65 pp.

Collection of four previously published articles (nos. 76, 77, 96, 170) plus a short discussion of common principles.

Articles

1933

36. "Explications et rapprochements à propos de quelques éléments du vocabulaire mehri", *Comptes rendus du groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques* 1 (1931-34):35

1935

37. "Remarques sur quelques mots du sud-arabique moderne", *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 23:407-409.

Discussion of some Modern South Arabic prepositions presenting the evidence of Ethiopic, based on the work by Bittner, *Studien zur Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien*.

1936

38. "Sur le préfix *n-* en soqotri", *Comptes rendus du groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques* 2 (1934-37):45-46.

Examination of the meaning of this prefix in Soqotri and its relationship to the same prefix in the Ethiopian languages and in general Semitic.

1937

39. "Contributions à l'étude du harari", *Journal asiatique* 229:431-479, 529-606.

Extensive etymological vocabulary along with comments on grammar and the text of the history of Ruth with interlinear and free translations. The vocabulary is taken from the writings of various authors.

40. "Mots amhariques présentant le traitement $k > \ell$ ", (with Marcel Cohen), *Comptes rendus du groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques* 3 (1937-40):11-12.

41. "Notes sur le tigrigna", *Comptes rendus du groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques* 3 (1937-40):37-40.

Phonological and morphological notes on Tigrinya.

42. "Observations sur quelques faits éthiopiens et sudarabiques", *Comptes rendus du groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques* 3 (1937-40):19-20.

Phonological, morphological, and lexicographic notes on Ethiopic and Soqotri.

43. "Le passif interne en soqotri", *Comptes rendus du groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques* 2 (1934-37):91-92.

The internal passive is very common in Soqotri and is generally of the form *qitel* in the perfect, *iqútol* in the imperfect, and *maqtil* in the passive participle.

44. "Der $\mathfrak{z}$ -Laut in den modernen südarabischen Sprachen", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 44:211-218.

Discussion of the etymological correspondences of Modern South Arabic $\mathfrak{z}$, showing that it generally corresponds to Arabic $\mathfrak{z}$ and Hebrew $\mathfrak{z}$.

45. "Über das *ḥa*-Präfix im Arabischen", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 44:219-220.

Based on the work of W. Vycichl (*WZKM* 43:109), it is shown that the *ḥa*-prefix in Arabic is to be connected to Ethiopic and not to Mehri.

1939

46. "Essai de reconstitution des désinences verbales du tigrigna", *Revue des Études Sémitiques* pp. 70-99.

Reconstruction of the quantity of the final vowels of the verb based on the presence or absence of gemination in the suffix pronouns. The dialect under discussion is that of Akkele Guzay.

47. "Observations sur quelques dialectes du tigrigna. Dialectes d'Akkele Gouzay, d'Adoua et du Hamasen", *Journal asiatique* 231:61-115.

Discussion of phonology, grammar, and vocabulary plus texts in the dialects of Adoua and Akkele Gouzay.

48. "Le thème verbal fréquentatif dans les langues éthiopiennes", *Revue des Études Sémitiques* pp. 15-31.

Discussion of the verbal type *qatāt(t)ala*, with a note on the hypothesis of a reduplicative stem in Epigraphic South Arabic.

1943

49. "South-east Semitic (Ethiopic and South-Arabic)", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 62:4-14.

Discussion of the genetic relationship between Ethiopic and South Arabic, including a vocabulary of common roots. Reprinted in *Comparative Semitic Linguistics: A Student's Reader* (ed. M. H. Goshen-Gottstein).

1944

50. "Eugen Mittwoch (1876-1942). Necrology", *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 7 (1939-1944):531-532.

51. "The position of Gafat in Ethiopic", *Language* 20:56-65.

Analysis of Gafat based on documents collected by James Bruce, resulting in the conclusion that Gafat belongs in the Harari-Occidental Guragué group of South Ethiopic. See also no. 86.

52. "Le rapport entre *š* et *h* en sémitique", *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 7 (1939-1944):265-272.

Examination of the question based on data from Modern South Arabian, resulting in the hypothesis that an original phoneme *š* became *h* in some Semitic languages.

53. "Texts on Yemenite folklore", *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 14:221-251.

Collection of texts in transcription with translation and notes, plus a list of words having special meaning in Yemenite and a list of the Hebrew words in the texts.

54. "Vocabulary common to Akkadian and South-east Semitic (Ethiopic and South-Arabic)", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 64:53-58.

1945

55. "Grammatical sketches in Tigré (North Ethiopic), dialect of Mensa", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 65:164-203.

Study of the parts of speech other than the verb based on the texts published by E. Littmann (see no. 61). Reprinted together with no. 61 as no. 33.

56. "Hebrew elements in the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Fez", *Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series 36 (1945-46):61-78.

Discussion of the influence of Hebrew on the phonology, morphology and lexicon of the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Fez based on materials published by L. Brunot and E. Malka, *Textes Judéo-Arabes de Fès*.

57. "The influence of Cushitic on the Semitic languages of Ethiopia: a problem of substratum", *Word* 1:59-82.

Study of Cushitic influence on the phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon of Semitic Ethiopic. See also no. 164.

58. "Judeo-Arabic dialects", *Yivo Bletter* 26:58-78.

Written in Yiddish. Analysis of the Judeo-Arabic dialects of North Africa, Yemen, and Bagdad.

59. "The parts of the body in the Modern South Arabic languages", *Language* 21:230-249.

The parts of the body in Mehri, Šhauri, Soqotri, Harsusi, and Curia Muria compared with the other Semitic languages. English-South Arabic index, pp. 246-249.

60. "Sur le diminutif verbal en sémitique", *Word* 1:277-280.

Discussion of verbal forms of the types *qaytala*, *qatayla*, and *qatyala*.

61. "The verb in Tigré (North-Ethiopic): Dialect of Mensa", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 65:1-26.

Based on the texts published by E. Littmann, *Publications of the Princeton Expedition to Abyssinia*, Vol. I. Reprinted together with no. 55 as no. 33.

1946

62. "Bibliography of the Modern South Arabic languages", *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 50:607-633.

Annotated bibliography with indices by language and by author.

63. "Linguistic observations on a native Yemenite document", *Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series 36 (1945-46):261-279.

Additional linguistic observations on the Judeo-Arabic text published by S. D. Goitein, *Travels in Yemen. An account of Joseph Halévy's journey to Najran in the year 1870, written in San'ani by his guide Hayyim Hahshush*.

64. "The present state of Ethiopic linguistics", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 5:215-229.

Annotated bibliography condensed from the author's no. 34.

1947

65. "Chansons harari", *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 6:130-160.

Songs with an interlinear translation, a free translation, and notes.

66. "A Falasha religious dispute", *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 16:71-95.

Falasha text in Geez with translation, notes, short accounts of the dispute as presented by others, and an excursus concerning the question of the Falashas' knowledge of Hebrew.

67. "Four Modern South Arabic languages", *Word* 3:180-203.

Discussion of the phonology and morphology of Šhauri, Mehri, Harsusi and Botahari, based on the material collected by Bertram Thomas, "Four Strange Tongues from South Arabia, the Hadara Group", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 23 (1937):231-331.

68. "The position of the dialect of Curia Muria in Modern South Arabic", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 12:5-19.

Establishment of Curia Muria as a Šhauri dialect based on the vocabulary collected by J. G. Hulton in his "Notice on the Curia Muria Island", *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society* 3 (1840):183-197.

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69. "Ha-Falashim", *Edoth* 3:26-45.

Based on a visit made in 1946 and written in Hebrew. No. 75 is the English version of this article.

70. "Mother's Day in Ethiopia", *Journal of American Folklore* 61:392-395.

Traditional celebration among the Gurage.

71. "Preliminary report on a trip to Ethiopia", *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Series 2 10:291-297.

Based on 9 months spent in Ethiopia in 1946-47.

72. "Le problème de la gémiation du verbe tchaha (gouragué)", *Word* 4:42-47.

Discussion of the Chaha verb showing that, while there is no gemination of the 2nd radical, original type B verbs can be spotted by the phonetic quality of their 2nd radical.

73. "Supplementary observations on Tigré grammar", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 68:127-139.

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74. "A year of research in Ethiopia", *Word* 4:212-225.

The author spent October, 1946-July, 1947 in Ethiopia.

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75. "The Black Jews of Ethiopia: an expedition to the Falashas", *Commentary* 7:216-224.

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76. "An Ethiopian argot of people possessed by a spirit", *Africa* 19:204-212.

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77. "An Ethiopian merchants' argot", *Language* 25:22-28.

Analysis of morphological, morphophonemic, and semantic aspects of the merchants' argot of Godjam, with an alphabetical index of words discussed. Reprinted in no. 35.

78. "Ethiopic proverbs of Chaha", *Word* 5:214-223.

Collection of proverbs with a literal translation, a free translation, and notes.

79. "Examen du supposé argobba de Seetzen et de Lefebvre", *Word* 5:46-54.

Analysis of the vocabulary presented by Seetzen and Lefebvre, resulting in the conclusion that their descriptions concern not Argobba, but rather Selṭi-Walani Gurage.

80. "The meaning of *ARAB* in Ethiopia", *The Muslim World* 39:307-308.

Study of the use of *arab* to indicate a foreign or imported object.

81. "Notes de grammaire et d'étymologie éthiopienne", *Word* 5:273-279.

Phonological, morphological, and lexical notes on Semitic Ethiopic.

82. "A parallel to the non-gemination of the Hebrew R", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 68:55-56.

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83. "Ethiopia", *The New International Year Book, Events of 1949*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co. Pp. 169-170.

84. "Impressions of Ethiopia", *Middle Eastern Affairs* 1:316-320.
Based on research trips to Ethiopia in 1946-47 and 1950.
85. "Observations on Gurage documents", *Word* 6:234-238.
Addenda to no. 4.
86. "La position du gafat parmi les langues sémitiques de l'Éthiopie", *Comptes rendus du groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques* 5:47-48.
Based on additional data, the author places Gafat in the same group as the Gurage dialect of Aymallal, contrary to no. 51.
87. "The religious life of the Falashas", *Yivo Bleter* 34:209-220.
Written in Yiddish.
88. "A wedding 'law-suit' in Harar (Ethiopia)", *Journal of American Folklore* 63:363-365.
Description of an imaginary lawsuit brought during the wedding ceremony.

1951

89. "The Angels bury Moses. A legend of the Falashas", *Commentary* 12:481-483.
Reprint of "The Death of Moses" from no. 6.
90. "The Apocalypse of Gorgorios", *Commentary* 12:583-585.
Reprint of "Apocalypse of Gorgorios" from no. 6.
91. "Archaic features in South Ethiopic", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 71:212-230.
Examination of phonological and morphological features common to both North and South Ethiopic (excluding Amharic), leading to the conclusion that North and South Ethiopic may indeed derive from one ancestral language. See also no. 192.
92. "Ethiopia", *The New International Year Book, Events of 1950*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co. Pp. 176-178.
93. "Observations on 'Gurage Notes'", *Africa* 21:139-145.
Reply to a review by E. Ullendorff (*Africa* 20:335-344) of no. 4.
94. "Le type *läbsä* en gouragué", *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 10:85-98.
Examination of the jussive forms in Chaha, Ennemor, Muher and Masqan and their similarity to the corresponding Geez forms. See also no. 173, 189, 221.

1952

95. "Ethiopia", *The New International Year Book, Events of 1951*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co. Pp. 185-187.
96. "An Ethiopian minstrels' argot", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 72:102-109.

- Analysis of morphological, morphophonemic, and semantic aspects of the minstrels' argot of Godjam and Gondar, with an alphabetical index of words discussed. Reprinted in no. 35.
97. "A footnote on interlingual word taboos", Letter to the Editor, *American Anthropologist* 54:274.
Discussion of Gurage *bädda*.
98. "The influence of Sidamo on the Ethiopic languages of Gurage", *Language* 28:63-81.
Discussion of Sidamo influence in phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary.
99. "The languages of Ethiopia", *Ethiopian Student News*, March 1952, pp. 17, 20-22.
100. "Linguistic observations on a Tigre codex", *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 11:33-46.
Different interpretation of some passages of Maria Höfner's translation of the *fētēh mähāri wä'ādotāt*.
101. "Notes on Kambatta of Southern Ethiopia", *Africa* 22:348-359.
Brief outline of Kambatta phonology and morphology. See also no. 114.
102. "Popular interpretations of bird sounds in Ethiopia", *Journal of American Folklore* 65:361-364.
Collection of interpretations of bird sounds in terms of human language in various Ethiopian languages.
103. "Report on a second trip to Ethiopia", *Word* 8:72-79.
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104. "Contemporary Yemenite letters", *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume; studies in history and philology*. (Jewish Social Studies. Publications 5). New York. Pp. 249-262.
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105. "Ethiopia", *Britannica Junior*. Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc. 3 pp.
106. "Ethiopia", *The New International Year Book, Events of 1952*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co. Pp. 161-162.
107. "The imperfect in South-east Semitic", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 73:164-166.
Discussion of the presence or absence of gemination in the 2nd radical of the imperfect of the basic stem in Proto-South-east Semitic.

108. "La réforme de l'alphabet éthiopien", *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* 12:96-106.

Review of *Fidälän Maššāšal* (Addis Ababa, 1948) plus additional suggestions in connection with the proposed reform of the Ethiopic alphabet.

109. "Suggestions for a phonetic transcription of Ethiopian languages", *New Times and Ethiopia News*, June 6, 1953, pp. 1, 4.

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110. "Ethiopia", *The New International Year Book, Events of 1953*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co. Pp. 152-153.

111. "Les Fallachas", *Évidences*, November, 1954, pp. 28-33.

Notes on Falasha life based on a visit to their villages.

112. "Le type verbal *qatälä* en éthiopien méridional", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* 31:15-95.

Study of Type C verbs in South Ethiopic excluding Amharic, plus a list of these verbs.

1955

113. "Ethiopia", *The New International Year Book, Events of 1954*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co. Pp. 148-149.

1956

114. "Additional notes on Kambatta of Southern Ethiopia", *Anthropos* 51:985-993.

Discussion of various phonological and morphological questions. See also no. 101.

115. "The Arabic loanwords in Gurage (Southern Ethiopia)", *Arabica* 3:266-284.

Discussion of the phonetic and morphological principles governing the treatment of Arabic loanwords and a list of loanwords by subject.

116. "Arabic loanwords in Harari", *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*. (Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente 52). Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente. Vol. 2, pp. 14-35.

Discussion of the phonetic and morphological principles governing the treatment of Arabic loanwords and a list of loanwords by subject.

117. "Arabic loanwords in Tigré", *Word* 12:125-141.

Discussion of the phonetic and morphological principles governing the

treatment of Arabic loanwords and a list of loanwords by subject. See also no. 220.

118. "Arabic loanwords in Tigrinya", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 76:204-213.

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119. "Ethiopia", *The New International Year Book, Events of 1955*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co. Pp. 147-149.

120. "The expressions 'under, after' in the Ethiopic languages", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 15:241-245.

121. "The rainbow in the Hamito-Semitic languages", *Orbis* 5:478-483.

Listing of expressions with an index by language.

1957

122. "Arabic loanwords in Amharic", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 19:221-244.

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123. "Arabic loanwords in Argobba (South Ethiopic)", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 77:36-39.

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125. "Ethiopia's language of the possessed", *Tomorrow* 5:84-88.

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126. "Une hypothèse sur la forme primitive du type B en amharique", *Word* 13:479-488.

Discussion of the possibility that the original form of the Amharic type B verb was **fellägä*.

127. "Observations on a comparative phonology of Semitic Ethiopic", *Annales d'Éthiopie* 2:147-166.

Detailed review of E. Ullendorff, *The Semitic Languages of Ethiopia. A comparative phonology*.

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General study based on the material presented by the author in nos. 115, 116, 117, 118, 122, 123 and 134.

129. "The Semitic phonetic system", *Manual of Phonetics*. (ed. L. Kaiser). Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co. Pp. 325-329.

130. "Some mutilated roots in Ethiopic", *Lingua* 6:268-286.
Investigation of 42 roots in the Ethiopic languages which have radically changed due to phonetic developments.
131. "A supplementary Falasha bibliography", *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* 3:9-27.
Annotated bibliography supplementary to A. Z. Aēscoly, "The Falashas: a bibliography", *Kiryath Sepher* 12, 13 (1935-37).
132. "Ten years of Ethiopic linguistics (1946-1956)", *Annales d'Éthiopie* 2:277-318.
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133. "To the defense of the Falashas", *Judaism* 6:142-147.
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1958

134. "Arabic loanwords in Geez", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 3:146-168.
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135. "The Arabic origin of the Ethiopic *qollē* 'spirit'", *Arabica* 5:194-196.
136. "Ethiopia", *The New International Year Book, Events of 1957*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co. Pp. 135-136.
137. "The languages of Ethiopia and their geographical distribution", *Ethiopia Observer* 2:116-121.
138. "Moča, a tone language of the Kafa group in South-western Ethiopia", *Africa* 28:135-147.
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139. "Observations of a Semitist on recent etymologies proposed by Africanists", *Africa* 28:324-328.
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140. "Report on Ethiopic linguistics 1946-1956", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 17:49-55.
Narrative bibliography according to subject based on no. 132.

1959

141. "An analysis of the Harari vocabulary", *Annales d'Éthiopie* 3:275-298.
Division of the Harari vocabulary into groups with common origins (Ethiopic, North Ethiopic, South Ethiopic, loanwords, doubtful or unknown etymologies, etc.).

142. "On mule-back through Gurage in Ethiopia" (with S. Chojnacki), *Canadian Geographical Journal* 58:90-99.
Travelogue which delimits the region of Eža.
143. "The position of Ethiopic in Semitic: Akkadian and Ethiopic", *Actes des 24 internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses, 1957*. (ed. Herbert Franke). Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag. Pp. 251-253.
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145. "Sidamo features in the South Ethiopic phonology", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 79:1-7.
146. "Taboo expressions in Ethiopia", *American Anthropologist* 61:105-108.
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147. "Traces of the laryngeals in the Ethiopic dialect of Ennemor", *Orientalia* 28:257-270.
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1960

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Typology of echo-words in Amharic, Tigrinya, and Tigre, according to types of rhyme, meaning, syllable structure, and initial consonants, including an alphabetical index of the words under discussion.
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150. "Homonyms in Gurage", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 80:200-217.
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1961

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Study of unusual gemination in an East Gurage dialect, resulting in the conclusion that it is due to the influence of Endegeñ. Based on materials published by A. J. Drewes.
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Study of the use of *aräbi* to mean foreign or strange, applied to letters such as *ʃ*, *ʒ*, etc.
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Description of seven games played by boys in the Keren area, with Tigre texts in transcription and translation.

1962

162. "An Ethiopian parallel to Hebrew עלה 'went up country' and ירד 'went down country'", *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 74:322-323.

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 Typology of denominatives from nouns with prefixed *m*, *t*, or *'*, suffixed *m*, *t*, *n*, *w*, or *y*, or vocalic suffixes, plus an index by language of all the examples.
164. "The influence of the Cushitic substratum on Semitic Ethiopic re-examined", *Trudy 25 mezhdunarodnogo Kongressa vostokovedov, Moscow, 1960*. Moscow: Izdatelstvo Vostochnoi Literary. Vol. I, pp. 387-390.
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 Collection of examples showing non-etymological *h* arranged by subject.
166. "Semitic and Egyptian comparisons", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 21:44-49.
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1963

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WOLF LESLAU ET LA FRANCE

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Comme la plupart des *Festschriften*, celle qui est dédiée à Wolf Leslau contiendra des articles savants et, dans ce cas, surtout linguistiques, que lui offriront des amis et des collègues, en témoignage très mérité d'estime pour son œuvre considérable. Mais, puisqu'on insère aussi parfois dans ces «colliers floraux» (cf. le titre de *Serta Monacensia* donné aux Mélanges offerts à Franz Babinger) ou dans ces «offrandes de fruits variés» (cf. la Παγκαρπεῖα dédiée à Henri Grégoire) un minimum d'éléments biographiques sur la personne honorée, pourquoi ne permettrait-on pas à un très vieil ami de Wolf Leslau d'évoquer quelques souvenirs à son sujet? Et, puisque tout savant est d'abord, malgré tout, un homme, pourquoi ces souvenirs n'échapperaient-ils pas aux sèches données et énumérations de titres de travaux qui sont la spécialité des *Who's Who* et autres *World of Learning*? Rien ne saurait restituer la physionomie profonde et unique d'un homme, mais surtout pas une banque de données.

Je manque d'ailleurs d'un certain nombre de ces données. Mais en presque un demi-siècle, même si les rencontres ont été souvent sporadiques, espacées, on apprend à connaître un homme. La rédaction de cet article m'a poussé à chercher à préciser des événements de la biographie de Leslau que je n'avais connus que de façon floue et sur lesquels ma discrétion et sa pudeur m'avaient poussé à ne pas l'interroger. J'ai fini par faire une véritable enquête pour laquelle j'ai trouvé une documentation non seulement dans les lettres que j'ai conservées, mais dans plusieurs livres et dans la correspondance de Marcel Cohen, notre regretté maître commun. Sa veuve a bien voulu me confier le dossier des lettres échangées avec Leslau ou le concernant, certaines remontant à 1931. Qu'elle en soit ici très sincèrement et affectueusement remerciée.

Le nom de famille de Wolf Leslau indique un lieu de résidence ancien de sa famille. C'est en effet la forme allemande du nom de la ville polonaise de Włocawek sur la Vistule à près de 150 km au Nord-Ouest de Varsovie. Mais Wolf est né en novembre 1906 à Krzepice, en Pologne alors russe, à une trentaine de kilomètres au Nord-Ouest du fameux sanctuaire de Częstochowa et à moins de dix kilomètres de la frontière de la Silésie allemande de cette époque. Dans cette vieille bourgade résidait une nombreuse communauté juive au sein de laquelle il fit ses premiers pas dans l'existence et dans la connaissance. Il fit ses études secondaires à Częstochowa, puis, en 1926, partit

pour Vienne. À l'Université de Vienne, il compléta sa connaissance de l'hébreu et aborda l'étude des langues sémitiques. Il obtint enfin un diplôme de l'Hebräisches Pädagogium, une sorte d'école normale qui formait des professeurs d'hébreu. C'est là qu'il rencontra la Viennoise Charlotte Halpern dont le père venait de Galicie et la mère de Bohême. Elle devait devenir la compagne de sa vie.

En 1931, le jeune couple décida de quitter l'Autriche où pourtant Leslau était apprécié par d'éminents professeurs de langues sémitiques. Essentiellement, Wolf avait déjà décidé de se spécialiser dans la branche méridionale de ce groupe linguistique et il savait trouver à Paris la possibilité d'étudier ce domaine non représenté pratiquement à Vienne. Charlotte avait déjà une bonne connaissance du français. Peut-être aussi la situation en Europe centrale et orientale, spécialement pour quiconque était d'origine juive, leur apparaissait-elle déjà menaçante. W. Leslau, en tout cas, écrivit de Vienne à Marcel Cohen dont la réputation de linguiste sémitisant était déjà considérable et qui développait particulièrement l'étude de ces langues méridionales, l'éthiopien et le sudarabique, sur lesquelles il donnait un enseignement. Marcel Cohen lui répondit favorablement, mais en le mettant en garde contre les difficultés qu'il aurait, en France, à assurer son existence quotidienne.

Ces difficultés furent bien plus grandes que le couple ne l'avait imaginé. Les premières années en France furent très difficiles. Malgré l'aide dévouée de Marcel Cohen, Wolf et sa femme eurent le plus grand mal à trouver des sources de revenus qui n'impliquaient pas l'interruption des études. Les lettres de Wolf Leslau à Marcel Cohen durant ces années — d'abord en allemand, puis de plus en plus en français — portent témoignage de multiples démarches pénibles et souvent humiliantes. La grande crise ne facilitait pas les choses et les Français avaient naturellement la priorité. Les conditions de vie assez misérables auxquelles le ménage était réduit, malgré les petites aides et les travaux mal payés qu'il pouvait décrocher çà et là, durent contribuer à aggraver l'état de santé de Wolf dont les poumons furent affectés.

Malgré tout, le couple avait décidé de refaire sa vie en France. Wolf se mit à étudier le français avec l'acharnement qu'il apportait à toutes ses études. Dès 1934, il demandait à être naturalisé français. Les autorités françaises prenaient alors une attitude de plus en plus réticente devant les demandes de cet ordre, étant donné le flot de réfugiés d'Europe centrale et orientale que la venue au pouvoir de Hitler faisait croître de façon considérable. La réponse à la demande de W. Leslau fut un ajournement qui, répété, devait avoir de graves conséquences. Il commençait aussi à travailler pour acquérir des titres universitaires français.

Wolf s'attachait, dès son arrivée à Paris, à utiliser les ressources de la capitale française pour étendre et approfondir les connaissances déjà très poussées qu'il avait dans le domaine de la linguistique sémitique, particulièrement en ce qui concerne les branches les plus méridionales de cette famille de langues. Marcel Cohen qui était son principal protecteur s'intéressait particulièrement à cette zone et l'encouragea dans cette voie. En lui, W. Leslau et sa femme devaient découvrir rapidement un appui infatigable et efficace, un ami à l'indéfectible et loyale fidélité. Pourtant, cette protection, sans laquelle Leslau aurait peut-être été contraint d'abandonner ses ambitions scientifiques (au moins temporairement), avait ses dangers. Si Leslau était résolument éloigné de tout engagement politique, Marcel Cohen, en plus de son activité scientifique, était, depuis 1920, un militant communiste actif. A cette époque, le fait était très rare dans l'enseignement supérieur français et d'autant plus remarqué et réprouvé. M. Cohen prenait grand soin de ne pas laisser interférer ses convictions politiques avec ses travaux, ses rapports avec ses collègues et l'appui qu'il apportait à tous ses élèves méritants. Je l'ai connu, alors qu'il avait vigoureusement pris parti pour l'Ethiopie lors de l'agression italienne de 1935, traiter avec la plus grande correction un jeune fasciste italien vivant en France qui venait à ses cours étudier l'amharique, visiblement pour se préparer à des fonctions dans la nouvelle Afrique orientale italienne. Mais Marcel Cohen n'était pas toujours payé de retour. Et il est probable que, dans certains milieux anticomunistes, ses protégés, quels qu'ils fussent, étaient regardés avec suspicion.

* * *

Leslau s'inscrivit donc à l'École nationale des langues orientales vivantes pour les cours d'arabe littéral (classique) et d'amharique (ce dernier était donné précisément par Marcel Cohen). De même, il suivit à la IV^e section (sciences historiques et philologiques) de l'École pratique des Hautes Études (à la Sorbonne) les séminaires de William Marçais sur la philologie arabe et de Marcel Cohen sur la philologie éthiopienne et sudarabique¹. Il dut d'ailleurs s'interrompre pour raison de santé. Heureusement, cette interruption ne fut pas trop longue. Il était dans une phase de pré-tuberculose. Il dut passer quelques mois, au cours du second semestre de 1932 et jusqu'en mars 1933, au sanatorium de Saint Hilaire du Touvet près de Grenoble. Il réussit à y faire un très studieux séjour tout en améliorant radicalement sa santé. Au

¹ Marcel Cohen écrivait alors sud-arabique en deux mots. Plus tard, pour imprimer un peu plus encore dans l'esprit des lecteurs la notion que le groupe de langues en question ne représentait pas un ensemble de dialectes arabes du Sud de la péninsule, mais une autre branche du sémitique, il prit l'habitude d'écrire «sudarabique» en un seul mot. Lui succédant, j'ai suivi cet usage ainsi que d'autres de ses disciples.

retour, les Cohen intervinrent vigoureusement pour que les Leslau n'aillent pas habiter à Paris dans la chambre qu'ils s'étaient proposés de louer. Le quartier et le logement ne leur paraissaient pas très sains pour un homme tout juste échappé au péril de la tuberculose. La décision d'habiter en banlieue posait des problèmes que les Cohen aidèrent à résoudre. Finalement, le couple Leslau s'installa en effet à Fontenay-aux-Roses, à neuf kilomètres seulement au Sud de Paris, faubourg encore assez aéré à cette date.

Peu à peu, Leslau acquérait les diplômes nécessaires. En 1933, il obtenait à l'École nationale des langues orientales vivantes le diplôme d'arabe littéral et, en 1934, celui d'amharique. Il réussissait à l'examen du certificat d'études supérieures de langues sémitiques anciennes, ce qui devait lui permettre, avec d'autres diplômes, d'obtenir le grade de licencié ès-lettres de l'Université de Paris. Il voyait enfin s'étendre le temps qu'il pouvait consacrer à des travaux de recherche. En novembre 1935, il présentait sous la direction de Marcel Cohen son *Lexique sogotri* comme mémoire (on disait alors thèse) pour l'obtention du diplôme de l'École. Sur le rapport favorable d'E. Dhorme et de R. Labat, le 12 janvier 1936, ce travail était accepté et valait à son auteur le titre (très réputé) d'élève titulaire. Il était publié en 1938 dans la collection de la Société de linguistique de Paris.

Marcel Cohen avait l'immense qualité de ne pas ménager sa peine pour aider ceux qu'il estimait mériter cet effort à faire leurs premiers pas dans le monde difficile où doit progresser le chercheur universitaire. Il devait fournir chaque année — comme je le fais encore en tant que son successeur — un rapport sur le sujet de ses cours et sur les élèves qui les avaient suivis. Ces notations, imprimées dans l'*Annuaire* de l'École, pouvaient servir d'attestation des mérites de l'étudiant et l'aider à gravir des échelons. Dès la première année du séjour de W. Leslau à Paris, Marcel Cohen n'oublie pas de noter dans son rapport concernant les cours de l'année académique 1931-1932 : « M. W. Leslau, nouveau à l'École, mais sémitisant déjà exercé dont l'intérêt se porte spécialement vers le domaine sud-arabique et éthiopien, a montré de solides connaissances et une utile curiosité. [...] Des lectures d'exercice ont été faites avec M. Leslau, notamment dans le *Kebra Nagast* ». Marcel Cohen indique plus loin que W. Leslau a assisté également aux conférences qu'il donnait sur le sudarabique épigraphique et sur la comparaison chamito-sémitique².

Aussitôt après que la thèse de Leslau eût été acceptée, Marcel Cohen en tirait parti. Dès le premier semestre de 1936, il ne manquait pas de consigner dans

² École pratique des Hautes Études, Section des sciences historiques et philologiques, *Annuaire*, 1932-1933, Melun, Imprimerie administrative, 1932, p. 98-100.

son rapport annuel: «la thèse de M. W. Leslau sur le lexique soqotri a été l'objet d'un rapport favorable, et il s'est montré apte à donner un enseignement de sud-arabique ancien et moderne»³. Ces trois lignes devaient permettre d'autoriser Leslau à faire des conférences libres dans le cadre de l'École. C'est une des voies qui peuvent favoriser la candidature à une chaire de directeur d'études (titre traditionnel des professeurs à cette École).

Aussi, dès novembre 1936, Leslau, avec le titre d'élève diplômé, commençait-il à donner un cours libre qui s'inscrivait dans la dépendance de celui de M. Cohen et qui suivait (le vendredi après-midi) celui que donnait ce dernier sur la comparaison chamito-sémitique en supplément à ses cours du samedi après-midi sur l'éthiopien et le sudarabique. L'intitulé donné par Leslau était le suivant: "Sudarabique ancien et moderne. Explication d'inscriptions minéennes en comparaison avec les dialectes modernes. Grammaire et textes de soqotri".

J'avais fait la connaissance de Leslau en suivant, à partir de l'année académique 1933-1934, les cours de Marcel Cohen à l'École des langues orientales, en amharique, puis l'année suivante à l'École pratique des Hautes études pour l'éthiopien, le sudarabique et le comparatisme chamito-sémitique. Je suivis donc tout naturellement les leçons de Leslau et j'ai conservé les notes que j'y pris pendant les années académiques 1936-1937 et 1937-1938. J'ai ainsi eu l'honneur d'être un des tout premiers élèves de W. Leslau avec Gerhard Salinger, aujourd'hui aux États-Unis. Dans son rapport sur les cours de 1936-1937, Leslau note que j'ai «suivi la conférence avec zèle jusqu'au bout». Pour l'année 1937-1938, il indique que j'ai fait à ce séminaire un exposé sur l'article de D. H. Müller, *Die Form qātlal und qātlil in der Soqotri-Sprache* (dans le *Florilegium Melchior de Vogüé*, Paris, 1909) et aussi que je me suis «chargé de l'explication des textes [en sudarabique épigraphique] pendant toute l'année». Les mêmes leçons étaient suivies par le R. P. Henri Fleisch qui préparait alors sa thèse sur les verbes à allongement vocalique interne en sémitique.

3 Id., *Annuaire 1936-1937* (Melun, *ibid.*, 1936), p. 75. Dans le rapport sur les cours de 1932-1933, il est dit que «M. W. Leslau a dû rester éloigné, mais non oisif une partie de l'année pour raffermir sa santé; après son retour, il a pris la part la plus active aux exercices [d'éthiopien] et a présenté l'éthiopien comme langue principale au certificat [de licence] de langues sémitiques anciennes» (Id., *Annuaire 1933-1934*, Melun, *ibid.*, 1933, p. 68, cf. p. 69). La «participation active» de W. Leslau est aussi notée pour les cours des années suivantes que Marcel Cohen donnait non seulement sur l'éthiopien classique (guèze) et le sudarabique, mais aussi sur le comparatisme chamito-sémitique. Pour les cours de 1934-1935, il est dit que W. Leslau «assiste» M. Cohen pour l'étude des textes éthiopiens de confession (*Annuaire 1935-1936*, Melun, *ibid.*, 1935, p. 80). On ne peut suivre d'aussi près la participation de Leslau aux cours d'amharique de Marcel Cohen à l'École nationale des langues orientales vivantes du fait que cette dernière institution ne publie pas d'Annuaire.

A ce petit séminaire, Leslau partageait en effet le temps entre une initiation au sudarabique épigraphique et l'étude des langues sudarabiques modernes. Après le soqotri étudié en 1936-1937 et en 1937-1938, il aborda en 1938-1939 ce qu'on appelait alors le šhawri d'après les publications de M. Bittner. Pour des raisons que j'ai oubliées, je ne suivis pas les leçons de cette dernière année académique, que fréquenta en revanche Roger Schneider.

Ces cours libres n'étaient qu'une activité non rémunérée dont l'intérêt pour W. Leslau était avant tout qu'ils pouvaient lui préparer un avenir plus satisfaisant dans l'université française, sans doute même une carrière brillante. L'évolution des relations internationales devait en décider autrement.

Leslau a toujours été un travailleur acharné. Il publiait à l'époque, outre son *Lexique soqotri*, deux courts articles sur le sudarabique moderne, l'un en allemand et l'autre en français qui furent ses premières publications si je ne me trompe⁴. Il fut l'une des cinq ou six personnes qui furent à l'origine du petit groupe d'études dont Marcel Cohen prit la direction et qu'il anima longtemps, qui se réunissait chaque mois à la Sorbonne, dans les locaux de la IV^e section de l'École pratique des Hautes Études et qui le fait encore aujourd'hui sous la direction maintenant de David Cohen. Il s'agit du Groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques, en abrégé G.L.E.C.S. On trouvera les abrégés de ces communications imprimés dans les tomes I, II et III des Comptes Rendus du G.L.E.C.S., précieuse collection que connaissent bien et qu'utilisent les chamito-sémitisants⁵.

C'est vers cette époque qu'un glissement s'opéra dans les domaines d'étude auxquels Leslau accordait une attention prioritaire. Il délaissa de plus en plus le domaine sudarabique sans jamais l'abandonner tout à fait et s'adonna de plus en plus aux études éthiopiennes. On le comprend. Leslau était avant tout un linguiste. L'étude linguistique du sudarabique épigraphique demande à chaque pas des travaux préalables très complexes de type philologique, historique et archéologique. En ce qui concerne les dialectes sudarabiques modernes, le mehri avait été assez bien étudié et Leslau, après l'achèvement de son travail lexicographique sur le soqotri, ne voyait pas de possibilité

4 «Remarques sur quelques mots du sudarabique moderne» (*Mémoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris*, 23, fasc. 6, 1935, p. 407-409); «Der *š*-Laut in den modernen südarabischen Sprachen» (*W.Z.K.M.*, 44, 1937, p. 211-218).

5 «Explications et rapprochements à propos de quelques éléments du vocabulaire mehri» (séance du 20 décembre 1933), *C.R. du GLECS*, I, p. 35; «Sur le préfixe *n-* en soqotri» (séance du 26 février 1936), *ibid.*, II, p. 45s.; «Le passif interne en soqotri» (séance du 26 mai 1937), *ibid.*, II, p. 91s.; (en collaboration avec M. Cohen) «Mots amhariques présentant le traitement *k > ħ*» (séance du 26 janvier 1937), *ibid.*, III, p. 11s.; «Observations sur quelques faits éthiopiens et sudarabiques» (séance du 23 mars 1938), *ibid.*, III, p. 19s.; «Notes sur le tigrigna (éthiopien septentrional)», *ibid.*, III, p. 37-40.

d'étendre ses études linguistiques sur les autres dialectes. Il n'y avait guère de perspectives à l'époque d'enquêtes nouvelles réalisables possibles en Arabie du sud. Notre condisciple juif palestinien, Sigismund Reich (qui devait devenir plus tard citoyen britannique, professeur et prendre le nom de David Storm Rice) s'acharnait en vain à obtenir des autorités britanniques l'autorisation de se rendre au Ḥaḍramawt pour réaliser un ambitieux plan de recherches⁶.

Par contraste, le domaine des langues sémitiques modernes d'Éthiopie ouvrait de vastes perspectives. On a vu que Leslau avait obtenu son diplôme d'amharique en 1934. Depuis l'année académique 1937-1938, il suppléait Marcel Cohen pour le cours d'amharique à l'École nationale des langues orientales vivantes. Mais, si l'amharique commençait à être assez bien connu, les autres langues sémitiques modernes d'Éthiopie étaient encore fort peu étudiées. On pouvait considérer comme réalisables et prometteuses des enquêtes sur le terrain et, même à Paris, on pouvait rencontrer des locuteurs. Aussi, dans son rapport sur ses cours de 1936-1937, M. Cohen note: «W. Leslau a travaillé spécialement sur le harari et le gouragué en élaborant des documents inédits»⁷. L'année suivante, il est dit que W. Leslau «a poursuivi des études sur les langues modernes d'Abyssinie; son travail sur le harari est sous presse au *Journal asiatique*, la rédaction de son travail sur le gouragué est avancée»⁸. L'année suivante encore, Marcel Cohen notait: «W. Leslau, après la parution au *Journal asiatique* de son travail sur le harari, a poursuivi l'élaboration d'un gros lexique du gouragué. Il a entrepris en outre des études sur le tigrigna avec des informateurs présents à Paris; deux articles sont terminés, un livre va l'être. En outre, il a publié dans la *Revue des études sémitiques* un article sur la forme fréquentative dans toutes les langues éthiopiennes»⁹.

Tout cela parut rapidement malgré les circonstances comme il va être dit. Pour le «gros lexique du gouragué», il en fut autrement. Il a été rédigé entièrement et dactylographié à l'époque! Leslau m'en confia alors une copie

6 Une trace en est laissée par la revue critique des ouvrages sur cette région publiée par S. Reich dans le *Bulletin d'études orientales* de l'Institut français de Damas, t. 6 (1936), p. 108-118.

7 *Id.*, *Annuaire 1937-1938* (Melun, *ibid.*, 1937). Corriger le titre général des rapports sur les cours; il ne s'agit pas de ceux de 1935-36, mais bien de ceux de 1936-37.

8 *Id.*, *Annuaire 1938-1939* (Melun, *ibid.*, 1938), p. 87. Il s'agit de l'article «Contributions à l'étude du harari (Abyssinie méridionale)», *Journal Asiatique*, 229 (1937), p. 431-479, 529-606.

9 *Id.*, *Annuaire 1939-1940* (Melun, *ibid.*, 1939), p. 90s. Pour le tigrigna, il s'agit des articles «Essai de reconstitution des désinences verbales du tigrigna» (*Revue des études sémitiques*, 1938, p. 70-99) et «Observations sur quelques dialectes du tigrigna (dialectes d'Akkele Gouzay, d'Adoua et du Hamasen)» (*Journal Asiatique*, 231, 1939, p. 78-115). L'autre article mentionné est «Le thème verbal fréquentatif dans les langues éthiopiennes» (*Revue des études sémitiques*, 1939, p. 15-31).

relue par Marcel Cohen. Celui-ci y avait apposé au crayon quelques remarques et suggestions, surtout sur le plan des étymologies. Je possède toujours cette copie. Mais les circonstances n'en permirent pas l'impression et, plus tard, Leslau ne tarda pas à recueillir des matériaux nouveaux en grande quantité. Le dictionnaire en question ne pouvait se concevoir sans être fortement remanié. Leslau n'a pas cessé d'y travailler et cet ouvrage, qui a pris des dimensions considérables, n'a pu paraître que plus de quarante ans après les notations de Marcel Cohen ¹⁰.

La situation matérielle du couple Leslau s'améliorait nettement. Charlotte se voyait confier la direction d'un patronage d'enfants financé par la baronne de Rothschild à Belleville. Wolf y travaillait aussi. Il s'agissait de garder et d'occuper les enfants pendant les jours de la semaine où l'école s'interrompait, à l'époque le jeudi et le dimanche. Le travail acharné de Wolf était mis en valeur par Marcel Cohen qui essayait obstinément d'obtenir pour lui de meilleurs moyens d'existence et finissait par y réussir. A partir de 1937, Leslau bénéficia d'une bourse de la Caisse nationale de la recherche scientifique, qui devait devenir plus tard le Centre national de la recherche scientifique. M. Cohen ne négligeait pas d'explorer d'autres possibilités comme celle de centres français au Proche-Orient ou une bourse de la fondation Rockefeller.

Mais les nuages s'accumulaient. W. Leslau faisait toujours des démarches pour obtenir la nationalité française, «avec toutes les obligations qu'elle comporte, notamment le service armé» comme devait l'écrire Marcel Cohen en novembre 1939. Sa demande de naturalisation était encore ajournée en 1937. En septembre 1938, au moment de la menace de guerre qui devait être retardée par la conférence de Munich, il avait demandé à s'engager dans l'armée française. Confiant dans le résultat de ses démarches, ayant coupé tout lien avec la Pologne dont les événements ne faisaient que confirmer et accentuer les orientations antisémites et de plus en plus nettement fascistes, il négligeait de renouveler son passeport polonais. En attendant l'éventuelle naturalisation française, alors que Charlotte restait de nationalité autrichienne, il entraînait donc dans la catégorie des apatrides (*heimatlos*) alors que celle-ci se gonflait dangereusement de nombreux Allemands ou citoyens des territoires annexés progressivement par l'Allemagne et que dénationalisait le régime nazi.

Cela n'était que le prodrome inquiétant de développements catastrophiques comme on le sait bien, mais aussi celui d'une très attristante évolution d'une grande partie de l'opinion française. Ce n'est pas le lieu d'analyser ici ses

¹⁰ W. Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage (Ethiopic)*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1979, 3 vol.

causes ni l'ensemble de ses manifestations. Mais il est indispensable de les évoquer brièvement. Autrement, les événements que je vais raconter risqueraient d'être totalement incompréhensibles aux membres des générations qui n'ont pas connu cette période tragique et des peuples qui ne sont pas passés par cette expérience. Il ne leur resterait que la plus banale, la plus agréable à la bonne conscience de chacun, mais aussi la moins explicative des explications, le recours proprement raciste à une certaine perversité fondamentale de l'âme française.

On peut d'ailleurs renvoyer à la brillante et vivante esquisse que donne, avec son talent habituel, Arthur Koestler, compagnon d'internement de W. Leslau pendant près de trois mois et victime des mêmes errements. Son livre, écrit immédiatement après la même expérience¹¹, reste encore au total la meilleure tentative d'analyse et d'explication de ces faits lamentables.

En résumé, il faut poser que la tendance à la xénophobie est malheureusement le sentiment le plus répandu chez tous les peuples, latent souvent et même contrebalancé par d'autres tendances plus bénéfiques, mais toujours prêt à resurgir. En France, dans les années 1930, plusieurs facteurs l'attisèrent de façon croissante. La crise mondiale atteignait le pays, menaçait son genre de vie relativement tranquille et prospère. A l'Est, les développements politiques faisaient craindre de plus en plus la guerre alors que le souvenir terrible de la grande saignée de 1914-1918 (plus d'un million et demi de morts français) était toujours vivant. Dans cette période de récession économique, on voyait arriver en France des centaines de milliers d'émigrés dont beaucoup de réfugiés d'Europe centrale et orientale (de 1921 à 1931, la proportion des étrangers en France était passée de 3, 95 à 6, 58 ‰). Chacun pouvait craindre les conséquences de cet afflux pour son niveau de vie. Les classes dirigeantes et possédantes, dont les privilèges avaient été ébranlés par la poussée du Front populaire en 1936, encourageaient les tendances habituelles à chercher des boucs émissaires, de préférence étrangers, aux maux du siècle. Gagnées par la crainte à une idéologie fascinante, admiratrices de Hitler et de Mussolini qui assuraient l'ordre, elles dénonçaient ces masses d'étrangers comme responsables de la misère, inspireurs de la révolte, prêts surtout à entraîner les Français paisibles à une guerre inutile et sanglante contre des pouvoirs bien disposés à leur égard.

Naturellement, aux diffuseurs sincères et convaincus de cette vision des choses s'ajoutaient les agents conscients ou inconscients des États fascistes. A

11 *Scum of the earth*, London, V. Gollancz, 1941. Je cite la traduction française (par Jeanne Terracini) *La lie de la terre*, Paris Charlot, 1946, d'après la deuxième édition, revue et corrigée (1947), publiée en livre de poche, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1973.

mesure que la guerre approchait, l'espionnage fleurissait et tout réfugié était soupçonné à la fois d'exciter à la guerre antifasciste (sans l'intention d'y participer personnellement ajoutait-on) et/ou d'être un agent de l'ennemi fasciste soigneusement camouflé. Ajoutons (*last but not least*) la puissance universellement assurée de la crédulité, de la bêtise et de la cruauté.

La bureaucratie y ajoutait encore en appliquant mécaniquement des catégories juridiques tranchées à une guerre qui était au moins autant une guerre idéologique, une guerre civile internationale en somme, qu'une guerre nationale. De nombreux Allemands opposés au régime hitlérien (juifs ou non) qui avaient fui le nazisme et cherché refuge dans les démocraties occidentales furent internés au minimum un certain temps, comme sujets ennemis ! Le résultat en fut très souvent des issues tragiques. En principe, un « criblage » devait séparer rapidement les « bons éléments » des « mauvais ». Il ne se fit pas toujours. Quand il se fit réellement, ce fut tard et mal.

Quand la guerre fut déclarée, le 3 septembre 1939, il fallut tenir compte aussi des effets sur la France du pacte germano-soviétique que le Parti communiste français, après quelques jours d'hésitation, se décida à approuver. Le résultat en fut la mise hors-la-loi du Parti et la suspicion étendue à ses membres, tendant à déborder sur les millions de Français qui avaient voté pour lui ou s'étaient associés à l'une ou l'autre de ses initiatives. Ici, il faut rappeler que Marcel Cohen, le protecteur de W. Leslau, outre son activité scientifique universellement admirée et respectée, était, comme je l'ai dit ci-dessus, un militant communiste, familier d'un cercle d'amis de même tendance, certains très connus et réputés comme son ami intime, l'écrivain Jean-Richard Bloch. Il continuait naturellement à exercer dans leur plénitude ses fonctions universitaires. Mais il était dès lors soupçonnable ainsi que tous ceux qui gravitaient autour de lui. Les étrangers parmi eux pouvaient en être atteints, même ceux dont l'apolitisme était manifeste comme Leslau. En état de guerre, on n'y regarde pas de si près.

En septembre 1939, on n'avait aucune idée des aspects que pourrait prendre la guerre qui commençait. On craignait notamment beaucoup que des attaques allemandes utilisent les gaz contre les populations civiles, avant tout celles des grandes villes et de Paris même. Nous étions tous munis par les autorités de masques à gaz. La plupart des Parisiens qui le purent partirent en province. La Bibliothèque nationale, avec bien d'autres institutions, fermait ses portes dans le but d'utiliser toutes les ressources qui lui restaient, après le départ de beaucoup de ses employés pour l'armée, à mettre à l'abri ses collections. Je partis pour un village du Sud-Est en attendant ma mobilisation qui ne devait se produire qu'en décembre, car j'avais été exempté de service militaire pour faiblesse de constitution. La déclaration de guerre avait surpris Marcel Cohen

à Fressines, petit village du département des Deux-Sèvres où il passait toutes ses vacances. Il pressa les Leslau de quitter, eux aussi, la région parisienne et les confia à son ami intime Jean-Richard Bloch. Celui-ci disposait en effet d'une vaste demeure de famille, une sorte de gentilhommière, la Méricote, tout près de Poitiers dont Fressines n'est éloigné que d'une cinquantaine de kilomètres. Il trouva à loger les Leslau dans le voisinage. Charlotte Leslau était dans un état de grossesse avancé. Wolf travaillait d'arrache-pied à son livre sur le tigrigna. Il avait renouvelé sa demande d'engagement dans l'armée française en juin 1939; elle n'avait pas abouti par suite de ses déplacements lors des convocations à l'examen médical préalable. La guerre déclarée, il se présenta aux autorités militaires de Poitiers et l'examen médical, le 13 septembre, fut positif. Mais la complication de son statut national — Polonais devenu apatride — fit renvoyer à plus tard son incorporation.

Dès le début de septembre et même un peu avant, les autorités avaient déclenché une vague d'arrestations d'étrangers. Les camps d'internement d'étrangers «suspects» ou «indésirables» avaient déjà commencé à fonctionner — sous le nom d'abord de bon augure, mais sinistrement inadéquat, de «centres d'accueil» — pour concentrer et isoler les réfugiés espagnols et les miliciens des Brigades internationales fuyant la victoire franquiste à partir du printemps 1939. Ils furent équipés et multipliés pour «accueillir» un nombre bien plus élevé d'internés^{11bis}. Dès la nuit du 2 au 3 septembre, la police parisienne vint arrêter un voisin de Koestler, médecin, réfugié allemand, qui venait de quitter un sanatorium suisse pour s'engager dans l'armée française, et Koestler lui-même, de nationalité hongroise (la Hongrie était neutre alors), dont la rupture avec le communisme, un an et demi auparavant, avait été commentée, qui était violemment attaqué par la presse communiste. Absent, il échappa à l'arrestation cette fois-là. Il ne fut arrêté — après s'être présenté en vain plusieurs fois à la police — que le 2 octobre. Pour Leslau, à Poitiers, l'arrestation se fit le 24 octobre à la clinique même où sa femme venait d'accoucher le 13 d'une petite fille, Eliane.

Dans la seconde quinzaine de septembre, le Ministère de l'Intérieur français avait pris des décisions générales concernant l'internement des étrangers résidant en France en commençant par les sujets allemands et autrichiens, mais

^{11 bis} Quelques milliers d'Allemands et autres étrangers jouirent à partir de février 1940 du statut relativement privilégié de «prestataires» dont W. Leslau demanda un moment à relever. Réunis dans des camps spéciaux, ils devaient (en principe) «fournir des prestations (c'est à dire exécuter des travaux) aux autorités militaires pour une durée égale à la durée du service militaire imposé aux Français» (Schramm et Vormeier, [ouvrage cité ci-dessous n. 12], p. 240, 256, 321-3, 370). Des savants, dont certains illustres et maintenant aux États-Unis, passèrent par cette condition.

en débordant aussitôt cette limitation. Leslau fut immédiatement envoyé au «centre d'accueil» du Vernet dans le département de l'Ariège. Ce camp était réservé aux «éléments dangereux et indésirables». On le considérait comme un «camp répressif» où on envoyait aussi en punition ceux qui avaient mécontenté leurs surveillants dans des camps jugés plus «doux»¹².

En fait, l'internement et la répartition dans les divers camps avaient été en grande partie le fait du hasard ou de caprices bureaucratiques. On comptait plus ou moins sur l'avenir pour démêler les cas douteux, trier «bons» et «mauvais» éléments. Un document officiel du début de mai 1940, une lettre du ministère des Postes au directeur du camp, énonce: «Le département de la Défense nationale et de la guerre vient de faire connaître que les internés du camp du Vernet sont en effet des suspects de toutes nationalités qui ne sauraient être considérés comme internés civils admis au bénéfice des dispositions de la convention de Genève»¹³. On voit que l'administration du camp elle-même n'était pas très bien renseignée sur le statut des internés confiés à sa garde. Ceux-ci étaient naturellement encore plus dans l'obscurité. Leslau s'interrogeait en vain sur la cause de son arrestation et, dès qu'il le put, questionna là-dessus les autorités du camp. Le 18 novembre 1939, il écrivait à Marcel Cohen: «J'ai subi un interrogatoire. Mon dossier se trouve au Ministère de l'Intérieur, mais j'ai cru comprendre que le Ministère de l'Intérieur me soupçonne de la fréquentation de milieux allemands ou extrémistes [sic! M. R.] ... Il faudrait, en premier lieu, connaître l'accusation exacte et rassembler ensuite les documents pour réfuter les soupçons».

En fait, les critères avaient été des plus vagues et l'administration répondait un peu au hasard pour justifier a posteriori ses mesures. On rencontre de multiples exemples de cas des plus aberrants dans les documents et souvenirs

12 Sur ces camps en général, on trouvera beaucoup d'informations dans le livre de Hanna Schramm et Barbara Vormeier, *Menschen in Gurs, Erinnerungen an ein französisches Internierungslager, 1940-1941*, Worms, Georg Heintz, 1977, dont le contenu dépasse de beaucoup le titre. J'ai utilisé et cité ici la traduction française, *Livre à Gurs, Un camp de concentration français, 1940-1941*, traduit de l'allemand par I. Petit, Paris, Maspero, 1977. Voir aussi le livre trilingue (allemand, français, anglais) de Barbara Vormeier, *Die Deportierungen deutscher und österreichischer Juden aus Frankreich*, (Paris), Éditions La Solidarité, 1980 et le livre d'Arthur Koestler cité ci-dessus. Je remercie Pierre Vidal-Naquet de m'avoir orienté à travers cette littérature. Voir Schramm et Vormeier, p. 180 sur les changements de dénomination des camps et l'extrait du règlement de Gurs reproduit pl. VIII qui menace le contrevenant récidiviste du «camp répressif du Vernet». Sur Le Vernet, cf. aussi le même livre p. 249-250, 251 n. 21, 254, 264, 267, 274, 278, 301 ss. (rapport Bondy cité ci-dessous), 321, 335 ss.

13 Cité par B. Vormeier dans H. Schramm et B. Vormeier, *op. cit.*, p. 251, n. 21, d'après un document d'archive.

publiés plus tard sur ces camps. On pourra en trouver dans le livre bien connu de Koestler, déjà cité, qui fut interné au Vernet d'octobre 1939 au 17 janvier 1940. François Bondy, journaliste et écrivain suisse, d'origine juive allemande, fut arrêté à Paris dans la vague d'arrestations encore plus massives et opérées encore plus au hasard qui suivit le déclenchement de l'offensive allemande de mai 1940. Il se retrouva au Vernet avec six autres Suisses dont un ingénieur envoyé en France par son usine suisse pour une démonstration d'appareil à la Société nationale des chemins de fer français. Libéré le 26 juillet, il écrit dans un rapport daté du 2 août : « On (y) trouve surtout des hommes internés sans motif, par suite d'une dénonciation anonyme non vérifiée ou à cause de leur lieu de naissance ou pour des raisons encore plus futiles »¹⁴.

François Bondy — qui dirigea plus tard, de 1951 à 1969, la revue d'orientation spécialement anticomuniste *Preuves*, au surplus de haute tenue — note le cas Leslau comme typique : « Je tiens à citer le cas d'un apatride d'origine polonaise, M. L. qui, pendant plusieurs années, professa les langues sémitiques à l'École des hautes études et à l'École des langues sémitiques (lire : orientales M. R.) à Paris ; il ne s'est jamais intéressé à la politique. Sa libération fut demandée à plusieurs reprises par des pétitions de professeurs de la Sorbonne et du Collège de France. On fit sur lui une enquête entièrement favorable. Ce jeune savant réputé est interné au Vernet sans avoir pu revoir sa femme et son enfant »¹⁵.

En effet, dès son arrestation, en route vers le camp par chemin de fer, Wolf envoyait de la gare de Bordeaux deux cartes postales de détresse à son seul protecteur actif, Marcel Cohen, à Fressines. Celui-ci venait d'être mis au courant de la situation par Charlotte Leslau. Il ne perdit pas de temps pour tenter d'agir en faveur de Wolf, cherchant à faire intervenir des professeurs éminents et peu suspects du point de vue politique. Il commença par solliciter l'intervention du Directeur du Service central de la Recherche scientifique dont Leslau avait reçu des bourses les années précédentes et dont il avait compté en recevoir à nouveau pour la nouvelle année académique, Henri Laugier. Sur la demande de celui-ci, il « se porta garant des sentiments de loyalisme de Leslau envers la France ». M. Cohen rédigea l'attestation exigée. Il prenait soin d'y dire : « Je l'ai toujours vu se consacrant exclusivement à sa vie de famille, avant tout à son travail scientifique très dense et absorbant, rigoureusement à l'écart de toute manifestation ou mouvement d'opinion politique ». Cela devait permettre à Laugier de demander au Ministère de l'Intérieur la libération de

14 « Rapport sur le camp du Vernet (Ariège) et sur les conditions de l'arrestation et de l'internement de nombreux étrangers en France », in H. Schramm et B. Vormeier, *Livre à Gurs*, p. 301-312. Le passage cité se trouve p. 306.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 306-7.

l'interné. On fit intervenir aussi des savants comme Mgr Sylvain Grébaut, ecclésiastique de rang élevé, professeur d'éthiopien à l'Institut catholique de Paris et Régis Blachère, alors professeur d'arabe à l'École nationale des langues orientales vivantes. Un vote unanime des professeurs de cette École s'associa à ces demandes.

Parmi ceux qui demandaient ainsi la libération de Leslau, il y avait un homme dont le témoignage aurait dû peser d'un poids tout particulier. Il s'agit de Jean Nougayrol, assyriologue réputé qui venait d'être chargé (en novembre 1938) du cours de religion assyro-babylonienne à la V^e section (sciences religieuses) de l'École pratique des Hautes Études. Il allait être nommé directeur d'études dans le même enseignement en novembre 1941. En attendant, comme beaucoup, il était parti pour une résidence dans le sud du pays, et a dû faire des cours à l'Université de Toulouse. Mobilisé, il avait été affecté par les autorités militaires au camp du Vernet à titre d'«officier d'information» avec le grade de capitaine. Son excellente connaissance de l'allemand (il avait traduit des lettres de Rilke) avait dû jouer un rôle dans cette affectation. Il put aider un peu quelques intellectuels internés dont un écrivain allemand prénommé Albert et Koestler lui-même. Celui-ci parle avec sympathie du «capitaine N.», «homme charmant», «officier du 2^e bureau qui était dans le civil lecteur de langues orientales à l'Université de Toulouse», que «les autorités militaires avaient affecté au camp», mais qui «n'avait aucune influence sur l'administration du camp»¹⁶.

Jean Nougayrol avait encore plus de raisons de s'intéresser à un sémitisant comme W. Leslau. Du camp même, le 10 décembre 1939, il envoya une attestation: «Bien que je ne connaisse pas intimement M. Wolf Leslau, j'ai eu de fréquentes occasions de le rencontrer et de lui serrer la main au Collège de France et à la Sorbonne où nos recherches nous appelaient souvent l'un et l'autre avant la mobilisation. Je savais d'ailleurs que Monsieur Wolf Leslau était un jeune savant de grand avenir et *entièrement* adonné à ses études. Je serais heureux que son cas fût examiné avec un soin tout particulier et la

16 A. Koestler, *La lie de la terre*, p. 1975., 203. Dans les *Annuaire*s de la section des sciences religieuses de l'E.P.H.E., on mentionne une mise à la disposition de l'Université de Toulouse de Nougayrol par arrêté ministériel de janvier 1941. Il s'agit sans doute d'une régularisation administrative a posteriori. Il fut plus tard démobilisé et put reprendre ses cours à Paris au début de 1942. Né à Toulouse en 1900, il fut mis à la retraite en 1970 et mourut d'un cancer en 1975. Voir l'article nécrologique de H. Cazelles (*Journal Asiatique*, 263, 1975, p. 3-5) qui contient quelques erreurs sur cette période. Cf. École pratique des Hautes Études, section des sciences religieuses. *Annuaire 1938-1939*, (Melun, Imp. administrative, 1938), p. 45, 99; *Annuaire 1939-1940*, (*ibid.*, 1939), p. 45, 60s.; *Annuaire 1940-1941 et 1941-1942* (*ibid.*, 1941), p. 50, 113; *Annuaire 1942-1943* (*ibid.*, 1942), p. 33, 49-50, 79.

bienveillance qu'il mérite»¹⁷. Il rédigea aussi en janvier et février 1940 deux rapports officiels qui devaient être transmis à Paris. Il écrivit à Marcel Cohen le 5 mars qu'il s'étonnait que l'ordre ne soit pas encore venu «d'ouvrir nos portes devant mon excellent collègue dont j'ai pu apprécier à plusieurs reprises le courage dans l'adversité et la charmante discrétion». Au début d'avril, il conseillait à Leslau de «ne pas remuer trop les choses» pendant qu'il intervenait lui-même en sa faveur. À la fin d'avril, il partit pour Paris avec le dossier de Leslau entre autres. Il revint au Vernet vers la mi-mai en pensant avoir obtenu de la Sûreté nationale que l'internement soit transformé en une assignation à résidence dans une localité donnée à moins que le Ministère de la Guerre n'accepte l'engagement de Leslau dans l'armée.

Pourtant, il y avait des libérations. Koestler avait été libéré en janvier avec une cinquantaine d'autres. «Mais nous étions des exceptions» écrit-il. De retour à Paris et désirant régulariser sa situation, il se heurta d'ailleurs sans succès au monstre administratif, renvoyé de bureau en bureau et toujours menacé d'être arrêté à nouveau. Les démarches pour la libération de Leslau se perdirent-elles dans le même labyrinthe de la routine et des règlements ou y eut-il une particulière mauvaise volonté de quelque fonctionnaire irrité par quelque détail de son dossier? On n'en saura sans doute jamais rien.

En attendant, Wolf demeurait au camp aux prises avec le supplice de l'espoir toujours déçu d'une libération prochaine, séparé de sa femme et de sa petite fille. Au moins, ses conditions d'existence s'y étaient un peu améliorées, entre autres grâce à Nougayrol. Il put y corriger les épreuves de son article «Observations sur quelques dialectes du tigrigna (dialectes d'Akkele Gouzay, d'Adoua et du Hamasen)» qui devait paraître au *Journal Asiatique* (voir ci-dessus n. 9). Surtout, ce qui lui importait tout particulièrement, il pouvait reprendre la correction de celles de son livre *Documents tigrigna*. Commencée à Mâcon par l'imprimerie Protat en septembre 1939, l'impression en fut terminée en 1941. Dans la préface, Leslau, très discrètement, indique: «La partie grammaire a été revue par mon maître Marcel Cohen. Le travail aurait gagné à être entièrement corrigé par lui; malheureusement, du fait de la guerre, les circonstances ne l'ont pas permis [...]. Je m'excuse auprès du lecteur des fautes qui ont échappé à mon attention [...], mais les pénibles conditions matérielles

17 Le mot «entièrement» est souligné (avec intention évidemment) par J. Nougayrol lui-même dans son attestation dont une copie se trouve dans le dossier conservé par Marcel Cohen. On y trouve aussi la copie d'une attestation parallèle de Mgr Sylvain Grébaut. Il dit qu'«il connaît depuis plusieurs années M. Wolf Leslau qui a été son élève et peut se porter garant de la parfaite loyauté ainsi que des sentiments d'attachement et de fidélité à la France de cet orientaliste hautement méritant».

dans lesquelles j'ai dû corriger la première partie de l'ouvrage sont responsables des fautes d'impression qui ont subsisté dans cette partie»¹⁸.

Ces conditions étaient en effet fort mauvaises et il faut admirer que Leslau ait pu mener à bien ce travail. Marcel Cohen s'imaginait mal cette situation et avait demandé à Leslau de rédiger un compte rendu de son livre, *Nouvelles Etudes d'éthiopien méridional* paru en 1939, dans la «série de guerre» (comme porte la couverture) de la «Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Etudes». Leslau dut lui répondre (en mars 1940): «Il m'est très difficile de faire actuellement le compte rendu [...]. Il est tout à fait impossible de faire ici un travail suivi parce qu'il y a continuellement la chasse à l'homme pour exécuter, très souvent, des travaux inutiles. Je n'ai même pas de table à ma disposition sans parler du manque de la documentation nécessaire pour pouvoir réétudier de près votre ouvrage».

Dans l'ensemble du pays, on vivait alors la curieuse période que l'on a appelée «la drôle de guerre». Après quelques semaines d'hésitation, on s'était aperçu avec étonnement que les Allemands n'attaquaient pas la frontière française, on en attribuait au moins en partie la cause à l'efficacité de la ligne Maginot. Cette situation semblait dès lors durable jusqu'à des événements imprévisibles préparés sur des théâtres d'opérations lointains: la Finlande, la Norvège. En attendant, on s'installait dans la guerre. A Paris, l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes avait repris ses cours. Dès lors, Marcel Cohen et sa femme étaient rentrés à leur domicile de Viroflay près de Paris, quittant Fressines où étaient hébergées désormais Charlotte Leslau et la petite Eliane. Les cours étaient d'ailleurs plutôt théoriques. Rédigeant à l'été 1940, après l'invasion de la France, son rapport annuel, Marcel Cohen écrivait: «Il ne s'est présenté en début d'année (i.e. en novembre 1939) aucun étudiant pour cette langue (le guèze) non plus que pour le sud-arabique. M.W. Leslau n'a pu enseigner cette année. Il a poursuivi la correction des épreuves de ses travaux sur le tigrigna: un livre à paraître dans la collection de la Société de linguistique et un mémoire à paraître dans le *Journal asiatique*; un article de lui a paru dans la *Revue des études sémitiques*»¹⁹.

Dans ce rapport officiel, dont Marcel Cohen avait assurément soigneusement pesé la formulation, il croit utile, en vue d'un avenir imprévisible, d'insister sur les travaux en cours de Leslau. Mais il a recours délibérément à des euphémismes. Il continuait en même temps à faire des démarches et surtout à pousser d'autres personnes mieux placées à intervenir en faveur

18 *Documents tigrigna (éthiopien septentrional), grammaire et textes*, Paris, C. Klincksieck, 1941, p. VI.

19 École pratique des Hautes Études, Section des sciences historiques et philologiques. *Annuaire 1940-1941 et 1941-1942* (Melun, *ibid.*, 1942), p. 135-6.

de Leslau. Mais tout semblait se perdre dans les méandres administratifs. Comme, des casernes successives où j'avais été affecté en tant que soldat, je m'inquiétais de son sort, notre amie commune Deborah Lifchitz, l'ethnologue et éthiopisante qu'un destin tragique attendait bientôt, m'écrivait le 10 avril 1940: «Leslau est toujours au même endroit; on ne peut rien faire pour lui. Il se porte à peu près bien et corrige assidûment ses épreuves de tigrigna. Il paraît que cela sera remarquable»²⁰.

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Cette relative quiétude commença à s'écrouler avec l'offensive allemande déclenchée le 10 mai 1940 contre la Belgique et la Hollande, et qui atteignit la France au bout de cinq jours. Une semaine plus tard, on se rendait enfin nettement compte que ce n'était pas la guerre de 1914 qui se répétait, que les Allemands ne pourraient être arrêtés quelque part au Nord de Paris. Comme l'avaient fait les Belges quelques jours auparavant, on procéda à de nouvelles arrestations, faites en grande partie au hasard, des sujets allemands et autrichiens, ainsi que des «étrangers suspects». On arrêta à nouveau certains qui avaient été libérés comme Arthur Koestler. Les exceptions faites dans un premier temps n'étaient plus de mise. La hantise des espions était plus forte que jamais, on criait à la trahison et tous les éléments hostiles à la démocratie, dont la xénophobie se colorait d'admiration pour Hitler et de haine pour

²⁰ Répondant de New York à la première lettre que je lui écrivais de Beyrouth après la libération de la France et après avoir obtenu son adresse américaine, Leslau s'inquiétait: «Paul Rivet (le directeur du Musée de l'Homme où elle travaillait M.R.) m'a dit que Lifchitz a été transférée en Pologne, mais j'espère que ce n'est pas exact» (lettre du 17 janvier 1945). C'était malheureusement exact. Marcel Cohen apprenait vers cette date, au retour en France d'une autre de nos amies captive à Auschwitz, qu'elle y était morte. Il me l'écrivait à Beyrouth en mars 1945 comme il en informait au même moment le couple Leslau avec qui il pouvait enfin, également en mars, reprendre la correspondance. Auschwitz avait été libéré par l'armée soviétique le 27 janvier 1945. Plus tard, il faisait publier, dans le *Journal Asiatique*, le dernier travail qu'elle avait rédigé, qui aurait dû paraître en 1940 dans le *Journal de la Société des Africanistes* et qu'elle lui avait remis. Il y ajoutait des indications supplémentaires obtenues en 1948 d'un lettré éthiopien («Le Livre d'Emmanuel, poème éthiopien», *Journal Asiatique*, t. 236, fasc. 1, 1948, p. 65-86). Il y insérait cette notation sobre: «Deborah Lifchitz, arrêtée en février 1942, a été déportée en septembre 1942 au camp d'Auschwitz où elle a été gazée dès l'arrivée» (p. 67). Cf. la notice nécrologique d'E. C[erulli], *Oriente Moderno*, 25, 1945, p. 63. Deborah Lifszyc (qui écrivit son nom en France Lifchitz) était attachée au Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro (plus tard Musée de l'homme) à Paris et chargée d'enseignement à l'École des langues orientales pour l'amharique. Elle était née le 5 juin 1907 à Kharkov en Ukraine.

les réfugiés allemands, prenaient le dessus dans l'administration. Le Vernet «accueillit» quelques centaines de nouveaux «hôtes» de toutes nationalités dont des Belges et des Italiens. Parmi eux se trouvaient les quelques Suisses dont il a été parlé ci-dessus²¹. En juillet-août 1940, une commission allemande devait y trouver 3728 internés «de nationalités diverses dont 283 ressortissants allemands du Reich, juifs pour la plupart»²².

Le 21 juin 1940, l'armistice avec l'Allemagne était signé. Une grande partie de la France était occupée. Le Vernet se trouvait dans la zone dite libre c'est à dire non occupée. On a dû y suivre l'irrésistible avance allemande avec encore plus d'anxiété qu'ailleurs. Leslau, qui avait eu beaucoup d'espoir dans les résultats de la tournée de Nougayrol à Paris, comprit que, même si des décisions en sa faveur avaient été prises, il n'y avait plus à compter sur leur application dans cette atmosphère de désastre, de désordre et de capitulation. Nul ne savait ce que les Allemands décideraient.

La convention d'armistice franco-allemande du 26 juin 1940 obligeait le gouvernement français à livrer à l'Allemagne tous les Allemands se trouvant en France et dans les possessions françaises qu'elle réclamerait (art. 19). Alors que le désordre eût aisément permis de les laisser quitter leurs camps d'internement, la plupart des commandants de camps prirent plutôt des mesures de surveillance renforcée pour empêcher les évasions ... et les suicides. Il y eut pourtant de très remarquables exceptions, notamment à Gurs, où beaucoup furent libérés. Rien n'était prévu pour les non-Allemands. Il faut se garder de transposer anachroniquement à cette époque les conditions qui régnèrent à partir de 1942. Les Allemands ne réclamèrent nominativement, au début, que des sujets allemands compromis politiquement. Les autres les intéressaient peu. On expulsait d'Allemagne vers la France en octobre 1940 quelque 6500 juifs de Bade et du Palatinat. Ils furent internés dans les camps baptisés désormais «centres d'hébergement». Selon l'optique nazie d'alors, il s'agissait de se débarrasser d'éléments indésirables dont la France aurait la charge et dont elle pourrait faire ce qu'elle voudrait. On opposait des réponses dilatoires aux protestations et interrogations françaises. La France, de son côté, voulait se décharger et favorisait l'émigration. Des comités s'étaient formés dans le

21 Cf. F. Bondy in Schramm et Vormeier, *op. cit.*, pp. 303ss. J'avais personnellement vu passer le convoi de Belges transporté, dans des conditions assez horribles, de Belgique vers le Sud dont il est question p. 304. J'étais des soldats de l'Intendance chargés de ravitailler (un peu) ce convoi — pour la première fois apparemment depuis plus de 48 heures à partir de la Belgique — à St Pierre-des-Corps, nœud ferroviaire près de Tours où j'étais alors encaserné.

22 Rapport de la commission Kundt in Schramm et Vormeier, *op. cit.*, p. 321; cf. p. 265ss.

même but, notamment pour aider à l'émigration des juifs vers les États-Unis. Le principal obstacle était les quota américains restreignant l'immigration²³.

A l'été 1940, on ne pouvait guère prévoir que la continuation de la domination allemande sur la France avec ou sans troupes d'occupation, soit qu'une paix victorieuse soit imposée par l'Allemagne à l'Angleterre, soit que la guerre se poursuive longuement. Au Vernet, au moment de l'avance allemande et de sa dernière déception après le retour de Nougayrol de Paris, Leslau avait pris son parti. Le 12 juin, il écrivait à Marcel Cohen: «J'ai longuement réfléchi sur ma situation future. On ne peut évidemment rien prévoir actuellement, dans les circonstances que nous traversons, mais, à la réflexion, je suis arrivé à la conclusion que je ne pourrai plus vivre en France si je dois rester interné pour la durée de la guerre. J'ai beaucoup d'exemples à l'appui de cette supposition dans le milieu où je me trouve. La police ne pardonne pas. Et même si je dois pouvoir continuer à vivre en France, je ne veux pas rester interné pour des années peut-être, qui sait? J'ai eu de la patience pendant huit mois, mais je ne veux pas être usé complètement, car j'ai des responsabilités envers ma famille. Vous penserez peut-être à tous ceux qui font la guerre séparés de leur famille, mais faire la guerre actuellement est une nécessité alors que mon internement ne rend aucun service au pays, tout au contraire. Il y a encore d'autres réflexions qu'il m'est difficile d'exposer par lettre. J'ai donc décidé d'émigrer en Amérique pour recommencer mon existence pour la troisième fois. Je ne peux pas compter sur le quota ordinaire car ça prendra des années; il y a un moyen d'accélérer la chose, c'est d'obtenir une nomination comme professeur dans une Université [...]. Je vous prie de croire une fois de plus que j'ai longuement réfléchi avant d'avoir pris la décision de l'émigration [...]».

Leslau ajoutait des indications sur les universitaires américains intéressés par la linguistique sémitique auxquels il priait Marcel Cohen d'envoyer des lettres en sa faveur, ainsi que des indications pratiques. Marcel Cohen — qui avait regagné Fressines — se rangea immédiatement à ses raisons. Dès le 4 juillet, il envoyait à deux collègues américains une lettre recommandant Leslau. Mais les premières réponses furent pour expliquer qu'aucune perspective d'emploi dans une Université américaine pour un sémitisant n'était en vue.

Leslau s'y attendait et demandait, en attendant une réponse américaine favorable, qu'on le sorte du camp en l'assignant à résidence quelque part en

23 Pierre Vidal-Naquet me signale que Wolf Leslau est encore cité (comme «célèbre linguiste»), parmi d'autres, dans un livre de souvenirs encore inédit dont il a pu consulter le manuscrit. Le titre (provisoire) en est *Échec à l'article 19* et il a été rédigé précisément par M. Daniel Benedite, qui fut collaborateur d'un Comité américain de secours aux internés.

France. Il pensait, entre autres, à une intervention de l'École pratique des Hautes Études, le réclamant pour un emploi. Mais cela se heurtait encore à des obstacles administratifs. Il en était de même pour les démarches qu'aurait pu faire la Caisse de la recherche scientifique. Pendant ce temps, Leslau poursuivait toujours la correction de ses épreuves pour son livre sur le tigrigna.

La solution vint de ce côté. Leslau avait suggéré à Marcel Cohen d'écrire à l'imprimeur de son livre, Protat, à Mâcon pour lui demander d'établir un contrat de travail fictif l'engageant à son service. Ce serait une façon d'obtenir sa libération et son assignation à résidence forcée à Mâcon.

Emile Protat (associé à son frère Pierre) obtint de Vichy en 1941 que Leslau fût autorisé à quitter de temps à autre le camp pour venir à Mâcon surveiller l'impression de son ouvrage. A peu près à la même époque, il fut d'ailleurs transféré du Vernet au camp des Milles. Les Milles est un village au Sud-Ouest d'Aix-en-Provence, non loin de Marseille. On y groupait les internés étrangers qui étaient en voie d'obtenir pour les États-Unis un de ces précieux visas que délivrait le consulat américain à Marseille. Des Milles Wolf allait donc parfois à Mâcon. Toutes ces localités se trouvaient, comme le Vernet, en zone dite libre. Par contre, Fressines où se trouvait Charlotte était en zone occupée. Elle ne put rejoindre Mâcon avec sa petite fille qu'en risquant l'arrestation. Autrichienne exilée, il lui était pratiquement impossible d'obtenir un permis comme on en délivrait parcimonieusement aux Français présentant toute garantie. Dans le chemin de fer, elle réussit à échapper au contrôle d'une patrouille allemande en tançant sa fille en excellent allemand naturellement. Les militaires allemands, attendris par cette mère allemande, n'insistèrent pas pour lui demander ses papiers.

Il était temps. Les conditions s'aggravaient. Peu à peu, l'étau se resserrait. Le gouvernement de Vichy organisait de plus en plus la répression des opposants réels ou potentiels, prenait de plus en plus de mesures xénophobes et antisémites en attendant que les déportations allemandes ne soient décidées et ne s'organisent à partir de mars 1942. A Fressines, Marcel Cohen était averti qu'il allait être arrêté et prenait les devants en partant à bicyclette, le 6 octobre 1941, et en gagnant des refuges clandestins. Sa femme et sa fille cadette, à leur tour menacées, quittaient Fressines le 18 juillet 1942.

Wolf Leslau, après quelque temps passé à Mâcon, put gagner Marseille, non sans péripéties nouvelles. Il passa à nouveau par un camp de regroupement, mais il y disposait de fréquentes permissions de sortie et rejoignait sa femme qui demeurait à Mâcon. Il pouvait en recevoir des colis de nourriture qui étaient bien nécessaires. A Marseille commençait une suite de démarches pénibles du genre de celles qu'a décrites Koestler pour les exilés allemands :

«Finalement quelques uns réussirent à gagner Marseille et à obtenir des visas pour les U.S.A. ou d'autres pays de l'Amérique. C'était l'élite intellectuelle et les riches, des gens qui avaient des relations, des écrivains, des journalistes, des étudiants, peut-être 200 sur 10 000. Les visas pour les États-Unis leur étaient délivrés selon une liste «d'intellectuels de valeur» établie par les comités de New York. Même ces hommes de réputation mondiale devaient attendre des mois, écrire, faire la queue, s'humilier, jusqu'à ce que le cachet magique fût imprimé sur leurs passeports [...]. Puis, quand tout était en règle et que le miracle de leur évasion allait se réaliser, les autorités françaises leur refusaient le visa de sortie ...»²⁴.

Les Leslau faillirent s'embarquer à la fin de décembre 1941. Mais, au dernier moment, un nouvel obstacle avait surgi. A la suite de l'attaque japonaise sur Pearl Harbor le 7 décembre 1941, l'Allemagne et l'Italie avaient déclaré la guerre aux États-Unis le 11 décembre. Pour l'administration américaine, Charlotte, citoyenne de l'Autriche annexée par l'Allemagne, devenait un «sujet ennemi». Il fallut continuer les démarches sur une nouvelle base. Wolf, au moment de la reprise de nos relations, m'écrivait en janvier 1945 : «Comme vous le savez, j'ai été interné et cet internement a duré deux ans et demi. Réflexion faite, ça m'a probablement sauvé la vie [...]. Je ne sais pas si vous vous rendez compte de ce que c'est (que) d'entreprendre des démarches pour aller en Amérique : les attentes et les déceptions n'avaient pas de fin».

Enfin le visa était délivré à la fin de mai 1942. Le couple Leslau et la petite Eliane s'embarquaient à Marseille à bord du *Gueydon* le 31 mai. Il devait les mener par Oran à Casablanca d'où un vieux navire portugais, le *Serpa Pinto*, chargé au double de sa capacité d'êtres humains fuyant l'Europe en feu, les transportait à New York au début de juin. Encore une fois, il était temps. En novembre 1942, à la suite du débarquement des Américains en Afrique du Nord, les Allemands occupaient toute la zone «libre» de la France, y compris Marseille et Toulon. Tous ceux qui se trouvaient en France étaient bloqués et pris au piège. Du Vernet et des Milles entre autres, de sinistres convois allaient bientôt être dirigés vers l'Est, vers les camps de la mort.

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La longue expérience française des Leslau s'était donc achevée de façon désastreuse, même si le pire avait été évité *in extremis*. Pourtant, les liens avec la France n'étaient pas rompus. Aux États-Unis, au départ, Wolf eut du mal à trouver un travail suffisamment rémunéré dans les institutions d'enseigne-

²⁴ A. Koestler, *La lie de la terre*, p. 372s.

ment, alors que sa famille s'était agrandie avec la naissance de Sylvia, le 19 janvier 1943. Il dut cumuler les emplois. Bientôt, il put — entre autres emplois — enseigner dans deux institutions francophones en exil : d'abord l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves (à base d'exilés belges), puis l'École libre des Hautes Études. Vers la fin de 1943, il était secrétaire-trésorier du Cercle linguistique de New York que l'on fondait pour continuer en exil, avec des linguistes français, américains et autres, l'activité de la Société de linguistique de Paris. Quand la paix se fit en Europe, Marcel Cohen pensa un moment le faire nommer à un Institut français qui devait être créé à Addis Abeba (mais le projet échoua), puis le faire désigner comme maître de recherches au Centre national de la recherche scientifique (qui avait remplacé la Caisse nationale de la recherche scientifique). Tous ces projets, dans l'esprit de Marcel Cohen, pouvaient le pousser à revenir en France et même à s'y installer définitivement. Il n'avait pas encore passé aux États-Unis les cinq années nécessaires pour acquérir la nationalité américaine.

Marcel Cohen aurait bien aimé que Wolf Leslau choisisse la France et devienne son successeur pour l'enseignement des langues éthiopiennes comme celui qui lui paraissait le plus qualifié pour cet emploi. Il s'employait de son mieux à lui préparer une place en France. Il avança formellement sa candidature. W. Leslau, qui tenait aussi à ne pas décevoir son vieux maître et son meilleur protecteur, n'oppose pas, dans ses lettres, un refus absolu qui aurait manqué d'égards et de politesse. Mais il accumule les objections et se déclare hésitant. Marcel Cohen, assez souvent, plaçait ainsi ses protégés devant le fait accompli de démarches tendant à leur obtenir une position, à son avis très désirable pour leur propre bien et pour celui de la science. A la même époque, après le refus de Leslau, il pensa à moi pour le même projet d'Institut français d'Addis Abeba. Pour de multiples raisons, je n'y tenais pas non plus, mais je n'osais contrarier mon bon vieux maître que quand il ne fut plus possible de tergiverser et il me reprocha de ne pas lui avoir exprimé plus tôt mon refus. De même, Wolf Leslau — qui d'ailleurs avait aussi exprimé dans sa correspondance avec Marcel Cohen son scepticisme devant ce dernier projet me concernant — avait d'excellentes raisons de s'en tenir fermement à son choix américain. Marcel Cohen, comprenant mal les réponses quelque peu embarrassées de Leslau, pensant aussi sans doute qu'il fallait un peu lui forcer la main pour qu'il accepte une situation très enviable, persista quelques années dans ses illusions et dans ses démarches unilatérales. D'ailleurs, celles-ci se heurtaient à de forts obstacles bureaucratiques en France même, vieux pays où l'insertion des étrangers ne peut se faire qu'avec des étapes longues et précautionneuses, alors que les États-Unis, nation composite formée de couches successives d'émigrants, est plus habituée à de telles

intégrations. Les démarches de Marcel Cohen, de façon bien curieuse pour qui n'a pas de familiarité avec les contradictions de la conscience idéologique, trouvaient aussi leurs limites en lui-même. Dans cette période de guerre froide, en tant que militant communiste, ne devait-il pas s'opposer à la pénétration culturelle de «l'impérialisme américain»? La correspondance des deux hommes porte la marque de ces insistances parfois hésitantes de M. Cohen en face des réticences polies de W. Leslau. Le ton monta parfois un peu entre les deux hommes, mais l'amitié affectueuse qui les unissait apaisa vite ces remous avec l'aide de l'intervention conciliante de leurs épouses. Le débat se faisait d'ailleurs de plus en plus abstrait. Wolf devenait définitivement citoyen américain comme sa femme. Sa situation s'améliorait peu à peu aux Etats-Unis où il obtenait des subventions pour des voyages d'enquête linguistique en Éthiopie. Il réalisait enfin un de ses vœux les plus chers: aller enquêter sur place au lieu de se contenter de travailler sur les notations plus ou moins fiables de chercheurs et surtout de voyageurs antérieurs. Marcel Cohen se résigna à ne pas le voir devenir un professeur français.

Cependant les liens avec la France subsistaient. Toutes les fois que Leslau allait en Éthiopie ou en revenait, il faisait son possible pour passer par Paris et se concerter avec son maître. Ainsi, dès l'automne 1946, il tint à passer son doctorat en France et en français. Cela se fit en juillet 1953. Selon les règles de l'époque, Leslau présenta deux ouvrages sous forme dactylographiée, l'un étant sa «thèse principale» et l'autre sa «thèse complémentaire». La première était son *Étude descriptive et comparative du Gafat*, la seconde ses *Coutumes et croyances des Falachas*. Outre Marcel Cohen dans les deux cas, le premier jury comprenait les linguistes Pierre Fouché et Michel Lejeune, le second l'arabisant Régis Blachère et le sociologue Georges Gurvitch. Les deux livres devaient paraître dans des collections françaises²⁵. Marcel Cohen avait consacré beaucoup d'efforts et de temps à discuter avec Leslau le choix des travaux à présenter et plusieurs points de ses exposés comme à s'occuper de former le jury et de fixer une date convenable pour tous, etc.

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J'arrêterai ici ces notations biographiques entremêlées quelque peu de souvenirs personnels. Je me suis limité à peu près, comme on l'a vu, à la

25 W. Leslau, *Étude descriptive et comparative du Gafat (Éthiopien méridional)*, Paris, Klincksieck, 1956 (*Collection linguistique* publiée par la Société de linguistique de Paris, LVII); id., *Coutumes et croyances des Falachas (Juifs d'Abyssinie)*, Paris, Institut d'Ethnologie, 1957 (*Travaux et mémoires de l'Institut d'ethnologie*, LXI).

période française de la vie de Wolf Leslau et à ses relations douces-amères avec la France dont on pourrait narrer encore d'autres péripéties secondaires. Puisqu'aucune autre contribution biographique n'est prévue pour ce volume — le répertoire de l'œuvre scientifique considérable de Leslau figurant ci-dessus n'en tient pas lieu exactement —, je donnerai maintenant de très succinctes indications sur sa carrière professorale aux États-Unis.

J'ai indiqué ci-dessus les institutions francophones, installées à New York pendant la guerre, où il enseigna. Elles avaient pour fonction essentiellement de donner asile et de procurer un gagne-pain à des savants français et belges exilés tout en continuant en territoire libre l'œuvre d'Écoles prestigieuses, pour le moment sous contrôle allemand. Elles ne devaient pas survivre beaucoup à la fin des hostilités. Wolf Leslau devait, avec des titres encore limités, se frayer un chemin dans le monde des établissements d'enseignement américains où règne une concurrence acharnée. Dans les années 1947-1951, il enseigna ainsi à New York, à l'Asia Institute et à la New School for Social Research. En octobre 1951, il put accéder enfin à un poste plus en rapport avec ses orientations et lui laissant plus de temps pour la recherche, plus prestigieux également. Il commença à enseigner en effet l'hébreu, l'arabe et la linguistique sémitique en général à la Brandeis University, à Waltham, Massachusetts. Ses publications se multiplièrent. Sa réputation s'étendit. En 1955, on lui offrit le poste de professeur à l'Université de Californie à Los Angeles (UCLA). Il quitta donc la Brandeis University, institution dont la vocation spécifiquement juive (conformément aux désirs de son fondateur) limitait l'ouverture linguistique.

À l'UCLA, Wolf Leslau put enfin trouver une position qui lui convenait parfaitement. En plus de ses dons scientifiques et pédagogiques, ses qualités d'organisateur se révélèrent. Il y forma de très nombreux élèves et y fonda le Département des langues du Proche-Orient dont il fut le président. Je n'insisterai pas ici sur les services qu'il rendit dans ce poste au progrès des études. La plupart des lecteurs en sont très avertis. Puisque j'ai choisi pour thème de parler des rapports de Wolf Leslau avec la France, je noterai seulement ici qu'il fit venir à Los Angeles, à titre de *visiting professors*, des savants français éminents, parmi lesquels je citerai à titre d'exemples les iranaisants Jean Aubin et Gilbert Lazard et l'arabisante Nada Tomiche.

A Los Angeles enfin, jusqu'à sa retraite en 1976, Wolf Leslau put donner sa pleine mesure. Notons encore, pour terminer ce court aperçu général, que cette activité lui valut de recevoir en 1965 le prix fondé par l'empereur d'Éthiopie Hailé Sellassié. Le prix venait d'être fondé et le premier récipiendaire en avait été, en 1964, Marcel Cohen. Après consultation de nombreux éthiopiens, il parut que Wolf Leslau était la personnalité la plus désignée pour recevoir

cet honneur, immédiatement après son vieux maître. L'empereur, quels que fussent ses défauts par ailleurs, marquait beaucoup d'intérêt pour le progrès des études sur l'Éthiopie, du point de vue archéologique ou linguistique notamment. Les monarques, les meilleurs et les pires, affectionnent souvent la tradition du mécénat.

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J'avais eu l'intention, au départ, de limiter cette contribution à quelques souvenirs personnels. Mais comme je l'ai dit, ils étaient insuffisants, en ce qui concerne la période d'avant-guerre, pour donner un tableau un peu cohérent. En écrivant cet article, j'ai pu vérifier une fois de plus combien la mémoire est traîtresse. Si je n'avais pas contrôlé mes souvenirs et mes impressions au moyen des lettres de Leslau et d'autres documents, j'aurais avancé bien des inexactitudes. Avant la guerre, nos relations avaient été cordiales, mais n'avaient pas été poussées jusqu'à l'intimité. Aussi mes souvenirs précis se réduisaient-ils à quelques scènes gravées dans l'inconscient pour des raisons mystérieuses au détriment d'autres bien plus importantes. Ainsi Wolf m'interrogeant au carrefour de l'Odéon sur la possibilité d'utiliser dans un article scientifique français la formule allemande «resp.» pour «respektive», en français «respectivement», équivalente de «bezw.» (*beziehungsweise*). Je l'avertis que cela ne serait nullement compris et qu'il fallait écrire simplement «ou bien». Cela illustre en tout cas les efforts qu'il faisait alors pour s'assimiler au milieu scientifique français. En contraste, de façon bien plus frivole, je l'interrogeai sur le sens précis du mot *einstellen* pour bien comprendre la fameuse chanson de Marlene Dietrich dans *l'Ange bleu*: «Ich bin von Kopf bis Fuss auf Liebe eingestellt»!

Ce genre de réminiscences n'a pas un grand intérêt. Mais l'accumulation des rencontres, des conversations, des lectures, des lettres, de souvenirs laisse à la longue un sédiment plus valable. C'est sur cette caractérisation de Wolf Leslau que je terminerai.

Wolf Leslau a énormément écrit sur la linguistique sud-sémitique. Mais ce n'est pas une mécanique à écrire des articles linguistiques. C'est un homme sensible, cordial, amical, affectueux. Il a le plus grand amour pour sa famille, il a montré qu'il était prêt à se dévouer pour ses amis et pour les siens. Cependant il est vrai qu'il est possédé par une passion, la passion scientifique. Cette passion s'est fixée très tôt sur un domaine spécial, celui de la linguistique sémitique. A l'intérieur de ce domaine il a choisi les langues du sud, spécialement les langues éthiopiennes comme étant la branche où il y avait le plus de champ pour la découverte. Il s'y est tenu.

Il n'y a pas sacrifié les intérêts humains. Mais il était dès le début persuadé de la validité de la loi de la spécialisation. Dans la tradition de la science du XIX^e siècle, il évaluait la masse de travail nécessaire pour accumuler les connaissances sur ce terrain et il s'y est voué. Il accepte de se situer dans le courant d'un immense travail collectif, de continuer August Dillmann, Franz Praetorius et Marcel Cohen, de préparer la voie pour d'autres.

Si l'on choisit ce mode de vie, c'est qu'on a pour lui au moins un certain goût. Wolf s'occupe de sa famille et s'accorde un nombre raisonnable de distractions. Il aime les enfants et, parfois, s'est chargé de tâches pédagogiques auprès de groupes de bambins. D'autres fois, pour se délasser, il s'est fait bûcheron ou menuisier. Mais il ne s'agit que d'activités secondaires par rapport à sa tâche principale. En celle-ci il trouve son bonheur. « Je suis un homme heureux » lui arrive-t-il de dire.

J'ai parlé quelque part, d'un point de vue sociologique, d'une tendance humaine à l'autonomisation des tâches. Une société peut assigner aux individus des tâches particulières subordonnées à son mécanisme général. Mais beaucoup débordent de la fonction qu'il doivent ainsi remplir, prolongent la trajectoire qui leur est assignée. La tâche en question, ils la poursuivent jusqu'à ses dernières conséquences, même si la société accepte mal cette extrapolation. Wolf Leslau ne se sent lié par aucune limitation dans sa tâche. Il y passe toutes les heures que lui laissent ses capacités de travail et les devoirs ou les affections de la vie sociale. Il accepte les honneurs, mais ne les recherche pas. L'essentiel est de travailler et de publier les résultats de ses recherches. Toutes ses errances ont eu pour but essentiel de trouver la position qui lui permettrait de travailler avec le meilleur résultat. Il a fallu l'insistance de Marcel Cohen pour lui faire prendre du repos et des soins quand la tuberculose le guettait. Encore n'était-il nullement oisif au sanatorium. Dans des conditions exécrables, au camp du Vernet, déplorant de ne pas pouvoir faire plus, il corrigeait ses épreuves. Pérégrinant à travers l'Ethiopie à la recherche de nouveaux matériaux linguistiques (voire de langues supposées disparues comme le gafat, de dialectes à peu près inconnus comme beaucoup de ceux groupés sous le vocable de gouragué) ainsi que de compléments et d'éclaircissements aux domaines déjà connus, il multiplie ses enquêtes pour profiter au maximum du laps de temps qui lui est imparti alors qu'il doit être presque toujours en route et aussi maintenir par des visites de bons rapports avec les autorités, donner des conférences, participer à des cérémonies. Il n'oublie pas de rendre compte à Marcel Cohen de ses activités et de ses découvertes. Voici un extrait de lettre qui donne une bonne idée de cette activité inlassable. Elle est envoyée à Marcel Cohen d'Addis Abeba le 14 mars 1950 :

«... Je viens de rentrer d'Ankober. En auto jusqu'à Debra Berhan [à partir d'Addis Abeba soit 130 km], réception chez le gouverneur dans le bon style éthiopien. Loué des mulets à Debra Berhan pour Ankober; [j']avais avec moi un *baldäräba* [«introduceur officiel auprès d'un chef»] et un cuisinier [huit heures de marche selon la *Guida dell'Africa orientale italiana* «par des sentiers fatigants» «à travers des rochers et des précipices»]. Passé la nuit et la matinée suivante à Ankober; allé après-midi à Aliyu Amba, quatre heures [la *Guida* commente: deux heures 30 d'un sentier abrupt et malaisé avec 1000 mètres de dénivellation sur 7 km de distance à vol d'oiseau], au S. E. d'Ankober. Passé deux jours à Aliyu Amba, retour à Ankober, visite des églises et retour à Debra Berhan - Addis Abeba. Les Argobba se trouvent à Aliyu Amba, un village mi-chrétien mi-musulman. Les jeunes ne savent plus bien l'argobba. Les quelques Argobba se trouvent à Čanno dans le *q'allä* [«vallée, plaine de climat chaud»] et je n'y suis pas descendu parce que très fatigué et, de plus, mes informateurs d'il y a trois ans sont de Čanno [et] actuellement à Addis Abeba et ça me paraissait inutile de me fatiguer trop. Mon objet principal était de contrôler mes documents anciens et j'avais la satisfaction de constater que c'était du bon argobba [...]. Je n'ai pas fini l'enquête complètement et je tâcherai de la finir à Addis Abeba. - De retour à Addis Abeba, j'ai rempli le temps avec des enquêtes sur les dialectes gouragué. J'ai presque fini l'aymallal, ai réexaminé le chaha et commencé le walane. Les dialectes gouragué sont une aubaine, car ils remplissent bien mon séjour à Addis Abeba entre les voyages. - Actuellement, je prépare le voyage pour le lac Zway. - Berland, [proviseur] du Lycée français m'a demandé une conférence. Je la donne vendredi. Le grand problème est de convaincre les Éthiopiens — petits et grands (et surtout grands) — de la nécessité et de l'importance d'étudier toutes les langues éthiopiennes et non seulement l'amharique. Je propage cette idée dans la mesure de mes forces ...»²⁶.

On voit par ces phrases écrites rapidement, à chaud, ce qu'était un voyage d'étude pour W. Leslau. On se doute que les journées passées dans les pays où il enseigne et met au point ses travaux ne sont pas moins laborieuses. Tout ce qu'entreprend Wolf, il s'y applique totalement et sans ménager sa peine.

Telle est cette vie, consacrée en majeure partie au travail, qui évoque, sur un autre plan, cette éthique protestante décrite par Max Weber. C'était aussi l'éthique savante du XIX^e siècle dont beaucoup perpétuent le modèle. Marcel Cohen, aussi, était de ce type. C'est cette religion du travail savant qui le

26 Comparer le récit de ce voyage et de toute cette mission éthiopienne de 1950 mis au point plus tard par Leslau, «Report on a second trip to Ethiopia» (*Word*, 8, 1952, p. 72-79). Il a publié d'intéressants rapports du même genre, «Preliminary Report on a trip to Ethiopia» (*Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, series II, vol. 10, n° 8, June 1948, p. 291-297); «A year of research in Ethiopia» (*Word*, 4, 1948, p. 212-225); W. Leslau et S. Chojnacki, «On Mule-Back through Guraghe in Ethiopia» (*Canadian Geographical Journal*, 58, n° 3, March 1959, p. 90-99), etc.

rapprochait le plus de Wolf Leslau sans préjudice d'autres affinités dans les qualités humaines. Seulement Marcel Cohen était aussi l'adhérent d'une autre religion séculière, le communisme auquel il jugeait de son devoir de consacrer une partie déterminée de son temps et de ses efforts, de se sacrifier le cas échéant, puisqu'il pensait contribuer ainsi au bonheur et au progrès de l'humanité. Autour de lui, tout un milieu partageait les mêmes tendances, Wolf Leslau regardait avec scepticisme, avec un peu d'étonnement, peut-être avec une certaine admiration — car ils risquaient leur vie pour leurs rêves et certains, très proches de M. Cohen, l'ont réellement perdue — ces gens avec lesquels le hasard l'avait mis en contact et leurs illusions qui eurent tant de conséquences désastreuses. L'histoire a justifié ce scepticisme et cette sagesse, au moins en grande partie. Mais cela n'empêchait pas Wolf et Charlotte de comprendre les motivations généreuses qui poussaient Marcel Cohen, d'être sensibles à ses immenses qualités humaines, de lui pardonner les errements auxquels son engagement l'entraînait, bref de l'aimer. Entre eux, le problème politique était soigneusement passé sous silence et ainsi était sauvegardée leur grande amitié.

C'est avec regret que je quitte cette évocation d'une vie, d'une certaine façon exemplaire. Ce n'est pas que d'autres modèles de vie ne puissent être tout autant valables. Mais il n'est pas mauvais, en ces jours, de mettre en relief les mérites des hommes qui s'adonnèrent à ce type d'activité scientifique dans un environnement particulièrement difficile. Un écrivain israélien de grand talent, dans une gamme contestataire, a écrit : « Je crois que la génération qui a grandi et agi entre les deux guerres mondiales était l'une des plus héroïques, étonnantes et malheureuses de l'humanité »²⁷. Même si Wolf Leslau a eu la chance d'échapper aux conséquences les plus tragiques de cette situation, il fallait en effet un certain héroïsme pour s'obstiner à mener jusqu'au bout un projet vital dont la réalisation au cours d'une époque tranquille et dans des conditions favorables exige déjà beaucoup de sacrifices. Je ne crois pas être obnubilé par la mentalité du *laudator temporis acti* en constatant et en déplorant que, dans certains secteurs de la recherche en sciences humaines au moins, la mode soit d'en prendre à la légère avec ces exigences en se couvrant de prétextes dont plusieurs ont d'ailleurs une part de validité. On est tombé trop facilement d'un excès dans un autre. Ni la nécessité de procédures synthétiques souvent méprisées dans un autre stade ni la myopie que peut développer chez certains une activité trop limitée à la quête érudite des matériaux n'excusent le laxisme à l'égard du travail lent et pénible,

27 Amos Kenan, *Holocauste II*, récit traduit de l'hébreu par l'auteur et par Christiane Rochefort, Paris, Flammarion, 1976, p. 37.

minutieux et attentif, toujours sur ses gardes vis à vis de lui-même, aux conclusions prudentes et mesurées, qui doit toujours rester à la base et qui exige beaucoup du savant. Il n'exclut nullement mais conditionne la validité des efforts plus poussés vers la théorie. Travailleur minutieux et scrupuleux à l'esprit ouvert, attentif aux suggestions des généralistes, n'hésitant pas à conclure quand des chances raisonnables sont en vue d'aboutir à des déductions assurées, Wolf Leslau, avec bien d'autres de même orientation dans leur travail, pose ainsi des jalons sur la route d'un avenir idéal mais problématique où les exigences contradictoires de la science seront également et harmonieusement respectées.

INTELLECTUAL LABOURER

SAHLE SELLESSIE BERHANE MARIAM*
Addis Ababa

'How do you say "to eat" in your language?'

'Webra.'

'Wobra?'

'No. Webra.'

'Say it again.'

'Webra.'

He would write it down on a rectangular card not bigger than a quarter of a page. He had piles of them, held together in a rubber band.

'Did you say "Wabra"?'

'No. Webra.'

'Say it again.'

'Webra.'

'Webra?'

'That's right.'

He would add the necessary dots, dashes, and other signs to indicate the accurate pronunciation of the word. A layman would not be able to read these signs: only linguists like him could. He would pronounce the word inwardly to himself again and again, and go to the next word.

'How do you say "to drink"?'

'Westte.'

'Wostte?'

'No. Westte.'

'Say it again.'

'Westte.'

He would use another card to jot down the word, and before proceeding to add the necessary linguistic signs for the accurate pronunciation he would ask me:

* Sahle Sellassie was Wolf Leslau's linguistic informant for the Chaha text of *Ethiopians Speak: Studies in Cultural Background*, vol. 2, and for most of the Chaha texts of *Ethiopians Speak*, vol. 5.

'Did you say, "wastte"?'

'No. Westte.'

'Say it again.'

'Westte.'

'Westte?'

'That's right.'

I met him the first time, as a child, in a district town known as Emdeber, about one hundred and eighty kilometres south-west of Addis Ababa. He came all the way from the United States of America to do research on Ethiopian Semitic languages, one of which happened to be my mother tongue. He lived under difficult conditions in Emdeber, coming from a society that enjoyed the highest standard of living on earth. But he was a scholar and had to go the roots to get what he wanted.

Years later I met him again in Addis Ababa, and later still in his adopted homeland, U.S.A. (originally he was from Poland), and he was still working on his dictionary of the Guraghe language.

I often wondered why he took so much pains to write a dictionary of a language spoken nowhere else but in a tiny section of Ethiopia. But then linguistics is a science, and a linguist is a scientist studying any language, written or unwritten, spoken by a few thousand people or by millions. And so he went to ask me the old types of questions, in his office this time, in the University of California, Los Angeles, fondly known as U.C.L.A.

'How do you say "twig" in your language?'

'Bweretta.'

'Boretta?'

'No. Bweretta.'

'Say it again.'

'Bweretta.'

He was using the same kinds of rectangular cards he used years back. He still had piles of them on his desk. He jotted down the word and proceeded to the confirmation questions.

'Did you say "bwaratta"?'

'No. Bweretta.'

'Say it again.'

'Bweretta.'

'Bweretta?'

'That's right.'

Professor Wolf Leslau has written several dictionaries of the Ethiopian Semitic languages, one of which alone, "English-Amharic Context Dictionary", has over 1500 pages. Apart from dictionaries he wrote several other books on Ethiopian themes — textbooks, folklore, proverbs, grammars, etc.

Why don't you use texts to collect words for your dictionaries?' I remember having asked him one day.

'I do when I can,' he told me, 'I have no problem with my research on the Amharic language, for example. But the other Ethiopian Semitic languages do not have written literature, at least not in sufficient quantity, and I have to depend on informants for my study.'

In the early sixties he was a man of middle age, with a regular face, roundish in shape, always shaven cleanly. The most prominent feature in him, however, was the heavy curve around his shoulders. He looked almost bent double due to excessive work, I presume, a veritable intellectual labourer that he was, and that he still is.

LINGUISTICS AND PHILOLOGY

PRINCIPLES FOR THE CREATION OF NEW SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY TERMS IN AMHARIC

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Many developing countries are now living in the twentieth century—an epoch of scientific and technological revolution. Until recent times the majority of these nations used to learn one of the major international languages such as English and French in order to gain an education in a certain field of learning. The colonial masters of bygone days were in favour of spreading their respective languages, while at the same time weakening the use of local languages. This tendency however had to discontinue. Many African and Asian languages are now trying to be modernized in order to serve the spread of science and technology.

Some of these countries have indeed succeeded in their venture. Tanzania in Africa and Indonesia in Asia could be very good examples of this.

Since the close of the 19th century, Ethiopia has witnessed an uncontrolled influx of scientific and technological terms which have found their way in the languages. To some, adequate renderings were given; others were left as they were only to be understood by those exposed to modern education. It was then very seriously felt among intellectuals and government circles that a centralized effort should find a solution to the problem. This has resulted in the establishment of an Academy and among the several responsibilities that it shoulders, the creation of Amharic terms for various disciplines was one. It was after the establishment of a Language Academy that an adequate and systematized solution has been found. Coining of Amharic terms has been centralized and therefore no other institution or individuals are allowed to undertake such an activity unless they are given the mandate by the Academy to do so.

The Academy, before starting to undertake actual coinage activity, has taken quite a long time to lay down principles and guidelines for the creation of new terms. Linguists and specialists in science and technology from Addis Ababa University and other institutions had to get together and discuss key papers, presented by specialists. Study tours to Israel and Egypt were also felt necessary, and therefore two linguists and two natural scientists had to visit pertinent institutions in these countries. Discussions with experts was

very fruitful and helped a lot in our task. Following this I shall try to mention the major principles we have been following in creating new terms.

A) *Intrinsic Characteristic of the Concept*

— Shape, as in:

U-tube	ሀ ፡ ቱቦ *
corrugated sheet	ሽንሽን ፡ ቆርቆር
horseshoe magnet	ፈረስ ፡ ኮቴ ፡ መግነጢስ
nut	ቅርንፉድ
T-joint	ፐ ፡ ሙላ
grinding wheel	ሽከርከር ፡ መላል
grid	ፍርገርገ
cone shaped	ቅንብብ ፡ ቅርፅ
dome mountain	እንቁላል ፡ ተራራ
oxbow lake	ደጋና ፡ ሐይቅ
annular	ቀለበታዊ from ቀለበት ring
cylinder	በርጫሎ from በርጫል barrel
cap rock	እፈያ ፡ አለት

— Volume, as in:

crater lake	ገዋራ ፡ ቆራ ፡ ሐይቅ
2-litre flask	ሁለት ፡ ሊትር ፡ ፋሽኮ
cumulus	ቁልል ፡ ደመና
density of population	ሕዝብ ፡ ዝፈት
cube (of a number)	ሣልስ ፡ አርቢ
stock	ክምችት ፡ ሀብት
layer	ንብባሪ
layering	ንብብራት

— Strength, as in:

abutment	ግፈት ፡ አዘል ፡ ግንብ
active earth pressure	ግፈታፈር ፡ (ግፈት ፡ አፈር)
beating force	ሸከግካፋይ (ሸከም ፡ አካፋይ)
bearing surface	ሸከግዘል (ሸከም ፡ አዘል) ፡ ወለል
astable	ርጋቴለሽ (ርጋት ፡ የለሽ)

* These terms should not be considered as final since they have not yet been approved by the Language Academy.

torque	ኃይልተሰራት (ኃይል : አዙሪት)
point load	ትኩር : ከብደት
charging	ጉሰራ
gauge pressure	የወደር : ግፊት

— Special characteristics, as in:

swivel chair	ተሽከርካሪ : ወንበር
air drying	አየር : ድርቆሽ
alignment	መስመር : ቅምጥ
anchor bolt	አሳሪ : ችካል
archway	ቅሥት : መሸለኪያ
barbed wire	ቆንጥር : ሽቦ
adjustable wrench	ተስተካካይ : መፍቻ
check valve	መቆጣጠሪያ : ከፍክድ (ከፍት : ከድን)
condenser	ተን : መላሽ
explosive rivet	ባለፈንጂ : ከምሱር
grinding wheel	ሽከርካር : መላል
internal combustion engine	ውስጠ : ቃጠሎሽ : ጥተር

— Material as in:

adobe	ፀሐይ : ጡብ
alloy steel	ቅይጥ : ከሰል : ብረት
mallet	የዕንጨት : መዶሻ
ferromagnetic	ብረትማ : መግነጢስ
earth pillar	ሸክላ : ዐምድ
rock flour	ድንጋይ : ዱቄት
margarine	የዕንጨት : ቅቤ
clay soil	ሸክላ : አፈር
salt water	ጨው : ውሃ

B) *Extrinsic characteristics of the concept*

— Application, as in:

absorbing well	ውሃወግድ : ጉድጓድ
adjusting screw	ልካገኚ (ልክ : አገኚ)
bit brace	የጅ : መሠርሠሪያ
carport	መኪና : መጠለያ
amplifier	አጉሊ (አጉዪ)
chassis	ረከቦት

choke	አፋኝ
circuit breaker	ዙር ፡ መቀረጫ
conduit	ቸቧቃፈ (ቸቦ ፡ አቃፈ)
control grid	ተቆጣጣሪ ፡ ወንፊት
coupling	ግቀናጃ

- Location, as in:

head room	ደረጃ ፡ ራስ
lawn	ዳጃፍ ፡ መስክ
base line	መነሻ ፡ መሥመር
center line	ግህል ፡ መሥመር
collar beam	ቁንጮ ፡ ወጋገራ
canopy	ዳጃፍ ፡ ጠለል
neutral	ወገን ፡ የለሽ
longitudinal valley	ገድጥሽ ፡ ሽለቆ
coastal plain	ጠረፋዊ ፡ ሰታቶ
frontal rain	ገንባር ፡ ዝናብ

C) *Characteristic of origin*

— Method of manufacture, as in:

hybrid circuit	ቅይጥ ፡ ኤሌክትሮኒክ
impregnated coil	የተሰረገ ፡ ጥንጥን
magnetic tape	መግነጢሳዊ ፡ ጥብጣብ
industrialized building	ፍብርክ ፡ ሕንፃ
animal product	የእንስሳት ፡ ውጤት

— Discover, as in:

Angström unit	የአንግስትሮም ፡ አህድ
Brownian movement	ብራውናዊ ፡ ቅስቀሳት
Cariolis force	የካርዮሊስ ፡ ኃይል
Doppler shift	የደፕለር ፡ ሽግሽግ
Love wave	የላቭ ፡ ሞገድ

— Describer, as in:

Poupart's ligament	የፑፓርት ፡ መለያልይ
Marxist philosophy	ግርክሳዊ ፡ ፍልስፍና

— Producer, as in:

Bunsen burner የቢንሰን ፡ ኩራዝ

Mercedes Benz ግርሌዴስ ፡ ቢንዝ

— Country of origin, as in:

Scotch whisky ስኮት ፡ ዊስኪ

Taunus ታውናስ ፡ መኪና

There are no fast and hard rules in creating new terms. One has to try various ways of coining and using the one that seems more appropriate in expounding the content of a concept. Sometimes it becomes difficult to find an appropriate or even an approximate equivalent to a term. This is due to the very nature of the language from which the translation is made i.e. terms in the language of origin from which the translation is made are sometimes ambiguous, and therefore a transparent rendering in the receptor language becomes difficult. In such a case, there is no better way than to leave the term untranslated or adopt it with some phonological modification if found necessary.

The following are general guidelines followed in the translation of concepts into Amharic.

a) The more special the term, it is better to leave untranslated, e.g.: atom, actinomycetes, amphibolite, ampere etc.

b) Translate all those terms that are used for general education as far as possible.

c) Even when a term is one that is internationally accepted and thus left untranslated it must be modified to fit into the phonological system of the receptor language, eg.:

physics	ፊዚካ
magnet	ማገነጢስ
theory	ቲዮሪ
vitamin	ቪታሚን
turbine	ቱርቢን

d) do not translate terms which have more or less found their way into the language, e.g.:

X-ray	ኤክስ ፡ ሬይ
kilowatt	ኪሎዋት

antenna	አንቴና
camera	ካሜራ
compass	ኮምፓስ
telescope	ቴሌስኮፕ

e) When adopting a term grammatical affixes should be translated, e.g.:

Brownian	ብራውናዊ
atomic energy	አቶማዊ ፡ ጉልበት
diamagnetism	ዳይግግኔትነት
Doppler effect	ዶፕለር ፡ ውጤት

f) Using the same term for many branches of science should be avoided, e.g.:

solution	in chemistry	ብጥብጥ
solution	in mathematics	ፍቺ
base	in chemistry	ቤዝ
base	in mathematics	ተራቢ
axis	in geography	ዘንጎ
axis	in zoology	ዘንጎ ፡ አጥንት

g) Naming of terms should be based not only on the English term but also on other languages as well. Accordingly, the term should be selected from different languages in accordance with their adaptability into the receptor language, e.g.:

hollow masonry units	ብሉኬት
bearing	ኩሽኔታ
gypsum	ጂሶ

h) Avoid as far as possible, using very common and overcharged terms for scientific purposes, e.g.:

development	ግምባታ	instead of	እድገት
absorption	ምጠት	instead of	መምጠጥ
adhesion	ጥብቀት	instead of	መጣበቅ
auditory	ስማታዊ	instead of	የመስማት
axial	ዘንጓዊ	instead of	ዘንጋዊ
outbreak	ፍንዳታ	instead of	መፈንዳት

i) Terms which have subtle similarities or differences of meaning should be carefully delineated, e.g.:

force	ኃይል
power	አቅም
energy	ጥልብት
sketch	ቢጋር
drawing	ርስስ
design	ዲዛይን
diagram	ስምረ ፡ ንድፍ
outline	ንድፍ

j) As far as possible very common affixes should have fixed corresponding affixes in the receptor language, e.g.:

anti-freeze	ፀረ ፡ አብራጅ
anti-knock agent	ፀረ ፡ ኳኳቲ
PreCambrian	ቅድመ ፡ ካምብሪያዊ
prehistory	ቅድመ ፡ ታሪክ
postgraduate	ድገረ ፡ ምረቃ
biology	ሥነ ፡ ሕይወት
seismology	ሥነ ፡ እንቅጥቃጤ ፡ መሪታ

k) Verbalize Amharic nouns, if this will help in translating the concept adequately, e.g.:

easting	ግመሥረት	from	ምሥራት	east
polarize	ግዋለት	from	ዋልታ	pole
calcine	መከልሰን			
afforest	ግድነን	from	ደን	forest

e) The new term must fit into the language so that the form of the term coined, if a noun it should be declined with ease, and if a verb it should be conjugated without difficulty, e.g.:

—amplify	ግገነን
amplifier	አግናኝ
amplification	ገነኖ
amplitude	ገነት
—elastic	ልስትክ
elasticity	ተለስታኪነት

absorb	መምጠጥ
absorber	መጣጭ
absorptance	ምጠኝ
absorption	ምጠት
accelerate	ግጥደፍ
acceleration	ጥድፈት
accelerator	አጥዳፊ

The above short remarks in our experience in creating new terms for science and technology concepts are not exhaustive by far. As I mentioned earlier since there are no hard and fast rules to be followed in translating terms, the principles and guidelines enumerated above could serve only as a spring board in starting such an endeavour. I feel also that setting up principles of terminology creation might differ from language to language. But it is of paramount importance to think in advance about such a problem before starting to undertake a project of this kind; otherwise the attempt could be unsystematic and perhaps also lacking in diversity.

ÉGYP TIEN, ARAMÉEN ET ÉTHIOPIEN

Parallélismes et symétries morphogénétiques dans l'évolution des systèmes verbaux

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Le système verbal de l'égyptien ne se laisse réduire, pour sa constitution, à aucun de ceux que connaissent les autres branches du chamito-sémitique. Historiquement, il représente l'aboutissement de développements indépendants fondant des renouvellements sur des bases distinctes. Mais derrière la forme matérielle, la comparaison morphogénétique laisse apparaître des parallélismes et des analogies dans l'évolution témoignant tous d'un même phénomène: la verbalisation de prédicats nominaux. L'objet de la présente étude est de réunir des exemples de ces parallélismes, dont il se trouve qu'ils sont nombreux en araméen et dans les langues éthiopiennes (sémitiques et couchitiques), pour éclairer la constitution et l'évolution du système égyptien.

De ce système, seul un paradigme hétérogène à l'ensemble, et sans doute vestigiel¹, le pseudo-participe, à valeur de statif, a fait l'objet d'hypothèses le reliant à des formes chamito-sémitiques.

A. Erman l'avait rattaché, comme manifestant la même construction originelle, à l'*accompli* du sémitique occidental². G. Lefebvre, entre autres, a suggéré de se référer, au moins partiellement, au *permansif* akkadien, qui expliquerait mieux en particulier la forme de la première personne³. E. Zyhlarz de son côté, invoquait la conjugaison des verbes qualitatifs dans certaines langues berbères⁴. Mais toutes ces conjugaisons semblent bien se ramener à un prototype unique de «statif» constitué morphogénétiquement par une base verbo-nominale suivie d'une forme courte de pronom sujet⁵.

¹ Le caractère archaïque du paradigme est généralement reconnu, voir par exemple, G. R. Driver, *Problems of the Hebrew Verbal System*, Edinbourg 1936, 9-31.

² ZÄS, 27 (1889), 65; *Ägyptische Grammatik*, 1-3. Voir aussi Th. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Strasbourg 1904, 89.

³ *Grammaire de l'égyptien classique*, 2ème éd. Le Caire 1955, 167-8.

⁴ *Ursprung und Sprachcharakter des Altägyptischen*, Berlin-Hambourg, 1933, 7-8, 18.

⁵ Voir D. Cohen dans *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à Émile Benveniste*, Paris 1975, 88-98.

Est-ce le cas du *pseudo-participe*? Voici les données sur lesquelles se fonde l'hypothèse:

	<i>Pseudo-participe</i> (Égyptien)	<i>Accompli</i> (Arabe)	(guèze)	<i>Permansif</i> (Akkadien)	<i>Prétérit qualitatif</i> (Kabyle)
Sing. 1	- <i>kw</i> ¹	- <i>tu</i>	- <i>ku</i>	- <i>a-ku</i>	-(<i>ə</i>) <i>γ</i>
2 m.	- <i>t</i> ¹	- <i>ta</i>	- <i>ka</i>	- <i>ā-ta</i>	-(<i>ə</i>) <i>d</i>
f.	- <i>t</i> ¹	- <i>ti</i>	- <i>ki</i>	- <i>ā-ti</i>	-(<i>ə</i>) <i>d</i>
3 m.	-(<i>i</i>), - <i>u</i> ¹	- <i>a</i>	- <i>a</i>	- <i>Ø</i>	- <i>Ø</i>
f.	- <i>t</i> ¹	- <i>at</i>	- <i>at</i>	- <i>at</i>	-(<i>ə</i>) <i>t</i>
Plur. 1	- <i>wyn</i>	- <i>nā</i>	- <i>na</i>	- <i>ā-nu</i>	
2 m.	- <i>t</i> ¹ <i>w</i> <i>ny</i>	- <i>tum</i>	- <i>kamu</i>	- <i>ā-tūnu</i>	
f.	- <i>t</i> ¹ <i>w</i> <i>ny</i>	- <i>tunna</i>	- <i>kən</i>	- <i>ā-tīna</i>	- <i>it</i>
3 m.	-(<i>i</i>), - <i>u</i> ¹	- <i>ū</i>	- <i>ū</i>	- <i>ū</i>	
f.	- <i>t</i> ¹	- <i>na</i>	- <i>ā</i>	- <i>ā</i>	

On aperçoit immédiatement la difficulté de l'hypothèse. L'élément *kw* est certes présent, en même temps qu'en égyptien, dans l'«accompli» éthiopien, dans le «permansif» akkadien et dans le «prétérit qualitatif» du berbère kabyle. Mais comment expliquer le second élément *-i/y* qui se trouve dans l'ensemble du paradigme à l'exception des troisièmes personnes du masculin (pour lesquelles néanmoins des formes archaïques en *-i* sont attestées)? Par ailleurs, au pluriel, ni la deuxième personne ni la troisième du féminin ne s'éclairent par le sémitique. C'est ce qui conduisit Marcel Cohen à proposer un parallèle morphogénétique à partir du couchitique⁶.

Dans ce groupe de langues, le verbe est constitué en général par une base invariable augmentée de morphèmes suffixés marquant la personne en même temps que le genre, le nombre et l'aspect. Mais d'après une explication généralement admise, ces morphèmes sont issus de la conjugaison par préfixes, représentée en sémitique, en berbère et même dans une partie du couchitique, de verbes auxiliaires très courts signifiant «dire», «être». Ainsi voici comment s'analyserait par exemple, en bédja, le verbe *tam* «manger» à l'accompli:

6 «Sur la forme verbale égyptienne dite pseudo-participe», *Mémoires de la Société de linguistique*, 22 (1922), 242. L'hypothèse est sérieusement prise en considération par G. Lefebvre (*op. cit.* note 3, p. 167) et A. Klingenheben, *Mitteil. d. Inst. f. Orientforschung*, 4 (1956). A. Gardiner semble plus sceptique et ne considère comme assuré que le rapport avec le sémitique (*Egyptian Grammar*, 3ème éd., Oxford 1969, 235).

Sing. 1	tam - an (< *'an)	Plur. 1	tam - na
2 m.	tam - ta	2	tam - tana
f.	tam - tai		
3 m.	tam - ya	3	tam - yan
f.	tam - ta		

La proposition de M. Cohen est de voir dans les désinences du «pseudo-participe», un verbe **l* «dire» (peut-être apparenté à *y* «dire» dans diverses langues couchitiques) et dont l'existence est constatée dans d'autres formes de conjugaison égyptiennes⁷. L'hypothèse rendrait bien compte, au singulier, des deuxième et troisième personnes, ainsi que de la deuxième du pluriel, mais laisserait inexpliquées les premières personnes.

Peut-être l'amorce d'une solution serait-elle dans la combinaison des deux hypothèses, selon une proposition faite par I. M. Diakonov⁸. Il faudrait alors poser comme base, non pas le simple prédicatif du nom verbal, mais un véritable statif conjugué, auquel l'auxiliaire également conjugué viendrait s'adjoindre. Les formes du singulier se justifieraient alors pleinement, à condition toutefois de maintenir la forme *l* (= *y*) proposée par M. Cohen et non pas de la remplacer par *lw* comme le fait I. M. Diakonov. Le tableau suivant met en regard des formes telles que les reconstruit I. M. Diakonov au moyen de *lw*, celles qu'on obtiendrait avec **l* comme auxiliaire :

1.	*s _d m-ku '(a)-lw > s _d m-kwl	*s _d m-ku 'l > s _d m-kwl
2. m.	*s _d m-t(a)-ta-lw > s _d m-tl	*s _d m-t(a)-tl > s _d m-tl
f.	*s _d m-t(i) ta-lw-l > s _d m-tl	*s _d m-t(i) tl > s _d m-tl
3. m.	*s _d m-aw ya-lw > s _d m-w/y	*s _d m-yl > s _d m-l/w
f.	s _d m-at t/ya-lw > s _d m-tl	*s _d m-(a)t tl > s _d m-tl

Le tableau suffit à montrer que l'hypothèse de *lw* comme auxiliaire n'est propre qu'à introduire des complications supplémentaires dans la reconstruction. Son apparence de justification réside dans la forme de la 3ème personne du masculin en -*w*. Mais il semble bien que cette forme est secondaire, la plus ancienne étant -*l*⁹. En outre la supposition d'une désinence -*aw* pour la 3ème personne du masculin ne s'impose pas, puisqu'il est vraisemblable que la

⁷ Sur cet élément *y* et les conjugaisons avec *y*, voir D. Cohen, *Les langues chamito-sémitiques*, dans M. Cohen et J. Perrot, *Les langues dans le Monde* t. II (sous presse).

⁸ *Semito-aramäische Sprachen*, Moscou 1965, 86.

⁹ Voir K. Sethe, *Das ägyptische Verbum im Altaegyptischen, Neuägyptischen und Koptischen*, Leipzig, 1899-1902, II, 7; G. Lefebvre, *op. cit.* note 3, 170; A. Gardiner, *op. cit.* note 6, 235.

forme la plus conforme à la morphogénèse du paradigme est celle qu'atteste l'akkadien (avec désinence Ø)¹⁰.

I. M. Diakonov n'envisage que les formes du singulier et ne s'exprime pas sur celles du pluriel. Dans l'hypothèse proposée, elles ne pourraient s'expliquer que par des processus extrêmement complexes. Mais si on admet pour le pluriel une base prédicative non conjuguée, les évolutions ne poseraient pas de graves problèmes: **sdm-w nī* > *sdmwyn*; *sdm-wt tīwn* > *sdmtīwn*. La 3^{ème} personne du masculin serait purement et simplement, comme en akkadien, la forme prédicative au pluriel. Il resterait cependant à expliquer les formes (analogiques l'une de l'autre?) en -*ī* pour le pluriel, en -*w* pour le singulier.

La difficulté est évidemment que le prédicatif de base est supposé conjugué au singulier et non conjugué au pluriel. Mais telle est exactement la situation pour le qualificatif berbère où la désinence en -*it* commune à toutes les personnes est, selon toute probabilité, une simple marque de pluriel¹¹ (voir ci-dessus p. 82 le paradigme que présente le kabyle).

Quoi qu'il en soit, l'origine nominale du pseudo-participe demeure hautement vraisemblable et sa constitution semble, dès les stades les plus archaïques, manifester l'une des constructions attestées fréquemment dans le reste du chamito-sémitique. En fait ce que montre l'analyse de l'ensemble du système verbal égyptien au cours de sa longue histoire, c'est que les processus de formation et de renouvellement qui y apparaissent ne s'écartent guère de ceux qui se manifestent dans les autres branches de la famille, fondés sur la «verbalisation» progressive de constructions à prédicat nominal.

Les formes qu'on relève dès le stade le plus ancien se caractérisent par un mode de conjugaison significatif. La forme est constituée par une base apparemment invariable et des marques personnelles identiques aux pronoms possessifs suffixés. La conjugaison la plus simple ne comporte pas d'autres éléments. Ainsi pour le verbe *sdm* «entendre», les formes sont les suivantes: Sing. 1 *sdm-ī*, 2 m. *sdm-k*, f. *sdm-t*, 3 m. *sdm-f*, f. *sdm-s*, plur. 1 *sdm-n*, 2 *sdm-tn*, 3 *sdm-sn*.

La base *sdm* est d'origine verbo-nominale, mais l'écriture égyptienne ne permet malheureusement pas de distinguer *le* ou *les* schèmes que recouvre la graphie *sdm*. En particulier, rien, en principe, ne permet de décider, par la considération de la base elle-même, quelle(s) forme(s) verbo-nominale(s) elle

¹⁰ Pour une analyse détaillée, D. Cohen, *La phrase nominale et l'évolution du système verbal sémitique* (sous presse).

¹¹ Voir A. Basset, *La langue berbère*, Londres 1969, 19-20, 25, 32.

peut représenter. L'accord n'est pas fait à ce sujet parmi les égyptologues. Pour les uns, la base représenterait une forme de participe actif, la construction équivalant à une phrase nominale à deux termes complète par elle-même: *śdm-f* «il (est) entendant = il entend»¹². Le procédé qui consiste à construire une forme verbo-nominale comme prédicat d'une phrase nominale à sujet pronominal est abondamment illustré dans l'histoire des langues chamito-sémitiques. Mais s'agit-il ici d'une telle construction? Dans *śdm-f*, la base est accompagnée d'un pronom suffixe («possessif») et non d'un pronom indépendant («pronom sujet»). «Il (est) entendant» aurait été *śdm sw*¹³.

Mais en fait le problème que pose cette forme n'est pas celui du suffixe personnel, mais de la base elle-même. La construction ne paraît difficile à analyser que parce que la base est supposée participiale. Mais les langues sémitiques présentent bien en réalité des formes verbales issues de la construction d'une base verbo-nominale avec un pronom suffixe. Ainsi en est-il en particulier du *gérondif* de certaines langues éthiopiennes. Mais il s'agit alors non d'un participe, mais d'une sorte d'infinitif, un nom d'action¹⁴. La difficulté qu'oppose le guèze, c'est que la forme gérondive *nagiro* est à analyser comme *nagira-(h)u* et équivaut littéralement à «à son-(action de) dire», soit: «tandis qu'il dit, en disant». Comme on le voit par cette traduction, une telle forme, du fait même de sa morphogénèse, est d'abord «converbale», c'est-à-dire qu'elle n'est apte à remplir en principe qu'un emploi de «circonstanciel». Mais le cas du tigrigna, langue proche du guèze, témoigne d'une évolution de ce point de vue. En effet dans cette langue, le gérondif fonctionne comme une forme non subordonnée à valeur de «parfait-présent». Ainsi dans la phrase *ḥade maṣḥaf hibunni* «il m'a donné un livre», la forme *hibunni* est morphologiquement un gérondif¹⁵. En réalité en tigrigna (comme en amharique d'ailleurs), le «parfait-présent» a dû être exprimé normalement, et l'est encore en partie, par la forme composée du gérondif, c'est-à-dire par le gérondif accompagné d'un auxiliaire «être» conjugué à un mode personnel, lequel permet d'autonomiser la construction. C'est encore le cas en amharique. En tigrigna, le processus par lequel une forme subordonnée d'origine nominale est devenue indépendante et s'est intégrée à l'organisation aspectuelle du système verbal, réside donc ici dans

12 A. Erman, *ZÄS*, 36 (1901), 123; K. Sethe, *ZÄS* (1918); F. Lexa, *Philologica* 2 (1923-4), 25-53. G. Lefebvre, *op. cit.* note 3, 126 et J. Polotsky, *Études de syntaxe copte*, Le Caire, 1944, 92 envisagent l'hypothèse sans défaveur, mais n'y adhèrent pas expressément.

13 Ou *ntf śdm*, voir A. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, note 6, 288-9, 326.

14 Pour la comparaison avec le gérondif guèze, H. Satzinger, avec références dans *Mitteil. d. Deutschen Archäol. Inst. Abhand.* Kairo, 23 (1968), 163-6.

15 Voir Wolf Leslau, *Documents tigrigna (Ethiopien septentrional)*, Paris, 1941, 85.

l'omission (possible et non nécessaire) de l'auxiliaire. Un tel développement serait-il inconcevable pour le *śdm-f* égyptien?

Quoi qu'il en soit, il n'est pas douteux que l'égyptien connaît au moins une autre forme de construction «possessive», à savoir *śdm-n-f*. Ici l'analyse ne semble pas poser de problèmes. La base verbo-nominale *śdm* est augmentée, en guise de marques personnelles, de pronoms suffixes précédés de la préposition attributive *n*; si bien que *śdm-n-f*, dans la mesure où *śdm* est à comprendre comme une sorte de «participe passif», ne peut signifier étymologiquement que «entendu (*est*) à-lui = *il a* entendu»¹⁶.

La construction de *śdm-n-f* est reproduite, de la façon la plus rigoureusement parallèle, au cours de l'histoire de l'araméen. Attestée principalement dans les états récents, elle a pour base un participe passif avec un complément (pronominal ou nominal) introduit par la particule attributive *l-*: *śmie l-ī* littéralement «entendu (*est*) à-moi = j'ai entendu». La construction, dans tous les cas où elle a été relevée, assure l'expression d'un parfait (du moins dans un premier stade; elle peut évoluer ensuite pour ne plus assurer que l'expression d'un accompli général ou d'un narratif). En fait on distingue clairement, dans l'histoire de cette forme, deux étapes. Dans la première, l'ensemble de la construction est attribué à un sujet extérieur avec lequel s'accorde le participe: «Le chant (*est*) entendu à moi» peut être traduit par «j'ai entendu le chant». Mais l'ordre des mots et l'accord indiquent bien que le véritable sujet est le terme qui correspondrait à l'objet dans la traduction. Cette construction apparaît, à une époque ultérieure, sous une forme évoluée. *Śmie l-ī* est désormais analysé comme une phrase nominale à deux termes complète et le terme qui se trouvait antérieurement en fonction de sujet se présente, par sa position comme par son inaptitude à imposer un accord à ce qui était originellement un participe, comme le complément d'objet de ce participe¹⁷.

Dès les plus anciens textes, *śdm-f* et *śdm-n-f* qui constituaient le système fondamental, étaient flanqués de trois autres formes relevant comme eux d'une conjugaison suffixale: *śdm-īn-f*, *śdm-ḥr-f*, *śdm-ḳf-f* dont les emplois sont ainsi définis par A. Gardiner: «They are used in main clauses only; and all three may be employed to express future consequences of one sort or another, whether enjoined or merely asserted. The *śdm-īn-f* and *śdm-ḥr-f* forms

¹⁶ K. Sethe, *Z.ÄS.*, 47 (1910), 140, Anm. 2.

¹⁷ D. Cohen, *op. cit.* note 10 (avec références).

may serve as rather impressive narrative tenses, and the *šdm-hr-f* tense has in addition a not very clear use in reference to the present»¹⁸.

L'intérêt de ces formes, dans la perspective de cette étude, est dans leur constitution même. Les hypothèses à ce sujet sont diverses. La plus simple et la plus ancienne est qu'il s'agit de formes parallèles à celle de *šdm-n-f*, comportant, outre la base, une préposition suivie d'un pronom suffixe¹⁹. Mais s'il existe des prépositions *in* et *hr* dont la fonction est d'introduire le complément d'agent, *kʿ* ne correspond à rien de tel²⁰.

Une autre explication est cependant possible: *kʿ-f* pourrait n'être que la forme *šdm-f* du verbe *kʿl* «penser, avoir dans l'idée, se proposer de», si bien que *šdm-kʿ-f* serait littéralement «entendre (*ou* entendu) se propose-t-il = il entendra». Mais si cette hypothèse est admise pour *kʿ-f*, elle pourrait l'être aussi pour *in-f* qui ne serait alors que la forme *šdm-n-f* du verbe *ʾ* «dire»; d'où: *šdm-in-f* «entendu a-t-il dit = il a entendu»²¹.

Il n'y a là certes qu'une hypothèse difficile à vérifier. Elle mérite néanmoins d'être signalée pour les parallélismes qu'elle suggère entre les faits égyptiens et ceux qui sont attestés principalement dans les langues couchitiques.

L'exemple du bédja est particulièrement significatif. Dans cette langue, il semble possible de dégager deux stades historiques dans la forme de la conjugaison, le premier se caractérisait par des désinences en *-i* à l'accompli, *-a* à l'inaccompli, comme dans une grande partie des langues couchitiques. Ces désinences sont constituées, comme il a été indiqué plus haut, par un verbe très court: «dire, être» conjugué. Dans le stade le plus récent, le système a été renouvelé par l'utilisation d'un autre verbe «dire» (*an/in*) comme marque de l'inaccompli, selon le schéma suivant:

	Modal	Accompli	Inaccompli
Stade I		* <i>tami</i>	* <i>tamia</i>
Stade II	<i>tami</i>	<i>tamia</i>	<i>tamini</i>

Si bien qu'aux deux stades, les formes I **tamia*, II *tamini* signifiant «il mange» sont morphogénétiquement: «manger il (a) dit»²².

18 *Op. cit.* note 6, 347. À propos de *šdm-hr-f* qui semble marquer non pas un futur, mais un présent gnomique, Junge, *Journ. of Egypt. Archaeol.* 58, 133-9.

19 K. Sethe, *Z.ÄS.* 54 (1919), 98.

20 Pour J. B. Callender, *Middle Egyptian*, Malibu, 1975, 41, *in* représenterait un ancien démonstratif.

21 F. Lexa, *Philologica*, 2, 22-53, *Arch. Orient.*, 8, 210; R. E. Faulkner, *Journ. of Egypt. Archaeol.*, 21, 186; A. Gardiner, *Proceed. of the Brit. Acad.*, 23 (1937), 12; G. Lefebvre, *op. cit.* n. 3, 145. Ce dernier propose de voir dans *hr-f* le *šdm-f* d'un verbe *hrw* 'crier'.

22 Voir D. Cohen, *GLECS* 14 (1970) et, dans J. M. C. Thomas et L. Bernot (éd.), *Langues et techniques*, Paris 1971, I, 57-63 (avec références).

Mais en outre, dans l'usage actuel, s'est instaurée, au moyen d'un autre verbe «dire, se proposer de» l'expression d'une sorte de futur, d'un «intentionnel»: *tami indi* «il va manger, il a l'intention de manger», *tami nead* «nous avons l'intention de, nous allons manger». Comme on le voit, la base reste invariable (sauf à prendre parfois une marque de pluriel), et la signification littérale de telles formes est: «manger il s'est / nous nous sommes proposé de»²³.

Pour ce qui concerne les formes *śdm-f* et *śdm-n-f*, il importe de souligner que, dès le moyen empire, l'emploi de la première est soumis à des restrictions syntaxiques. Elle ne constitue plus que fort rarement une forme réellement indicative, mais «prospective» ou «emphatique». La seconde, *śdm-n-f*, est également l'objet d'une «modalisation», mais qui n'est pas encore achevée²⁴. En fait, le système est déjà soumis à un renouvellement selon un double processus. Le premier porte sur les anciennes formes elles-mêmes. Celles-ci sont, dans leur emploi primaire, augmentées d'un élément auxiliaire, les formes non augmentées étant réduites alors à des emplois syntaxiquement conditionnés²⁵. L'augment est ici l'élément *iw*, dont la valeur est approximativement «c'est» ou «la situation est que». *iw śdm-f* correspondrait littéralement à «c'est que / la situation est qu'il entend = il entend».

Le second processus est particulièrement important. C'est lui qui commandera l'évolution ultérieure au bout de laquelle seront pratiquement éliminées les formations précédemment décrites fondées sur *śdm-f* et *śdm-n-f*. Il consiste en la verbalisation d'une phrase nominale à prédicat prépositionnel dont le centre est un infinitif.

Ce type de formation est représenté essentiellement par trois constructions différant par la préposition: *iw-f hr śdm* «sa situation (est) *sur* (le procès d')entendre = il entend maintenant, il est en train d'entendre». C'est la préposition *m* qui est utilisée lorsque l'infinitif prédicatif appartient à un verbe de mouvement: *iw-f m ijt* «il est *dans* (le procès de) venir = il est en train de venir».

De telles constructions réfèrent donc à un procès que le contexte situe dans le temps. La préposition *r* «vers» confère par son sens même à la construc-

23 *Tu Bedawie* (E. M. Roper), Herford, Herts, s.d., 84.

24 Voir H. J. Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses* (The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Vol. II, n° 5, 1965), 2. Pour le détail des emplois, *ibid.* 15-17.

25 Pour des manifestations de ce processus, J. Kuryłowicz dans *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Linguists*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1964; M. Cohen dans *Scientia*, 94 (1959), 166-72; F. Rundgren, *Intensiv und Aspektkorrelation*, Uppsala, 1959, 14 et passim.

tion, une valeur de futur: *iw-f r sdm* «il est vers (le procès d') entendre = il entendra» ...

Ainsi donc si on met à part les formes verbales qui ne seraient représentées en moyen égyptien que comme des archaïsmes utilisés dans des contextes stylistiques particuliers, le système verbal présenterait, pour l'essentiel, l'organisation suivante:

	α : non progressif	β : progressif
A Inaccompli	<i>iw(f) sdm-f</i>	<i>iw-f hr/m sdm</i>
B Accompli		<i>(iw) sdm-n-f</i>
C «Prospectif»	<i>sdm-f</i>	<i>iw'-f r sdm</i>
D Statif		<i>*(iw)-f sdm-w</i>

Ce sur quoi il convient d'insister est la qualité de phrases nominales à prédicat prépositionnel des constructions «progressives» en β . Il suffit de comparer les deux séries de propositions suivantes pour en avoir la notion claire²⁶:

nsu hr tšš «Le roi (est) sur la frontière»: *nsu hr ilt* «le roi vient»
bšk-k m pr-k «Ton serviteur est dans ta maison»: *iw-f m ilt* «il vient»
iw-f r bšk «il sera un serviteur»: *iw-f r sdm* «il entendra».

Le fonctionnement de ces formes et leur fréquence sont tels que dans les étapes ultérieures, elles devaient constituer l'essentiel du système verbal. L'essentiel mais non la totalité. En fait une autre construction fait normalement partie du système, c'est celle qui a été désignée plus haut par le terme de «statif». Elle est constituée par le pseudo-participe introduit par l'élément *iw*. En moyen égyptien, le pseudo-participe est encore conjugué. Il aboutit dans une étape ultérieure à une forme invariable qui laisse à l'élément *iw* la charge de fournir l'indication de personne.

Rappelons au passage que les constructions du type β ne sont pas absentes du sémitique. Ce sont précisément de telles constructions qui ont renouvelé le système verbal néo-syriaque dans ses stades les plus récents, selon le schéma suivant:

	A α	A β
Stade I	<i>gāriš</i>	<i>ki gāriš</i>
Stade II	<i>ki gāriš</i>	<i>ile b-grāša</i>
<i>ile b-grāša</i> «il tire» est littéralement «il est dans (le procès de) tirer» ²⁷ .		

²⁶ Voir G. Lefebvre, *op. cit.* note 3, 324.

²⁷ Le type de construction d'une forme verbale au moyen d'une forme (verbo-)nominale précédée d'une particule locative n'est propre ni à l'égyptien ni au chamito-sémitique. Il est

L'évolution vers un renouvellement du verbe par intégration au système, de constructions à prédicat (verbo-)nominal s'accentue fortement en néo-égyptien²⁸. Plusieurs traits doivent être dégagés.

1. L'ancienne conjugaison attestée dès les premiers stades connus, à savoir la conjugaison suffixale: *śdm-f* et *śdm-n-f*, ne constitue plus apparemment qu'un vestige. Les formes qu'on peut relever pour *śdm-f* sont en majeure partie «modalisées»: elles fonctionnent comme subjonctif, comme coordina-tif, comme optatif ou dans des subordonnées temporelles. Pour la forme *śdm-n-f*, elle est d'une grande rareté et présente une forte connotation d'archaïsme. Des autres conjugaisons anciennes, *śdm-in-f*, si fréquent en moyen égyptien, n'est plus guère utilisé que pour le verbe *dd* «dire» et le verbe auxiliaire *wnn* «être» dans une construction périphrastique: *wn-in-f (hr) śdm* qui renouvelle dans une certaine mesure l'ancien *śdm-f*. Les conjugaisons au moyen de *hr* et de *ks* ont disparu.

En fait les formes anciennes, bien que d'un usage réduit, se comportent comme des conjugaisons «fortes» du fait qu'elles caractérisent encore la conjugaison des auxiliaires qui entrent dans la constitution de la nouvelle conjugaison, en grande partie périphrastique.

2. L'ancienne conjugaison à suffixes ne recule pas seulement dans sa forme simple. Mais la forme *śdm-f* composée avec *iw* connaît des restrictions à son emploi. En fait elle subit, elle aussi, un phénomène de «modalisation». Désormais, on ne la relève guère que dans des phrases circonstancielles, exprimant un procès accessoire au procès principal²⁹.

3. La conjugaison nouvelle se développe quant à elle selon deux lignes principales. D'une part, au moyen des constructions à prédicat «préposi-tionnel». Le degré de «verbalisation» de ces constructions peut se mesurer en quelque sorte à un fait remarquable. Le point de départ est, comme on l'a vu, dans la structure: sujet + préposition + infinitif. La présence de la

à la base d'une théorie «localiste» de l'aspect, v. J. Anderson, *An essay concerning aspect*, La Haye 1973; J. Miller dans *Journal of Linguistics*, 8, pp. 217-36, B. Comrie, *Aspect*, Cambridge 1976, 129-30.

28 Voir à ce sujet G. Maspéro dans *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 24 (1902), 152; W. Edgerton, dans *Bul. of the Amer. Sch. of Orient. Research*, n° 122 (1951), 9-12; F. Hintze dans *Zeitschrift f. Phon. u. allgem. Sprachwiss.* I (1947), 89; G. Fecht, *Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur*, Glückstadt 1960, 423-5.

29 A. Gardiner, *op. cit.* n. 6, 94; voir aussi A. De Buck dans *Journ. of Egypt. Archaeol.* XXIII (1937), 152 et suiv.; F. Hintze, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache neuägyptischer Erzählungen* I, 57 et suiv., J. Černý dans *Studies in Egyptology and Linguistics in Honour of H.J. Polotsky*, Jerusalem, 1964, 81 et suiv.

préposition est absolument indispensable pour donner un sens à l'ensemble, une phrase: sujet + infinitif étant agrammaticale. Mais ceci précisément ne vaut que dans la mesure où la construction est interprétée comme une phrase. On conçoit que si elle se «paradigmatise» en quelque sorte, la préposition cesse d'être essentielle. Elle peut tendre à être éliminée, servant ainsi, par sa présence ou son absence, de discriminant entre une simple forme verbale à valeur déterminée et une véritable phrase à prédicat prépositionnel. C'est précisément ce dont témoignent les textes néo-égyptiens où la préposition dans ces constructions verbalisées apparaît comme optionnelle et devient de moins en moins fréquente au cours de l'évolution. Ainsi les textes les plus anciens ont souvent, comme le moyen égyptien, une construction *hw.f hr sdm* (litt. «il [est] dans entendre») qui, dans les textes les plus récents, est représentée par *hw.f sdm* désormais sémantiquement inanalysable.

Le même phénomène est constaté en néo-syriaque où l'élément *b-*, représentant la préposition signifiant «dans», bien que toujours écrit, n'est plus réalisé dans certains usages. Chez les Juifs d'Ourmia, *b-* a disparu entièrement devant la forme d'origine infinitive *garoš*, lequel est désormais conjugué au moyen de suffixes, à l'instar de l'ancien participe.

4. L'autre ligne de développement de la conjugaison met en jeu également la construction à prédicat nominal, mais sans préposition cette fois. En adoptant pour le néo-égyptien une terminologie qui est traditionnelle en copte, on indiquera qu'il s'agit là de formes où la base (verbo-)nominale est constituée par un «qualitatif». Cette forme, on l'a vu, est elle-même, l'aboutissement d'un processus d'agglutination d'une construction à prédicat nominal. En ancien et moyen égyptien, elle est conjuguée. En néo-égyptien, cette conjugaison est réduite à sa plus simple expression. Quelques formes archaïques apparaissent encore, mais toutes les formes peuvent comporter, en guise de désinence, le seul élément *-t*³⁰. C'est dire que le «pseudo-participe» peut fonctionner comme une sorte de prédicatif, et il apparaît désormais en construction avec des composantes: pronoms ou auxiliaires conjugués indiquant le sujet. Ces constructions peuvent-elles être considérées comme des formes verbales dans l'ensemble du néo-égyptien?

La seule chose qu'il semble possible d'affirmer est que dans l'état ultérieur, en copte, une telle analyse ne pourrait soulever aucune objection. Quoi qu'il en soit, en néo-égyptien, les constructions où entre cette forme, ont une valeur de statif résultatif.

³⁰ Ce *t* s'amuit vraisemblablement en fin de mot, J. Vergotte, *Phonétique historique de l'égyptien. Les consonnes*, Louvain, 1945, 114.

5. Une innovation du néo-égyptien est dans la réalisation d'un conjonctif dont l'origine est obscure et qui est constitué par le préfixe *mtw* + pronom suffixe représentant le sujet et une base (verbo-) nominale.

Il ne semble pas qu'il soit possible, dans l'état actuel, de donner un tableau morphologique où les formes laisseraient apercevoir avec précision le fonctionnement du système verbal. En fait si on laisse de côté les formes des conjugaisons anciennes, on se trouve devant de très nombreuses constructions à prédicat nominal qui souvent se doublent et dont un grand nombre est mal attesté. Dans certains cas, on l'a vu, des phénomènes comme le caractère optionnel de la préposition, témoignent en faveur d'une morphologisation. Dans d'autres, on peut à la rigueur tirer des indications du système copte. Mais quel statut donner par exemple aux soixante-cinq paradigmes différents que M. Korostovtsev relève et classe³¹? Ce qui importe ici, c'est de voir la dynamique de ce fonctionnement verbal à travers les modes de constitution des constructions. Or de ce point de vue les faits sont d'une grande simplicité. Ces constructions mettent en jeu quatre séries de morphèmes:

a. Formes en fonction d'auxiliaires. Ces formes portent, lorsque le sujet n'est pas exprimé autrement, les marques personnelles «possessives» représentant le sujet. Ces auxiliaires illustrent donc, comme on l'a dit, l'ancienne conjugaison.

b. Pronoms. Le sujet peut être représenté par un pronom autonome, ce qui rend non nécessaire la conjugaison de l'auxiliaire.

c. Prépositions. Celles-ci sont présentes dans la forme pleine des constructions à prédicat prépositionnel. Elles peuvent cependant être absentes dans les conditions qui ont été indiquées ci-dessus, p. 91, l. 14 sq.

d. Bases (verbo-) nominales. Elles sont au nombre de deux: l'infinitif et le qualitatif.

Sur la base de ces quatre séries de formes, tous les «modèles» relevés, à l'exception toutefois des anciennes conjugaisons, sont couverts par la forme canonique suivante:

(Auxiliaire non conjugué)	[Auxiliaire conjugué]	(Prépositions)	[Infinitif]
	[Sujet pronominal]		[Qualitatif]

³¹ *Grammaire du néo-égyptien*, Moscou 1972, 402-8. Voir maintenant J. Černý et A. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, Rome 1978, P. J. Frandsen, *An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System*, Copenhague, 1974, H. Satzinger, *Neuägyptische Studien*, Vienne 1976.

Les éléments entre parenthèses ne sont pas obligatoires. L'auxiliaire non conjugué caractérise certains paradigmes; les prépositions, qui ne s'emploient qu'avec la base infinitive, sont optionnelles. Les éléments entre crochets alternent à l'intérieur d'une même colonne. Autrement dit, les bases infinitives ou qualitatives peuvent se construire l'une et l'autre avec un auxiliaire conjugué et avec un sujet pronominal.

Voici, à titre d'illustrations, quelques unes des formes les plus fréquentes (à la 3^{ème} personne du singulier masculin):

Conjonctif: préfixe + pronom suffixe + infinitif *mtw-f sdm*; présent I: pronom ou nom (+ préposition) + infinitif *sw (hr) sdm*; Ia: pronom ou nom + qualificatif *sw sdm*; présent II: auxiliaire conjugué + préposition + infinitif *lw-f hr sdm*; présent IIa: auxiliaire conjugué + qualificatif *lw-f sdm-*; futur III: auxiliaire conjugué + préposition *r* + infinitif *lw-f (r) sdm*; futur relatif: *lw* + futur III *lw lw-f sdm*.

D'autres constructions mettent en jeu, à titre d'auxiliaires conjugués, *wn* «être» ou *lrj* «faire». Mais celles-ci ne connaîtront de développement véritable que dans les états ultérieurs.

Le copte, dernier état attesté de l'égyptien, réalise au terme d'une évolution qui s'amorce dès le moyen empire et s'épanouit sous le nouvel empire, à partir de l'époque de la XVIII^e dynastie, une véritable mutation. Le système verbal, dans sa structure, apparaît comme profondément différent de celui de l'ancienne langue. Pour ce qui concerne les verbes autonomes, la vieille conjugaison n'est plus représentée que par quelques fossiles, guère plus d'une douzaine, dont quatre verbes d'état et quatre impersonnels³². Mais à considérer les faits du point de vue de la genèse des formes, son rôle se révèle fondamental dans la nouvelle conjugaison.

Comment se présente le système sur le plan synchronique? Les points suivants sont à considérer:

1. Une forme verbale est constituée par une base, invariable dans le même paradigme, représentant la racine verbale précédée de morphèmes exprimant les différentes modalités: «temps», modes, personnes (avec des distinctions de genre et de nombre). La base est soit un infinitif soit un qualificatif.

2. Les constructions suivent deux modèles fondamentaux³³:

³² Voir A. Mallon, *Grammaire copte*, 4^{ème} éd. revue par M. Malinine, Beyrouth 1956; W. C. Till, *Koptische Dialekt Grammatik* ..., Munich 1928; H. P. Houghton, *The Coptic Verb: Bohairic Dialect*, 2^{ème} éd. Leyde 1959; H. J. Polotsky dans *Orientalia* XXIX (1960), 392-422.

³³ H. J. Polotsky, *Ibid.*, 393-4 distingue une conjugaison à structure tripartite et une conjugaison à structure bipartite.

I Préfixe + marque personnelle (+ infixe) + base

II Marque personnelle (+ infixe) + base

Ces conjugaisons sont fort complexes. Le tableau suivant en facilitera l'analyse. Il représente les éléments susceptibles d'entrer dans la constitution d'une forme verbale, l'ordre des colonnes (horizontalement) étant celui dans lequel ils se présentent dans cette forme :

	(A)	B	C	(D)	E
	α β γ			α β γ	
	a	e		na e šan	
I	b	ne-	marques		{ infinitif (qualitatif) }
	c nt s es	a-	1		
	d ma ta	-re-			
II			marques 2	na	{ infinitif qualitatif }

Les éléments des colonnes désignées par une lettre entre parenthèses sont absents des formes verbales les plus simples. Celles-ci, dans le modèle I, comprennent un élément des colonnes B, C et E. Dans le modèle II, seules les colonnes C et E sont nécessaires.

Col. E. Elle contient les bases verbales. Celles-ci apparaissent sous la forme de l'infinitif exclusivement pour la plupart des formes dans le modèle I, de l'infinitif ou du qualitatif dans le modèle II.

Col. D. Les éléments peuvent se combiner avec ceux de la ligne (a). *na* et *e* sont des marques de futur; *šan* entre dans la forme verbale d'une protase dans une phrase conditionnelle. Les trois marques sont mutuellement exclusives.

Col. C. C'est celle des marques personnelles proprement dites. Deux séries: la première est caractéristique des formes verbales du modèle I: singulier: 1. -y-, 2m. -k-, f. -re-, 3m. -f-, f. -s-; pluriel: 1. -reten-, 2 -w-, 3. -re-. La deuxième série est utilisée pour les formes de modèle II, mais aussi dans la phrase à prédicat nominal adverbial ou prépositionnel: singulier 1. *ti*, 2.m. *k*, f. *te*, 3.m.f, f. *s*; pluriel 1. *tn*, 2. *tetn*, 3. *se*.

Dans les deux modèles, les marques des troisièmes personnes alternent avec des noms en fonction de sujet.

Col. B. Ces éléments sont nécessaires dans les formes verbales du modèle I. Ils constituent donc des indices des divers «temps» et «modes» de la conjugaison. Dans la terminologie traditionnelle, *e* est le préfixe de la forme désignée comme «Présent II»; dans les formes de «futur», elle est accompagnée des éléments *e* ou *na* de la col. D; le «conditionnel» est marqué par *e-*

et *san-*. Seuls ou avec des éléments de (A), *ne* caractérise les « imparfaits », *a* les « parfaits » et les « habituels » ; *-re-* ne se trouve jamais isolément, il est joint aux autres éléments de B à certaines personnes et se combine aux éléments Ad pour la formation de l'« optatif » et du « final ».

Col. (A). Combinés avec ceux de B, les éléments de (A) fournissent les deuxièmes formes de « parfait » et l'« habituel ». Pour les éléments en (d), voir ci-dessus à propos de (B).

D'où les formes suivantes (à la troisième personne masculin singulier) :

Présent I	<i>f-sōtm</i>	(II C E)
Futur I	<i>f-na-sōtm</i>	(II C D E)
Présent II	<i>e-f-sōtm</i>	(I B a C E)
Futur II	<i>e-f-na-sōtm</i>	(I B a C D α E)
Futur III	<i>e-f-e-sōtm</i>	(I B a C D β E)
Conditionnel	<i>e-f-san-sōtm</i>	(I B a C D γ E)
Imparfait	<i>ne-f-sōtm</i>	(I B b C E)
Imparfait futur	<i>ne-f-na-sōtm</i>	(I B b C D α E)
Parfait I	<i>a-f-sōtm</i>	(I B c C E)
Parfait II	<i>nt-a-f-sōtm</i>	(I A c α B c C E)
Habituel	<i>s-a-f-sōtm</i>	(I A c β B c C E)
Optatif	<i>ma-re-f-sōtm</i>	(I A d α B d C E)
Final	<i>ta-re-f-sōtm</i>	(I A d β B d C E)

On voit par ce tableau les raisons pour lesquelles le système de conjugaison du copte est habituellement caractérisé comme « préfixal » par opposition à la vieille conjugaison égyptienne qui apparaît comme « suffixale », puisque les éléments variables précèdent la base dans un cas et la suivent dans l'autre. Mais ces caractérisations, valables sur le plan synchronique, ne doivent pas en déguiser la nature morphogénétique. En effet, au moins pour ce qui concerne les formes du modèle I, la conjugaison « préfixale » ne peut s'expliquer diachroniquement comme celle du sémitique, par la préfixation des marques de personnes au thème verbal. En réalité les marques ici sont à très peu près les formes d'une série de pronoms suffixables aux noms (avec valeur « possessive ») et sont en tout cas distincts des pronoms en fonction de sujet. C'est que la conjugaison des formes I est historiquement fondée sur celle d'anciens verbes conjugués à l'ancienne mode, c'est-à-dire par l'adjonction des pronoms personnels suffixés à valeur « possessive ». Dans le tableau donné ci-dessus, les colonnes B et C, toutes deux nécessaires pour le modèle I, constituent historiquement des verbes conjugués qui avaient été

utilisés dans les constructions dites «pseudo-verbales» dans les états antérieurs :

ne provient de *wnn* «être»; *a* de *l.lr.f*, forme «emphatique» de *lrj* «faire»; *re* de *lrj.f* «subjonctif» du même verbe *lrj*. Quant à *e*, il est à rattacher à l'élément *lw*, sur lequel voir ci-dessus p. 88 l. 17 sq.

Les éléments de la col. (A) sont étymologiquement de nature diverse: *nt* est une particule relative en copte même; *ʃ* est l'aboutissement de l'ancienne particule proclitique *hr*, sur laquelle voir ci-dessus p. 89; il peut être précédé de l'élément *e* qui n'est autre que celui de Ba; *ma-* qui se présente toujours en combinaison avec *-re-* de la col. B, est la forme conservée de l'impératif du verbe «donner» (*im.j*); elle permet de constituer un «optatif»; *ta-*, toujours en combinaison avec *-re-*, représente une ancienne première personne de forme *sdm.f* du verbe *di* «donner, causer, être cause»: «je serai cause que ...»³⁴.

Les éléments de la col. (D) sont aussi d'étymologies variées:

na provient de *nej* «aller» dont il pourrait constituer le qualificatif, à moins (plus vraisemblablement) qu'il ne continue une construction prépositionnelle: *m* «dans» + l'infinitif *nef*³⁵; *e* représente l'ancienne préposition *r* «vers» dont il a été question ci-dessus p. 88. *na* et *e* fonctionnent comme des morphèmes de futur; *ʃan* entre dans une construction dont la formation étymologique est obscure.

A partir de ces éléments, les constructions dont sont sorties les formes verbales du copte sont attestées dans les états antérieurs de l'égyptien. Elles se réduisent à quatre types étymologiques: a. sujet + qualificatif; b. sujet + préposition + infinitif; c. auxiliaire «être» conjugué + préposition + infinitif; d. auxiliaire «faire» conjugué + infinitif.

Ainsi si on laisse de côté les quelques verbes qui ont conservé la conjugaison au moyen de morphèmes suffixés attestée dans les états antérieurs de l'égyptien, le système verbal du copte apparaît comme entièrement renouvelé. Les formes continuent certes en grande partie des constructions néo-égyptiennes ou même moyen-égyptiennes. Mais ce qui fait la caractéristique du copte, c'est que ces constructions ne sont plus analysables en synchronie; les éléments morphologiques qui peuvent être dégagés ne sont pas des formes autonomes, mais des marques spécifiques. Dans *a-f-sōtm*, c'est la recherche étymologique qui reconnaît un ancien auxiliaire conjugué *a-f*;

³⁴ Voir H. J. Polotsky, *op. cit.* note 12, 14-5.

³⁵ Voir W. C. Till, *op. cit.* note 32, 122.

une base *a-* n'a plus d'autre fonction que de marquer certains «temps» et «modes» du verbe et ne peut être considéré en copte comme un verbe «être». Il est donc légitime, comme cela a été indiqué plus haut, de considérer la nouvelle conjugaison comme préfixale, c'est-à-dire fléchie au moyen d'éléments antéposés à la base.

Ainsi apparaît le sens général de l'évolution du système verbal de l'égyptien à travers une histoire de quelque quatre millénaires. Au point de départ, une conjugaison à base nominale avec des morphèmes flexionnels suffixés. Au terme de l'évolution, une conjugaison à base nominale avec des morphèmes préfixés. Dans cette inversion, deux processus distincts. L'un est entièrement innovant: c'est d'une part l'agglutination des pronoms sujets à un prédicat (verbo-)nominal, construit directement, aboutissant à un statif; d'autre part, c'est la réduction à une forme unique d'une construction où le prédicat (verbo-)nominal est introduit par une préposition (laquelle peut disparaître au cours de l'opération).

Le processus, sous son premier aspect, est attesté dès les débuts de l'histoire en sémitique avec le statif et l'«accompli» occidental à suffixes; au cours de l'évolution de l'araméen, c'est l'ancienne conjugaison à préfixes qui a été renouvelée de la sorte. Aussi en néo-syriaque, certaines des formes de l'inaccompli sont constituées morphogénétiquement par un ancien participe actif comme base + des formes réduites des pronoms sujets selon le schéma suivant ³⁶:

Sing. 1 m.	<i>pātiḥ+ana > paṭḥin</i>	j'ouvre (mas.)
f.	<i>pāṭḥa+ana > paṭḥan</i>	j'ouvre (fém.)
2 m.	<i>pātiḥ+at > paṭḥit</i>	tu ouvres (mas.)
f.	<i>paṭḥā+at > paṭḥat</i>	tu ouvres (fém.)
3 m.	<i>pātiḥ</i>	il ouvre
f.	<i>pāṭḥa</i>	elle ouvre
Plur. 1	<i>pāṭḥī+ahnan > paṭḥah</i>	nous ouvrons
2	<i>pāṭḥī+attun > paṭḥītun</i>	vous ouvrez
3	<i>paṭḥī</i>	ils ouvrent

En néo-araméen de Ma'lula, le même processus a conduit à la formation de conjugaisons préfixales ³⁷.

³⁶ Voir Th. Nöldeke, *Grammatik der neusyrischen Sprache*, Leipzig 1868, 216; K. G. Tsereteli, *Sovremennij assirijskij jazyk*, Moscou, 1964, 55.

³⁷ D. Cohen, *Journ. of Sem. Stud.*, XXIV (1979), 219-24.

Sing. 1	ana + kōtēb > nkōtēb	j'écris
	hačč + kōtēb > čkōtēb	tu écris (mas.)
	kōtēb	il écrit
	kōtba	elle écrit

Le second processus consiste à constituer en morphème flexionnel portant toutes les déterminations d'une forme verbale, un auxiliaire conjugué à l'ancienne mode, c'est-à-dire par suffixes. Le phénomène ne semble pas attesté dans l'histoire connue du sémitique, mais il est à la base de ce qu'on peut déceler de l'évolution du système couchitique. L'évolution ici est parallèle et inverse. Comme on l'a vu, en effet, une forme conjuguée couchitique est constituée, dans le type dominant, par une base invariable qui sert souvent d'infinitif, et d'un morphème flexionnel suffixé mais formé lui-même par un auxiliaire conjugué par préfixes. L'inversion dans un cas comme dans l'autre s'explique comme le reflet, sur le plan morphologique, des règles syntaxiques de construction de la phrase :

	Égyptien	Couchitique (bédja)
1.	<i>šdm.f</i>	y-x [= base -verbo-)nominale]
d'où	<i>irj.f</i> («faire»)	<i>yini</i> («être, dire»)
2.	<i>irf.šdm</i>	<i>tam yini</i>
3.	<i>af-sōtm</i>	<i>tamīni</i>

L'évolution de la structure du système et des formes qui le constituent attestent ainsi des processus de renouvellement connus dans le reste du chamito-sémitique. La dynamique sémantique est aussi la même. L'évolution a abouti en égyptien, comme en araméen et en arabe, à organiser l'expression de la concomitance : d'une part adaptée au moment de l'énonciation : présent «actuel» ou progressif («Présent I»), parfait-présent («Parfait I»), futur «proche» (il est sur le point de faire, il va faire, he is going to do); d'autre part relative à un moment quelconque : imparfait ou futur «relatifs» formés au moyen respectivement des morphèmes *ne* et *na*. Dans le temps où s'opérait cette organisation, les formes anciennes étaient éliminées (formes à suffixes) ou «modalisées» réduites soit au rôle de formes de subordonnées soit à celui de «temps seconds» caractéristiques de la phrase coupée³⁸.

³⁸ H. J. Polotsky, *op. cit.*, note 12, 20 et suiv.

A GEEZ PROLOGUE
CONCERNING THE WORK OF *MÄMHĒR KĒFLÄ GIYORGIS*
ON THE TEXT AND INTERPRETATION
OF THE BOOK OF EZEKIEL

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Biographical traditions and literary remains demonstrate that there have been many Ethiopian scholars, such as Bāḥaylā maryam¹, Bāḥaylā mika'el², Mārqoryos³, Giyorgis of Gasəḫḫa⁴ and Məḥərka dāngəl⁵, who learnt non-Ethiopian languages, pursued textual researches, and utilized and translated non-Ethiopian materials. Historical information about most of them is fragmentary, but the life history of a more recent scholar, *Mämhər Kəflä giyorgis* (1825-1908 A.D., henceforth KG), who appears to belong to this same category, and who is the subject of the Geez text translated below, is of interest as it gives some indications of the motivations, researches, and legacy of a person of this type.

The paper MS which contains the following text on fols. 1r-4v is labelled "Jerusalem Ethiopic 301 E", and "Däbrä gännät 116", and is kept in the bookstore of the Ethiopian Church in Ethiopia Street, Jerusalem. Fol. 5r contains some dates associated with Ezekiel's life, and fols. 6r-116r contain a Geez text (of Septuagintal type) of the book of Ezekiel, lightly annotated in the margins in Amharic. The volume is dated as written in Jerusalem in 1908 E.C. in the month *Yäkkatit*, and was given by *Abba Gäbrä mädhən* to *Abba Sinoda* (who, to judge from the other MSS which also bear his name, was a man of fine scholarly inclination).

1 Appendix to MEHI; *ACD* IV pp. 12-3; EMMI 932 fol. 121r.

2 Guidi pp. 55-6; catalogue notes to EMMI 2161.

3 Ullendorff pp. 42-3; in addition to B.N. Zotenberg 7, Bible Society (London) MS Ethiopic I also contains a note relating to his collation of Geez and Hebrew texts (see *Historical Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Bible House Library*, (ed.) A.F. Jesson, London, 1982, p. 71). Possibly he is to be identified as Zär'a Ya'qob's Minister of the Pen; see MS CCR 25.

4 Taddesse pp. 222-5; catalogue notes on EMMI 1838; Getatchew Haile. "On the Writings of *Abba Giyorgis Säglawi* from Two Unedited Miracles of Mary", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 48 (1982) 65-91.

5 *ACD* II pp. 227-8; catalogue notes on EMMI 2101.

MS JE 301 E = DG 116

f.1a በስመ : ግጥሙ : መሐሪ : ወመስተሣህል :
 ፍቀድም : ወንጥሕፍ : ምንገደተ : ተገጥሶቱ : ወተረጎሞቹ :
 አቅርቧል : አዝቅኤል : ነገደ : ግምታ : መምህር : ሳረፈ :
 እካዲሁ : አዝንቱ : ትርጓሜ : ግምገማታ : ወረሃታ : ዘጸንባለ :
 ቅንፃት : ወሐመሜ ::

እነዚህ : ገጠንዎ : በእንተ : ውጥ : መጥራት :
 አዝቅኤል : ነገደ : ዘጠኝ : ግምታ : ውጥ : ውስተ : ሥሐ :
 ብሔር : ኢትዮጵያ : ጸንቶ : ይታገባል : ወደተረጎም : ግመድወል :
 እብርሃ : ወእጅብሐ : ግስጥ : መንግሥተ : ትንቢት :: ፍጥረት :
 ጸንቶ : እብርሃ : የገደቡ : ወውሐፍ : ይተርፉ : ነፃ : ይተረጎም :
 በብሔር : ገንቢ : በሕዝብ :: ወእምነትን : እነ : በሥሐ :
 ጉግኤ : እነ : በሐሳብ : ቤት : ግስጥ : ቦ : እነ : ይብላዎሁ :
 ቤት : ዘሐሳብ : ወቤት : ዘታሕት :: ወዝንቱ : ፍጥረት :

1b ፍጥረት / ፍጥረት : አካላትን : ቤት : ሐሳብ : ግምገማታ :
 ኢትዮጵያ : ገንቢ : ወበእንተ : ገንቢ : ሐሳብ :
 መንገድ : ትንቢት : ወትዘላርት : ምስላ : አመሜ : ወቅንፃት :
 ብዙ : ግስጥ : ፍጥረት : አዝንቱ : መንገድ :: ወእምነትን :
 አመሜ : ወቅንፃት : እነዚህ : ይተርፉም : በብዙ : ተገጥሶ :
 ወተጠናቅቅ : በዊላሙ : ቤተ : ወእዲዎሙ : ፍጥረት : ነመ :
 ኢየሱስ : መኪላ : ዘእኩና : ግምገማታ :: ይተርፉ :
 ዘእኩና : ግምገማታ : የገንቢ : ሐሳብ : እርግጥ :
 ግምገማታ : አሰሪዎቹ : ወአንገላርት : ወአዝመቦ :
 ግምገማታ : ዘእጅብሐ : ትርጓሜ : ወተጠናቅቅ : ምሥጢር :
 ይኤዝዝዎ : ነመ : ኢየሱስ : በግልፅ : መገን : ወኢየሱስ :
 መጥራት : ዘሐሳብ : ትንቢት :: ወረገደባ : ምሥጢር : ፋብረ :
 ታርሮ : ግስጥ : እመ : ይታገባል : በዕጩ : ወበእንተ :

2a ፈነወ : ግጥሙ / ብሔር : ሐሳብ : መቅሰፍት : መጥቱ :
 መቅሰፍት : ወመንገድ : ወአዲስ :: ወእምነት : ግምገማታ :
 አሳሳቢ : ወግደው : ውስተ : ምት : እርግጥ :
 ወኢየሱስ : ፩ ግምገማታ : አሳሳቢ :: ዝንቱ : ውጥ :
 ምንገደተ : ተገጥሶ ::

- ክፍል : በእንተ : ተረክቦቹ :: ይቤ : መተርጉም :
 ክፍለ : ጊዮርጊስ : ዘብሔረ : ሸዋ : ወስመ : 1174 :
 እንደበር : ወሐር : እምባ : እንደ : በር : ይኣቲ : ምድረ :
 ሙሐዲ : ወሐር : እምባ : ርስተ : ነገዲ :: እምድረ :
 ፈጸምኑ : ትምህርተ : ብሔይ : ወሐዲስ : ወኢቃውንት :
 ወመዳኦቸተ : መነሣሳት : ኢወሀብነዎን : ንዋመ : አእዕይንትዮ :
 ወኢቃቃሰ : አቀጠንብትዮ : ወኢዕረፍተ : አመሳትትዮ :
 እስክ : እረክብ : መፍሐፍ : አክዝቅኤል : ነገይ : ወዶቁኑ :
 ነሐሴ : እፍገጠተ : ወገዳሣተ : ወዳሰደተ : ወኢረክብኑ :
 26 መፍሐፍ : ርቱዓ : ዘ/ሀኦ : ውስተ : እዲ : መምህራን :
 ቀዳምት : ዘእንበሐ : በዲር^ሰ፤ : ወሀከው : ህዋ : ፪ቱ :
 መዳኦቸት : ፩ ይኤስ : እምነገሪት : ወ፩ሰ : ዘበዝን :
 ኦቱ : መሐዲ : እኩኒ : ኢሐወዛኒ :: ወገህቱ : ረክብኑ :
 ትእምርተ : ትርጓሜ : ወሠዕሐ : ኤስኤፍሬም : ድሐፍ :
 አባህቲቱ : መጠነ : ፩ ፕሬዝ : ወተፈሣኦኑ : ንቀ : ነመ :
 ዘረክባ : መፍፍነ : ሳቡዓ : ወእዕከውንዎ : በነመ : ሀኦ ::
 ወነሲእዋ : ዘንተ : ሐርኑ : ብሔረ : ነረን : ወምድዋዕ :
 እስመ : ሰማዕኑ : ነመ : ቦ : ህዋ : መዳኦቸቲ : አመምህር :
 ዓገይ : ዘስመ : ወልዲ : እብ : ኢቀ : ኢቃውንት :: ወረክብኑ :
 ውስተ : ቤተ : እፍር፩ : ፪ መዳኦቸተ : ሠናደነ : ወርቱዓነ :
 ዘ፩ቃኦሙ : ወ፩ ኅብረሙ : ወኢቦእ : እምውስቴዎሙ :
 መሳዊ : እካ : እምንንዎሙ : ዘተፍኦቱ : በእዲ : መምህራን ::
 ወእዕከውኑ : እምኔሪሙ : ዘንተ : መፍሐፍ : እንዘ : እሠይም .
 3a ውስጠ፤ቱ : ምዕራፍተ : በበካኒ : ነመ : ሠርዓተ : እፍር፤፩ :
 ወነሐሙ : ፀዓቁው :: ወእምዝ : እንዝኑ : እትመሀር :
 ሐሳነ : ሮማይስጥ :: ወረቱዓኒ : ወበእንተዝ : ፈቀድኑ :
 እርእያ : አሮሜ :: ወወረዳዋ : ብሔረ : ሮሜ : ረክብኑ :
 ፩ዓ : ብእሴ : ማእምረ : ድርዕ : ወእብሬይስጥ : ምስክ :
 ሱርስት : ወዓረብ : ዘምሐር : ንቀ : እምነሐሙ : ኢቃውንተ :
 እፍር፩ :: ወይቤከኒ : ጸኢቅ : ኢትዮጵያዊ : መሐረኒ : ሐሳነ :
 ጣዕዝ : ወእምሐራ : ወእነሂ : እምሀርክ : ነሐሴ : ዘፈቀድኑ ::
 ወተሰናዓውነ : በዝንቱ : ምንገር : እስክ : መሀረኒ :
 ወመሀርክ : ወውኦ : ዘእነበረ : ኢተ : ተሰናዕወተ :

ሥሐ : 377 : ወትርጋሜ : ዘመድሐፊ : ሕዝቅኤል : ነገደ ::
 ወእምድላሊ : 106 ዓመት : ንዲግዋ : ከሮሜ : ወዓረጉ :
 ኢየሱስም : ንስግዳ : ንገ : ቆሙ : ንግረኝ : ንገዛ : ንገዛ :
 36 ንብል : ዛቴ : ደኝቴ : | ምዕራፍ : አዓለም :: ወቦኝኦ :
 ማዕከላ : ሕዝብ : ጸሐ : ሀከራ : ጡስቴት : ነሙ : ጸርአደ :
 ጸሎት : ጠቢብ : ዘየጸሐ : አዝንቱ : መድሐኖ :: ጸልዎ :
 ወኢ፩ ንምጽላም :: ወተረመሮ : ኃዘን : አፍስሐ : 8ተ :
 ዓመተ : ንስክ : ንረክብ : ብሔ : ምእመን : ወጠቢብ :
 ጡስተ : ጽሐፍ : ዘደርጎብ : እፋላ : ወእመድሐ : ሐቱ ::
 ንስመ : ደረጃ : አረፍኝ : ቅዱሳ : ደድሐኖ : ቃሎ :
 ወእምዛ : ደንብ : ወደተመሠር : ትርጉሙ ::

ስዕሐተ : ረድኤ : አዝቱ : መተርጉም : ዘነበረ :
 ምስክራ : 9ተ : ዓመተ :: ንስኝል : ወእስተበቁዕ : ንምኃብ :
 ዘደድሐኖ : ዘንተ : መድሐኖ : ወእመዕን : እማኝፅፍተ :
 በስመ : ንግረእግራ : እፋናደ : ወበፍቅረ : ሕዝቅኤል :
 ነገደ :: ነሙ : ደረጃ : አዝቱ : ምክንያት : ጡስተ : ንፅን :
 ዝንቱ : መድሐኖ : በነሙ : ሄምክዋ : እን :: ወረሰደክዋ :
 4a መቅደሙ : ነሙ : ደኝ | ምር : ካልዕ : ትጡልፍ : ዘነሙ :
 ተኃጉሐ : ቅዱሳ : ወዘነሙ : እፎ : ተረክብ : ዲጋሪ : እጡ :
 መኒ : ዓረገ : ባሕረ : ወተሣዋጦ : ወመኒ : ዓርገ :
 መዕዕሐተ : ዲመናት : ወእጡረፋ : ንስመ : ተረክባ :
 ንምሥሐ : ስብኝ : ወተኃብ : ንምሥሐ : እዕዋፊ : ሰማደ ::
 ወእመ : ነሙ : ፍጹሙ : ሐቱ : አዝንቱ : እብ : ክፍሐ :
 ጊዮርጊስ : 106 : ዓመት : ንምእመ : ተወልደ : ዘጡኝቱ :
 ተፋጸሜተ : 106 ዓመተ : ሠጋፍ : እመ : 106 አግንቦት :
 ደብሐኒ : ኢተ : አረፍኤ : ዮም : ደኝቴ : ዕሐተ : ዕፋት :
 ስምዓን : ወልደ : ወእንግርክ :: በ106 ዓመት : ወዓኝኦ :
 ንምገር : ወተረክኝኦ : ንምእመ : 106 ዓመተ :
 ነበርኦ : በምረ : ወበተምህሮ : ንገዛ : እዓጡፍ : ሥሐ :
 እነገረ : ኢትዮጵያ :: ወነሳን : ጡስተ : ቤተ : እፍርጌ :
 106 ዓመተ :: ደመስሐኒ : ዘቅርብ : ፍልሰት :
 4b ወበጽ/ሐኒ : ዕፍሜ : አእዕርፎ : ወኢተርፈኒ : ዘእንበሐ :

ሳዓፕ : መዋዕል :: ዱዮ : ጡስተ : ልብነ : ለዝንቱ : ነገር ::
 ኧስነ : እመ : ትነፍፍ : እዕደንቅዮ : ወትረፍፍ : ሠጋዮ :
 ጡስተ : መሬት :: ደኧዜኒ : ኢትንህነደ : ተስዕኦትዮ :
 መዓልተ : ወሌኪተ : በእንተ : ዝንቱ : መድሐኩ : ወእብድሐ :
 ፩ዱ : ጊዜ : ለካልእንሰ : ትረክቦሙ : እምካልእን : እስመ :
 እእምር : ነመ : ፍጡነ : ደኧቲ : ስሳኤ : ዚእዮ : እምኔነ ::
 ወእምፍላሊ : ፫ እውራካ : ወ፳ ዕሐት : እመ : ፫ ሐጳጊሜ :
 ጊዜ : ፲ ወ ፩ ሰዓት : ዘመዓልት : ዘጡእቱ : ፍፍ : ሠርክ :
 ተፈልጠት : ነፍሱ : እምሠጋሁ : ዘእበሐ : ፃዕር :
 ወፍካም :: ወተቀብረ : በድርሐ : ጽዮን : ቅድስት : ኅብ :
 ተቀብረ : እኧሁ : ተክሐ : ጽዮን : በነመ : ደቤ : ቀዳሚ :
 እንዘ : ደመድእ : እምሮሜ : ዛቲ : ደኧቲ : ምዕራፍዮ :
 ለዓለም : እሜን ::

Translation

(1r) In the name of God, the forgiving and merciful, we will commence, and write the reason of the loss and of the finding of the interpretation of Ezekiel the prophet, from the word of the elect teacher, the compiler of this interpretation, from Ethiopia and Rome, without jealousy or spite.

O brethren, we will relate to you concerning that book of Ezekiel the prophet, which existed from former times⁶ in all districts of Ethiopia, being read and interpreted, from the times of Abrēha and Aṣḃəḥa until the kingdom of Gondar. But later, when the fathers passed on and the sons remained, it used to be interpreted in the city of Gondar alone, and even in Gondar not in every school⁷, but (only) in the “upper house”; for there are those which they call “upper house” and “lower house”⁸. This is the only greatness (1v) of the scholars of the upper house⁹ over all the scholars of Gondar; and because of this, a spirit of pride¹⁰ and contention abode upon them, together with much spite and jealousy, so that they buried this talent¹¹. And because of the degree of spite and jealousy, they started to interpret it (Ezekiel) with much secrecy

6 Allusion to the Geez text of 1 John 1.1.

7 *Guba'e*—the assembly for instruction.

8 On the “houses” see OTIAC p. 165.

9 “house” (*bet*) is the reading of a corrector of the text; the original erased reading was *gondär*.

10 Reading *mānfāsā tā'ābit* for *mānfās tānbit*.

11 Allusion to the parable of the talents, Matt. 25 and parallels.

and caution, entering the house and closing the door, lest anyone hear who was not one of themselves. Let alone the one who was not one of themselves, they would select for him (the teacher of Ezekiel) a pupil from among their pupils, for hearing (the interpretation) and reading (the text). And if there should be one of the pupils who had studied the interpretation and ascertained its meaning, they would order him not to speak (of it) in another place, and not to show his book in which were the marks¹². And they made it "the mystery of Däbrä Tabor"¹³ until it should be revealed in its own time. And because of this, God (2r) sent upon them plagues of his wrath, plague, and destruction, and sickness, and did not deliver their souls from death, and enclosed their pupils in death. Not one of them remained as a witness. This is the reason for its loss.

Section—concerning its finding: the interpreter Kəflä giyorgis, of the land of Shoa—the name of his home-country is Ankobärr and Harr amba, Ankobärr being the place of his birth, and Harr amba the inheritance of his family—said, "After I had completed the study of the old and new (testaments), and the scholars (patristic writings) and the books of the monks, I gave no sleep to my eyes, nor slumber to my eyelids, nor rest to my jaws¹⁴, until I should find the book of Ezekiel the prophet. And I toured all the churches and monasteries and islands, but I did not find a correct book that (2v) had been in the hands of the former teachers, except at Däräsge¹⁵. And there were 2 books there; 1 was better¹⁶ than its companion, and 1 had many erasures¹⁷. They, too, did not satisfy me. Nevertheless, I found the mark of the interpretation, and the picture of the *eskedere*¹⁸, written by itself, in 1 binding¹⁹. And I rejoiced greatly like the one who found the hidden treasure²⁰, and I copied it just as it was. And taking this, I went to the district of Keren and Massawa, because I had heard that there were there the books

12 *Tə'amart* — probably marginal annotations, memoranda of the AC.

13 I.e. a secret like the secret of the Transfiguration, Matt. 17 and parallels.

14 Allusion to Ps. 132.4.

15 The name has been corrected; "Darge" appears to have been written originally. In his book *Mārha labbuna*, A.A., 1943 E.C., p. 81, Aklilä bərhan Wäldä qirqos says that the "old" *Tərgwame həzqa'el* was to be found at Gundagundi and at Dimma.

16 Reading *yəheyyas*.

17 Reading *mālaši*, i.e. a razor.

18 *Eskedere* is the "chamber", Gk. *exedra*, Heb. *liška*, see *MH* on Ezek. 40.19, and *MSW'G* p. 245. The "mark of the interpretation" was probably a collection of notes on obscure words and passages, such as is found in MSS B.L. Orient 506, fols. 149r-159r, Orient 5085 fols. 186r-192r, B.N. d'Abbadie 190, d'Abbadie 211 III, and d'Abbadie 39, fols. 199r-201v.

19 *Təraq*—small parchment volume or "gathering", or paper exercise book or ledger.

20 Allusion to Matt. 13.44.

of the great teacher, of the name of Wäldä ab²¹, the greatest of scholars. And I found in the house of the foreigners two fine and correct books which had the same text and the same appearance, and had no erasures, but which were originally written by the hand of the teachers. And I copied from them this book, marking in (3r) it the chapters in each place²², according to the system of the foreigners and all the white (people). And then I started to learn the Roman²³ language, and I was successful, and because of this I desired to see Rome. And, having descended to the city of Rome, I found a man²⁴ learned in Greek and Hebrew, together with Syriac and Arabic, who was very learned, more than all the foreign scholars. And he said to me, "O Ethiopian scholar, teach me the language of Geez and Amharic, and I will teach you all that you wish", and we arranged matters according to this counsel, so that he taught me and I taught him. And it was he who collated for me the arrangement of all the text and the interpretation of the book of Ezekiel the prophet. And after 11 years I left Rome, and went up to Jerusalem, that I might worship where our Lord stood, saying²⁵, "This is (3v) my resting place for ever". And I came among my people who were there (in Jerusalem), so that I should see if there was any wise person who would seek this book. There was no single one among them, no not one. And sorrow was added to my joy for 2 years, until I found a man²⁶ faithful and wise in literature, who would open his mouth and I would fill it for him—for it is fitting for a pupil that first he write his text, and then he read and learn its interpretation".

The request of the pupil of this²⁷ interpreter, who was with him for 9 years. I request and I beseech of the one who writes this book, and I make supplication²⁸ in the name of God, Adorñay, and by the love of Ezekiel the prophet, that he place this explanation inside the covers²⁹ of this book, just as I myself have placed it and made it an introduction, so that (4r) the next generation may know how it was lost at first, and how it was found latterly, or

21 On Wäldä ab, see appendix to MEHI. Concerning the book(s), Keren MS 4 is a text of En., Job, Isa., Jer., Dan., Ezek., and Apoc. Ezra, bearing the name *Mäl'akä bərhanat* Wäldä ab, see C. Conti Rossini, I manoscritti etiopici della Missione Cattolica de Cheren, RR. AL (5) 13, 1904, pp. 233-55, 261-86.

22 Reading *bäbbämäkanu*.

23 *Romayst*, probably Italian rather than Latin, though possibly both are intended; certainly KG used Dillmann's *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae*, see MSWG p. 7.

24 This must be Ignazio Guidi.

25 Reading *ənṣä* once only.

26 Reading *bə'äse*; the man is KWK.

27 Reading *läṣəntu*.

28 Reading *aməḥəṣṣən*.

29 *Həṣən*—probably meaning "on the end papers", or perhaps "in the interior".

who crossed the sea and bartered for it, and who ascended above the clouds and brought it down, for he was forgotten of all men, and was concealed from all the birds of Heaven³⁰. And at the time when the 84th³¹ year of this father, Kəflä giyorgis, was completed for him, from the time when he was born, that is, the completion of the 1900th year of the incarnation, on the 14th of *Gənbət*, he said to me, his pupil, "Today is my birthday. Hear me, my son, and let me speak to you. In my 25th year I went out from my home-country³², and was separated from my relatives; I remained 26 years in teaching and learning, touring all parts of Ethiopia, and I spent 33 years in the house of the foreigners. It seems to me that my departure has drawn near, and (4v) my age for rest has overtaken me, and there only remains for me a short period. Place this matter in your heart until the time when you close my eyes and cover over my body in the earth. Now do not neglect my request, day or night, concerning this book; and interpret it once for all. As for other (books), you will obtain them from other (people)³³; for I know that this flight of mine from you will be speedy".

And after 3 months and 20 days, on the 3rd of *Pagume*, at the 11th hour of the day, that is, towards evening³⁴, his soul was separated from his flesh without pain or suffering. And he was buried on holy Mount Zion, where his brother Täklä şəyon was buried³⁵, just as he said at the first, when he came from Rome, "This is my resting place for ever". Amen.

This text translated above was almost certainly composed by Kidanä wäld Kəfle; the story of the Ezekiel commentary is continued in a prefatory note in Amharic (by Dästa Täklä wäld) to the Geez grammar and dictionary *MSWG* by KG and KWK³⁶:

30 Allusion to Baruch 3.29-30 (23-4 in Amharic).

31 Apparently meaning "when he was 83 years old".

32 Reading *əmbagärəyā*.

33 The translation of *wä'absəho ... əmkal'an* is not clear to me, but the intention appears to be that KWK shall develop KG's work after his death, cf. *MSWG* p. 8.

34 I.e. at 5 p.m.

35 There are 2 defaced Ethiopian gravestones in the Latin cemetery on Mt. Zion, to the right of the path leading directly forward from the entrance, but I have been unable to verify that they are KG's and Täklä şəyon's. Also, books of KG's are reported to be in the library of the Latin Patriarchate in Jerusalem (S. Zanutto, *Bibliografia etiopica*, Rome 1929-32, p. 137), but enquiries have failed to locate them.

36 It is often overlooked that the title page of this work names its 2 authors as Kəflä giyorgis and Kidanä wäld Kəfle Wäldä abba täkle. "Wäldä abba täkle" or "Betä täklä haymanot" forms part of KWK's name because of his link with the monastery of Däbrä Libanos.

“The great scholar *Aläqa* Kidanä wäld Kəfle Betä Täklä haymanot lived in Jerusalem, having left Ethiopia in 1882 E.C., 20 years after he was born, and then returned to his country in 1912 E.C. The reason he came back was that the Crown Prince of the kingdom of Ethiopia (*Aṣṣe* Ḥaylä səllase the first) wrote a letter to him, saying, “If you can, come and interpret Ezekiel for me”.

After he had published and delivered the text of Ezekiel together with its complete commentary, he began again in Dire Dawa to prepare this illuminating book which he had begun in the Holy Land. If, having spent the day working, a thought occurred to him when he went out to take the air in the evening, he would return to the house from outside, to write a memorandum. If an interpretation entered his thoughts at lunch or supper, he would leap up, leaving his food. If a meaning came to him while he was sleeping at night, he would rise from his bed, light a lamp, and write.

At that time, it was the honorable *Wäyzäro* Bälaynäṣ Gwäbäna, the wife of the honourable *Blatta* Aṣṣəne Kidanä maryam³⁷, who used to assist him with daily needs, while she prepared the provisions and allowance which His Majesty Emperor Ḥaylä səllase the first ordered for him.

After all this perseverance and toil—even though he became blind because the Fascists imprisoned him in darkness, because he spoke, in 1929 E.C., without trace of shame or fear, of the Emperor’s return and of the freedom of the whole of Africa, beginning from Ethiopia—he was still considering assembling in order place names and personal names, and interpreting them, as he explained on page 868³⁸, when he died on *Säne* 24 1936, E.C., and was buried at Däbrä Libanos”.

Some further information is found in EMMML MS 1555, fols. 27v-30r³⁹, which contains 15 numbered Geez poems, composed mostly of rhyming couplets, and written in *qəne* style. They cover KG’s erudition (1), birth (2), death (3), travels and studies in Ethiopia (4-6), sojourn in Rome (7), sojourn in Jerusalem (8-9), death (10), and the death and scholarly legacy of Täklä ṣəyon⁴⁰ (11-15). This further information is incorporated into the following chronological table:

37 His photograph appears in *AMQ* p. 1232; he is probably the *Alto* Aṣṣəne of EMMML 1522.

38 *MSWG* p. 868 — which defines the concept of proper names, rather than explaining KWK’s intentions.

39 EMMML 1523, 1557, 1558, 1560, 1561 are also relevant, see EMMML catalogue vol. V; and EMMML 2334 and 2335, in vol. VI.

40 For references on Täklä ṣəyon, see appendix to MEHI.

- A.D. 1825 Saturday, May 21 (= *Gənbət* 14, 1817 E.C.)⁴¹, birth of KG; he was baptised on *Säne* 23.
- 1849 (1841 E.C.) onwards, KG leaves Ankobärr and travels around in Gojjam, Amhara, Lasta, Begemder, Gondar, Simen, Tigre and Hamasen⁴², for study.
- c. 1850? death of Wäldä ab⁴³; subsequent removal of his MSS from Gondar to Keren.
- 1869 Friday, February 5 (= *Tərr* 29, 1861 E.C.), death of *Aratt ayna Gwäšu*⁴⁴.
- c. 1872 (1864 E.C.), birth of KWK (said to be 20 in 1882 E.C.⁴⁵, but 72 in 1936 E.C.⁴⁶).
- c. 1875 KG goes to the "house of the foreigners" at Massawa and Keren; during this time he makes a brief visit to Jerusalem, and translates the *Imitatio Christi* from the "language of Rome" into Amharic⁴⁷.
- 1878 Tuesday, May 28 (= *Gənbət* 21, 1870 E.C.), council of Boru meda; Täklä şəyon leaves Ethiopia and goes to Jerusalem⁴⁸.
- 1883 KG at Keren writes a treatise on Christology⁴⁹.
- c. 1886 KG goes from Ethiopia to Rome; during his stay he works with I. Guidi on the *Vocabolario*⁵⁰, the *Fəṭḥa nəgəst*⁵¹, and the text of Ezekiel.
- 1888 Friday, December 7 (= *Hədar* 29, 1881 E.C.) death of Täklä şəyon, burial on Mt. Zion⁵².
- 1890 (1882 E.C.), KWK goes from Ethiopia to Jerusalem.
- c. 1897 KG goes from Rome to Jerusalem⁵³.

⁴¹ EMMML 1555 f. 27v.

⁴² EMMML 1555 f. 28r.

⁴³ Appendix to MEHI.

⁴⁴ ZL p. 374.

⁴⁵ Foreword to *MSWG*, translated above.

⁴⁶ *MSWG* p. 4; p. 3 has photographs of KG and KWK.

⁴⁷ EMMML 1555 f. 28v.

⁴⁸ ZL pp. 189-190.

⁴⁹ Yaqob, pp. 9-13, 18-19, and "Documento B" (pp. 49-211).

⁵⁰ I. Guidi, *Vocabolario Amarico-Italiano*, Rome, 1901; see p. viii, and *AMQ* p. 5.

⁵¹ EMMML 1555 f. 28v, 1523 f. 69r; published as I. Guidi, *Il Fetha Nagast o "Legislazione dei Re"*, Rome, 1897-9.

⁵² ZL pp. 189-190; EMMML 1555 f. 29v.

⁵³ EMMML 1555 f. 29r. In general, see also K. Pedersen, *The History of the Ethiopian Community in the Holy Land from the time of Emperor Tewodros II till 1974*, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, M. A. Thesis, 1981.

- 1897-9 publication in Rome of the *Fəṭḥa nəgəst*.
 c. 1899 KG meets KWK in Jerusalem.
 1901 publication in Rome of Guidi's *Vocabolario*.
 1905/6 KG writes Amharic treatise EMMML 2333 (23).
 1908 Tuesday, September 8 (= *Pagume* 3, 1900 E.C.), death of KG in Jerusalem at age of 83, burial on Mt. Zion⁵⁴.
 1916 February, writing of MS JE 301 E.
 1920 (1912 E.C.), KWK returns to Ethiopia, and stays at Dire Dawa, working on the Ezekiel commentary.
 1924 (1916 E.C.), publication in Dire Dawa of *MḤ*.
 1929 (*Yäkkatit* 27, 1921 E.C.), KWK is asked by Crown Prince Täfäri to assist with work on an Amharic dictionary⁵⁵.
 1935 publication in Dire Dawa of (?KG's) translation of the *Imitatio Christi*⁵⁶.
 1937 (1929 E.C.), imprisonment of KWK.
 1944 Saturday, July 1 (= *Säne* 24, 1936 E.C.), death of KWK, burial at Däbrä Libanos⁵⁷.
 1956 publication in Addis Ababa of KG's and KWK's *MSWG*.
 1970 publication in Addis Ababa of Dästa Täklä wäld's dictionary *AMQ*, the work for which occupied the years 1929-1958.

The fruit of the labours of KG and KWK on Ezekiel is the printed commentary, *MḤ*, made up as follows⁵⁸:

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| Title page | – (recto) “The Book of Ezekiel with its interpretation: its text in Geez, its interpretation in Amharic. Written by Kidanä wäld Kəfle. Printed in 1916”. |
| | – (verso) photograph of Crown Prince Täfäri Mäkwännən. |
| 4 unnumbered | pages, headed “Announcement of the reason why I ... Täfäri Mäkwännən published this book”, and containing the preface also contained in several other printed volumes of AC material ⁵⁹ . |

⁵⁴ EMMML 1555 f. 28r, *MSWG* p. 8, Yaqob pp. 18-9.

⁵⁵ *AMQ* p. 4.

⁵⁶ Wright, p. 103.

⁵⁷ The monks of Däbrä Libanos tried to prevent this, because of KWK's alleged heretical connections.

⁵⁸ For bibliographical details see Wright pp. 99-100.

⁵⁹ For references see *TLA* ch. 3.

- Pp 1-6: Preface (*Mäqdām*) "of Ezekiel the prophet", containing much traditional Ethiopian material also to be found e.g. in the AC introductions to Isaiah and the corpus of the minor prophets, but probably given its present form by KWK, as it also contains material from Jewish sources concerning Hananiah (*TB Hagigah* 13a) and a reference to Josephus' *Antiquities* (not to the "Book of Josippon").
- Pp. 7-504: The text of Ezekiel in Geez, and commentary in Amharic, with some illustrations. The Geez text is a careful translation from the Hebrew of Ezekiel⁶⁰, and includes (p. 502) a translation of the Massoretic note at the end of the book giving the number of verses and chapters, and the mid-point. The division into chapters (*mā'āraf*) follows the customary modern arrangement, except that ch. 3 v. 1 falls at Hebrew ch. 3 v. 4. The division into verses follows that in modern printed Hebrew Bibles (and is not that of the Vulgate). Some chapters are further divided into sections (*kāff*), of which the majority correspond with *parašot ptuhot*, fewer correspond with *parašot stumot*, and a few not with any formal text division I can discover—possibly they are taken from an Ethiopic MS.
- The illustrations (and some of the notes of dimensions relating to plans of the Temple) are reproduced from the commentary on Ezekiel in L-Cl. Fillion, *La Sainte Bible*⁶¹, with the exception of the map on p. 503, which was probably specially drawn. KWK was evidently aware of other illustrations, as on p. 504 he mentions a "Hebrew picture" of the plan of Ezekiel's temple.
- The Amharic commentary itself contains material from traditional Ethiopian⁶², and from other, especially Jewish,

60 Cf. A.A. National Library MS 10 (*Catalogue*, 1962 E.C. pp. 6-7). On the questions raised by another Biblical text apparently translated from Hebrew into Geez, see H. A. W. Pilkington, *A critical edition of the Book of Proverbs in Ethiopic*, Oxford D. Phil. thesis, 1978, and E. Ullendorff, "Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek; the versions underlying Ethiopic translations of Bible and intertestamental literature", in G. Rendsburg et al (edd.), *The Bible World. Essays in Honor of Cyrus H. Gordon*, New York, 1980, pp. 249-257.

61 Paris, 1888-1904, vol. 6. For the original of the drawing on *MH* pp. 49 and 435 see M. Peeters Wilboux in *Bulletins de la Société historique et littéraire de Tournai*, Tournai, tome I, 1849, facing p. 266.

62 On the sources of the AC, see *TLA* ch. 6. Some of the traditional material in *MH* is also

sources; it is neither a mere edition of the Ethiopian AC, nor a mere adaptation of a non-Ethiopian work. The sources include the following:

- a) KG himself, named in comment on 42.4 as favouring a symbolic understanding of details of Ezekiel's temple vision.
- b) Sources typical of the remainder of the AC corpus, such as *Aksimaros*, *Zena askandar*, John of Nikiou, and most importantly the Biblical and patristic texts commented on in the AC, together with the Amharic commentaries themselves.
- c) Readings of the *säba liqanat* (LXX translators), correctly cited on 1.4, 4.5, 8.2, 42.19 etc.
- d) Readings or parallels in Arabic, on 1.4, 1.7, 1.11.
- e) KWK appears to have used a Bible dictionary or encyclopedia, e.g. in comment on Tammuz in 8.14.
- f) Jewish sources:
 - (i) References to "Hebrew" (words or grammar) on 1.4, 2.4, 4.2, 6.14 etc.
 - (ii) *Targum Yerushalmi*, cited by name on 1.3, doubtless from Radak.
 - (iii) *Targum "Jonathan"* to Ezekiel, cited by name on 1.6 (and on pp. 505-6).
 - (iv) "Midrash" is named as a source on 24.8, on "worship of Joash" (*Exodus Rabba* VIII.2 and parallels) and on "Zechariah's blood" (*TB Sanhedrin* 96b⁶³).

In addition, references to *mätärgwaman* or *liqawntä ayhud* are mostly to the targumim and midrashim; e.g. the *mätärgwam* of 23.5 is *Targum "Jonathan"* in loc., and the "Jewish scholars" of 17.1 refers to *Ecclesiastes Rabba* I.12.

found in the AC to other books e.g. some of the material on Melchizedek in comment on Ezek. 16.3 is also found in AC *Filkesys* p. 39.

63 The tradition recorded in the comment on Ezek. 24.8 that 94,000 people were killed agrees with *TB Sanhedrin* 96b rather than with other versions of the story (see J.-D. Dubois, *Études sur l'Apocryphe de Zacharie et sur les traditions concernant la mort de Zacharie*, Oxford D. Phil. Thesis, 1978): the tradition recorded alongside it, that 1500 were killed, does not appear in Jewish sources, and may be Ethiopian (though AC Matt. 23.35 gives the number as 7, and *Sankassar*, *Mäskäräm* 8 does not record a number).

- (v) KWK also seems to have drawn on the Talmud directly, and not via other Jewish or non-Jewish commentators—e.g. on 16.49 he cites the story of Sodom from *TB Sanhedrin* 109b, and on 43.3 he takes Hananiah's defence of the integrity of the book of Ezekiel from *TB Hagigah* 13a, though without naming these sources.
- (vi) Later Rabbinic commentators. Surprisingly, the only one named is Shadal, once on 3.9⁶⁴; but it is clear that Radak and Rashi have been used most extensively throughout the commentary, and doubtless KWK used the *miqra'ot גדולות*. E.g. the interpretation of the "third sword" of 21.19 as that of the Ammonites is that of Rashi; the ingenious comment on the "40 years" of 29.11 is that of Radak. The two interpretations of the "mountain" of 40.2 are those of Rashi and Radak respectively. In the Geez text of 46.22, KWK transliterates the Hebrew *qšurot*, and then mentions in the comment the "reading" *ahuzat*, representing Radak's understanding *qšurot*. Examples occur on most pages of the commentary, and are too many to be accidental correspondences. The Jewish interpretations may lie alongside specifically Christian ones (e.g. in 44.2 on the "closed gate"), but the disparate materials are blended into a remarkably harmonious unity.

Pp. 505-6: Report (*zena*) "from the Hebrew", in Geez. It gives some particulars about Ezekiel's life and death, including the claim that Pythagoras was his disciple⁶⁵. It is probably translated from a Hebrew encyclopedia; its major source is the section on Ezekiel's grave in the *Travels* of Rabbi Petachiah of Regensburg⁶⁶.

64 3.12 in Hebrew; see *Peruše šadal ... 'al yirmya yehizq'el mišle ve'yyob*, by Shmuel David Luzatto, Lemberg, 1876.

65 See L. Ginzberg, *The legends of the Jews*, Philadelphia, 1947, vol. VI, p. 422.

66 A. Benisch, *Travels of Rabbi Petachiah of Ratisbon*, London, 1856, pp. 19-33; the material does not appear in the corresponding section of the *Itinerary* of Benjamin of Tudela (or in the Ethiopic version of lives of the prophets, see M. A. Knibb in *BSOAS*, XLIII (1980) pt. 2, 197-206).

- Pp. 506-7: Geez text of the section on Ezekiel in *Sankassar* for *Miyazya* 5⁶⁷.
- Pp. 507-10: A *mälkä* of Ezekiel, in Geez, probably KWK's original composition.
- Pp. 511-3: Appendix in Amharic on "The number of the books", discussing the Hebrew and LXX canons and text.
- Pp. 514-5: Errata, and note that work on the book was commenced on *Säne* 4 and completed on *Yäkkatit* 30.

We cannot quantify KG's contribution to this printed Ezekiel commentary. However, the evidence above suggests that KG gave KWK his interest in Ezekiel, his concern for establishing its correct text, extensive factual information concerning the traditional Ethiopian interpretation of Ezekiel, and a desire to extend his studies beyond traditional Ethiopian circles; and alongside this, he must have shared, as an outstanding teacher to an outstanding pupil, his vision of scholarly enquiry.

Acknowledgements

I am indebted to Prof. J. Tubiana and the Laboratoire Peiresc for using their Ethioconcord computer programme to supply Gregorian equivalents of Ethiopian dates; and to the staff of the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library for making available printouts from EMMML MS 1555.

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I am grateful to Prof. W. Leslau, both for the general contribution his studies have made, and for stimulating my work on this subject by writing to me about a closely related matter.

67 English translation in E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, Cambridge, 1928, pp. 783-4.

Abbreviations

AA	Addis Ababa.
AC	<i>Andamta</i> commentary/corpus.
ACD	<i>Amharic Church Dictionary</i> , (ed) Sergew Hable Sellassie, draft ed., A.A., 1977 onwards.
AMQ	<i>Addis yamarantña mäzğäbä qalat</i> , Dästa Täklä wäld, A.A., 1970.
BL	British Library, London.
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
CCR	Carlo Conti Rossini (see S. Strelcyn, <i>Catalogue des MSS éthiopiens de l'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei</i> , Rome, 1976).
E.C.	Ethiopian Calendar.
EMML	Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library (see Catalogues by W.F. Macomber and Getatchew Haile).
Guidi	I. Guidi, <i>Storia della letteratura etiopica</i> , Rome, 1932.
KG	Käflä giyorgis.
KWK	Kidanä wäld Käfle.
MEHI	R. Cowley, <i>Mämbär Esdros and his interpretations</i> , <i>Proceedings of the Sixth International Congress of Ethiopian Studies</i> (forthcoming).
MH	<i>Mäshafä Həzqə'el</i> , KWK, Dire Dawa, 1916 E.C.
MSWG	<i>Mäshafä säwasəw wägəss wämäzğäbä qalat haddis</i> , KG and KWK, A.A., 1948 E.C.
OTIAC	R. Cowley, <i>Old Testament Introduction in the Andemta Commentary Tradition</i> , <i>Journal of Ethiopian Studies</i> , vol. XII, no. 1, pp. 133-175.
RRAL	<i>Rendiconti, Regia Accademia dei Lincei</i> (classe de Scienze, Morali, Storiche e Filologiche).
Taddesse	Taddesse Tamrat, <i>Church and State in Ethiopia 1270-1527</i> , Oxford, 1972.
TB	<i>Talmud Babli</i> .
TLA	R. Cowley, <i>The Traditional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of St. John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church</i> , University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, 33.
Ullendorff	E. Ullendorff, <i>Ethiopia and the Bible</i> , London, 1968.
Wright	S. Wright, <i>Ethiopian Incunabula</i> , A.A., 1967.
Yaqob	Yaqob Beyene, <i>L'Unzione di Cristo nella Teologia Etiopica</i> , <i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i> 215, Rome, 1981.
ZL	<i>Mäshafä qəne, zəkrä liqawnt</i> , Mäl'akä bərhan Admasu Jämbäre, A.A., 1963 E.C.

THE AMHARIC FIRST ORDER VOWEL *

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Amharic possesses seven vowel phonemes, known in traditional grammar as the seven vowel "orders". There is general agreement among scholars of Ethiopic concerning the phonetics of six of these seven vowels, orders two through seven. They are [u], [i], [a], [e], [ə], and [o], respectively. There is, however, no consensus about the phonetic description of the first order vowel. The purpose of this article is to resolve the controversy surrounding the first order vowel by specifying it acoustically.

There are three schools of thought concerning the nature of the first order vowel. One group of scholars claims that it is a front vowel, a second group hears a central vowel, while a third group places it somewhere between front and central positions. All agree that it lies in the mid-to-low range.

Among the proponents of the front vowel theory are Guidi, Mittwoch and Baeteman. Guidi (1889:6) employs the symbol *Ɑ* for the first order vowel, which he specifies as the vowel in English "bad" (=IPA[æ]?). Mittwoch (1907:193-194) transcribes the most common occurrence of the first order vowel as *Ɑ* and describes it as "ein ausserordentlich enges a", resembling the "broad e" in German "Mensch", but being somewhat closer to a (again = [æ]?). Baeteman (1929:xii-xiv), after reviewing the usages of others and finding them all unacceptable, settles on an analysis of the first order vowel as an "è ouvert" (= IPA[ɛ]?).

Cohen, Obolensky and Hudson all report that the first order vowel is a central vowel. Cohen (1936: 42-48) uses the symbol *Ɑ*, which he defines as a central vowel, higher than a and lower than ə. But Cohen's ə is actually in the position of IPA [i] on his chart, i.e. high central, thus making *Ɑ* a

* I would like to thank the Ethiopians whose co-operation made this research possible and, in particular, the indulgence of the management of Walia Restaurant, Los Angeles. The spectrographic analysis was made possible through the generosity of Dr. Ronald K. S. Macaulay of Pitzer College. Most of all, I am grateful to Dr. Wolf Leslau who is totally responsible for my involvement in, and knowledge of, Ethiopic.

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mid central vowel (=IPA [ə]?). (It is actually mid-low as Cohen places *a* noticeably lower than *e* and *o*). Obolensky (1964), in agreement with Cohen, uses [ə] for the first order vowel, transcribing the sixth order vowel as the higher [i]. Hudson, too, hears a mid central vowel (1978:198).

The third opinion is expressed in the work of Sumner, Ullendorff, Leslau and the group of Cowley, Bender and Ferguson. Sumner (1951:67), in an experimental phonetic study, analyzes the first order vowel as [ɛ] in open syllables but finds it somewhat centralized ([ɛ̃]) in closed syllables. Ullendorff (1955:161) reports a pronunciation which is "... a half-open fronted *a*-sound spoken with fairly well spread lips". He later goes on to call it "centralized". Leslau (1968:6) places the first order vowel in the position of [ɛ] on his chart, but describes it as being "... like the sound one makes while hesitating in speaking and which is represented in writing by 'uh'", i.e. English [ʌ]. Both Ullendorff and Leslau transcribe the first order vowel by *ä*. Finally, Cowley, Bender and Ferguson (1976:79) call it a central vowel, but further state that it actually is "... roughly between the vowels of English 'bed' and 'bud', generally nearer the former", i.e. between [ɛ] and [ʌ].

In addition, there has been some discussion of allophonic variation. Guidi, for example, claims that after [w] the first order vowel frequently has a sound which is "almost *o*". Cohen and Ullendorff, as Guidi, find a variant after [w] which they transcribe as *å*, a vowel intermediate between *a* and *o*. Cohen also hears a variant in the environment of palatals, transcribed *ä*, and equated with the vowel in English "man" (= IPA [æ]?). Both Guidi and Sumner note that totally unaccented first order vowels are short and indistinct. For Guidi, they are "almost *ě*", while for Sumner, they are [ə].

In order to determine the position of the first order vowel, a spectrographic analysis of the Amharic vowel system was undertaken. The data were taken from tape recordings made in 1974 of four native speakers from Addis Ababa, male students in their twenties and thirties. Both isolated word data and contextual data (though from reading, not casual speech) were utilized. As the recordings had been made for another purpose, it was impossible to get the same number of examples for each vowel or for each speaker. In the case of speaker #1, only one example of the vowel [o] was found and no examples of [e] or [u]. In general, however, at least four or five examples of each vowel per speaker were obtained, and between nine and twenty-four examples per speaker of the first order vowel. Spectrograms were made on a Kaye sonograph 6061-B. They were then analyzed and plotted separately for each speaker. After variants which had clearly been affected by particular phonetic environments were removed from the calculations (see

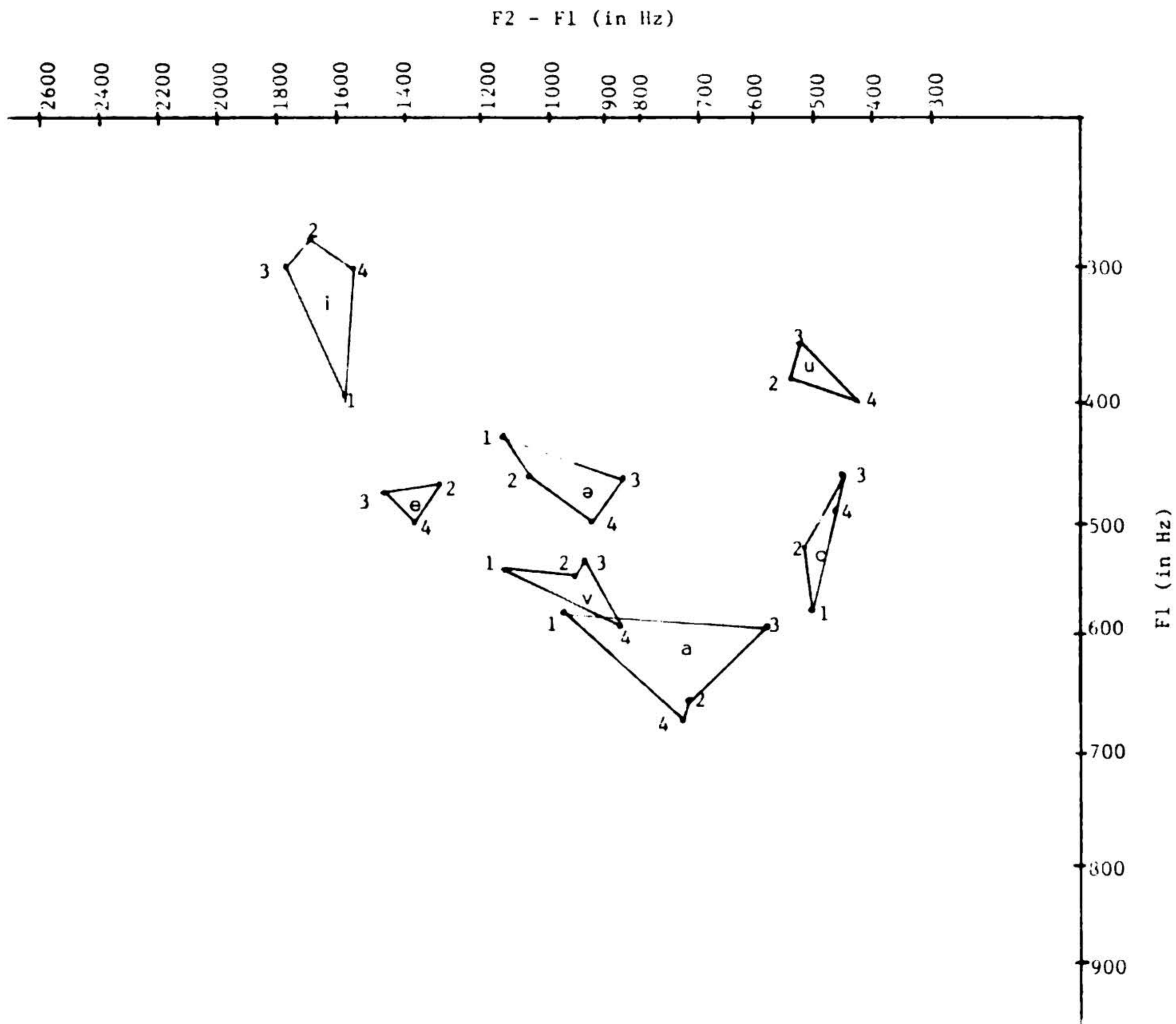


Figure 1. Mean formant values for each vowel for each of four speakers.
v stands for the first order vowel.

below), a master plot was made showing the mean formant values for each vowel for each speaker. A similar master plot was constructed using the median values. Finally, two new recordings (1980) were made of isolated words in almost a six-way contrast: /fvlləgi/ “want! (f.s.)”, /fvlləga/ “she having wanted”, /fvlləgo/ “he having wanted”, /fvlləgu/ “want! (pl.)”, /fvlləgge/ “I having wanted”, and /fvlləgvh/ “you (m.s.) having wanted”, /v/ representing the first order vowel here. The speakers were one of the original group of four (speaker #2) and an additional young man (identified as speaker #5 on the chart). These tapes were then analyzed spectrographically and plotted.

Figures 1 and 2 show the mean and median values, respectively, for each of the four speakers and each of the seven vowels as contained in the original

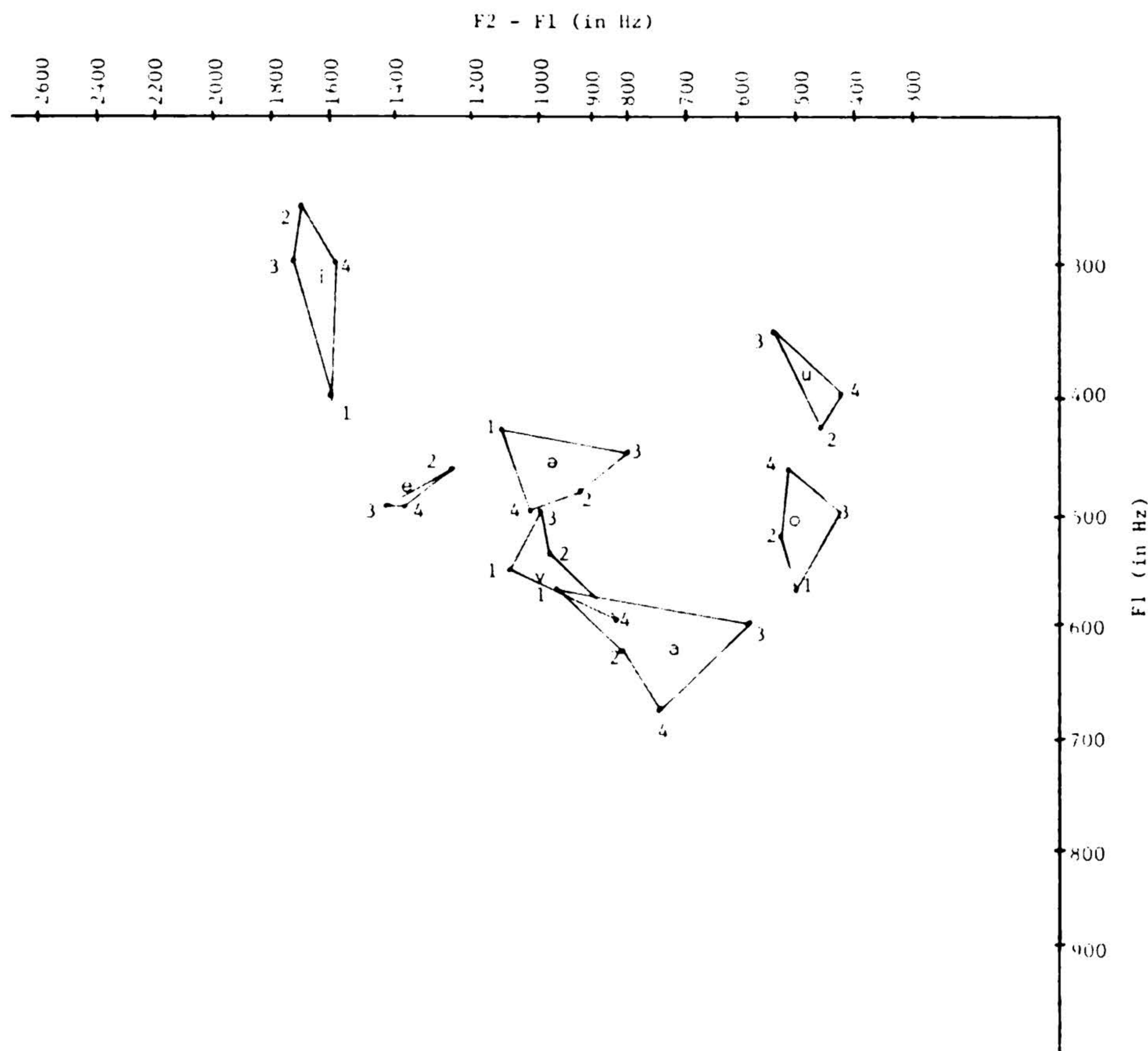


Figure 2. Median formant values for each vowel for each of four speakers.
v stands for the first order vowel.

recordings. The overall view of the vowel system is the same in both figures. Figure 3 shows the values obtained from the later recordings of the two speakers when the vowels were in near minimal pair position. Here every occurrence of every vowel is plotted. This figure, of course, shows a much greater spread in the vowel positions. Figure 4 shows a composite of all the graphs, with each vowel denoted by a single point. These were computed by taking the mean formant values of all the examples of each vowel, ranging from 12 examples of [e] to 74 examples of the first order vowel. The first order vowel shows up as a central vowel mid-way between [ə] and [a], i.e. IPA [ɐ]. Figure 5 is a spectrogram of the word /fvlləga/ as recorded by speaker #2. One can clearly see that the first formant (F1) of /v/ is higher

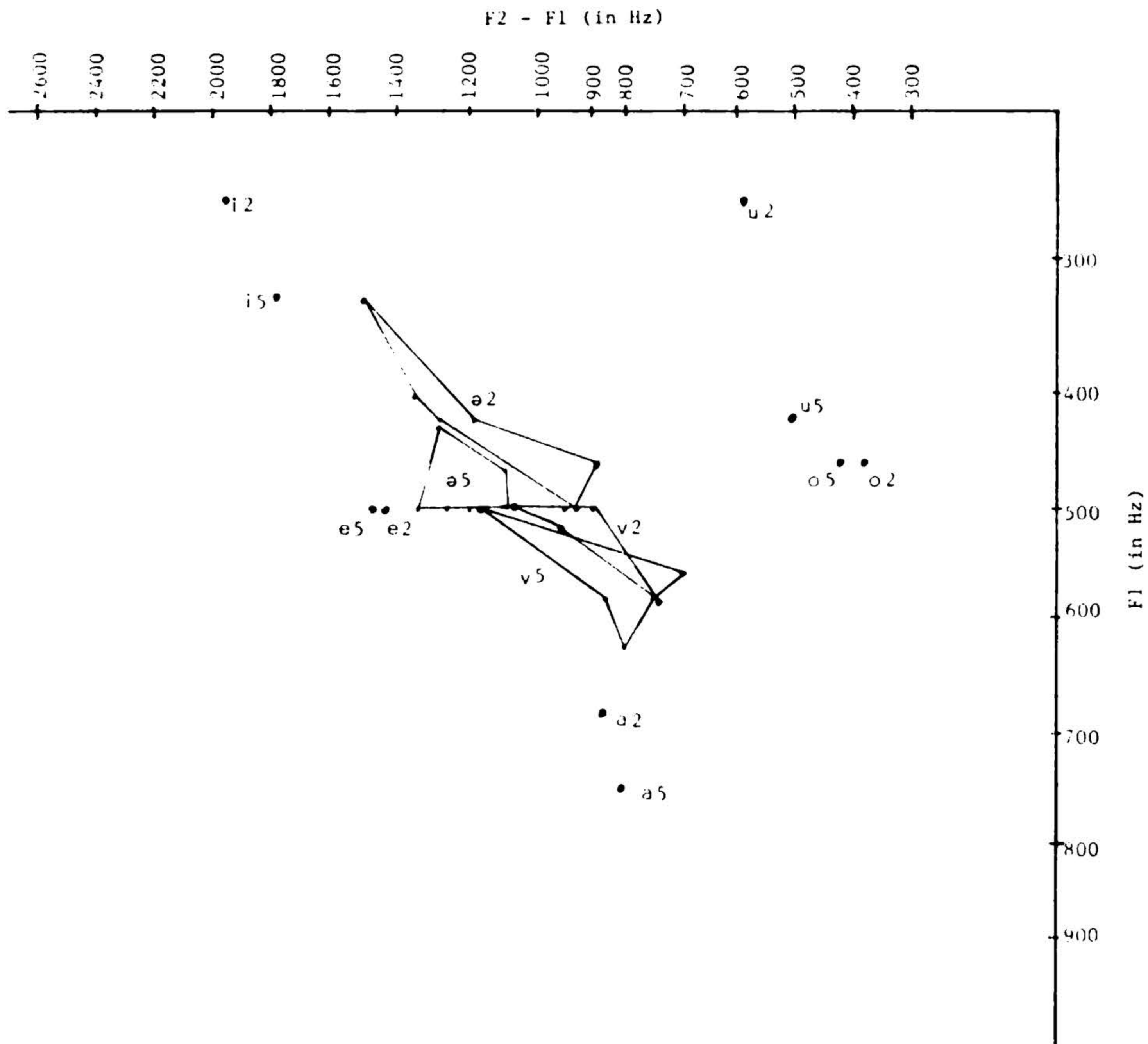


Figure 3. Plot of vowels occurring in six words recorded by two speakers.
Larger dots indicate vowels in near minimal contrast.
v stands for the first order vowel.

than that of [ə] and that the distance between F₁ and F₂ (the second formant) is smaller for /v/ than for [ə]. Thus, again, /v/ is a vowel lower and farther back than [ə].

Some phonetic environments clearly caused consistent shifts in the vowels. In most cases, these occurred in the environment of semi-vowels. In four out of the five examples of /wv/ in the data (again /v/ standing for the first order vowel), the first order vowel was realized as a sound between its normal position and [o] (mean formants 530, 1195), thus confirming the reports of Guidi and Cohen. A pure [o] was recorded in the one case of /vw/ in the data (/svw/ "man"). [ə] in the environments /yə/ and /əy/ was invariably rendered [i]. The data was insufficient to examine any other environment.

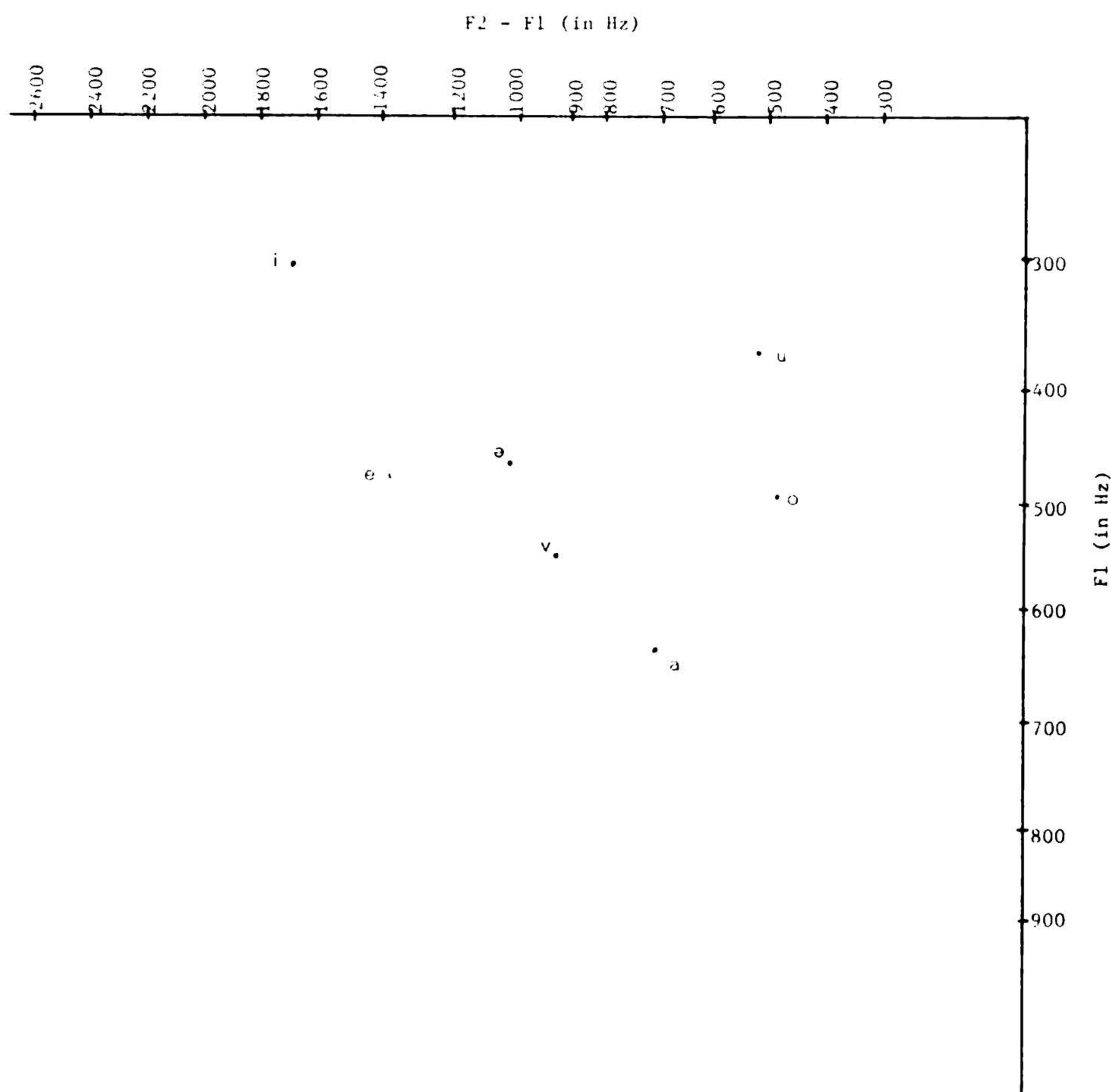


Figure 4. Composite plot showing the mean value of all examples for each vowel.
v indicates the first order vowel.

It is interesting to note that descriptions of the first order vowel in other Ethiopian Semitic languages have often been in accord with these findings. In his studies on Argobba (1959:252) and Soddo (1968:6), Leslau defines the first order vowel as "higher-low, central" and just below [ə] (= IPA [ɐ]). Palmer (1962:6) gives [ɐ] as the phonetic equivalent of the first order vowel in Tigre.

While the phonetic specification of the first order vowel is of primary interest here, the question of its transcription must, of necessity, also arise.

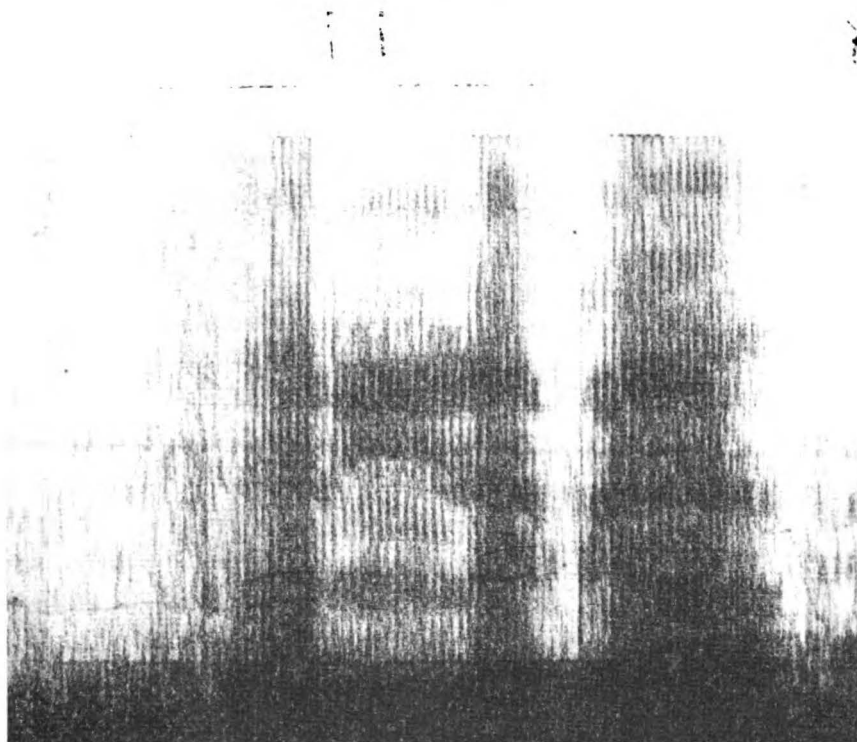


Figure 5. Spectrogram of the word /fvlləga/ as spoken by speaker #2.
/v/ stands for the first order vowel.

Ideally, it should be transcribed using the proper IPA symbol, [ɐ]. As the International Phonetics Association states in its *Principles* (1949:7), "if a language contains two unrounded central vowels, it is recommended that ə be used to denote the closer one and ɐ for the opener one". Unfortunately, however, economic reality makes that an unlikely prospect as the symbol [ɐ] is not available to many printers. Five symbols used in the literature have already been mentioned: ε, ə (using ı for the sixth order vowel), ʌ, ɤ and ä. ε and the ə/ı set should be rejected, since they are IPA symbols with very specific phonetic values which do not accurately represent the phonetics of the Amharic first and sixth order vowels. ʌ, ɤ and ä have the advantage of not leading the reader to an incorrect interpretation quite so immediately. Of these, both ʌ and ä use accepted diacritics which denote centrality but ä, it seems fair to say (along with Hudson 1978:198), has been the most common

symbol in much of the recent literature, carrying with it the weight of "tradition".

This is not an ideal solution. As the International Phonetics Association notes (1949:1), "when two sounds occurring in a given language are employed for distinguishing one word from another, they should whenever possible be represented by two distinct letters without diacritical marks" and further (1949:16) in commenting on the diacritical mark "̣", "the use of "̣" is to be recommended when the vowels are special members of back or front vowel phonemes". But of all the available options, ä seems best when [ɐ] is unavailable.

The Amharic first order vowel is a mid-low central vowel, halfway between [ɔ] and [a]. It is the vowel expressed by the IPA symbol [ɐ]. While ä will probably continue to be the symbol used to transcribe it, it should be understood to express this phonetic fact: /ä/ = [ɐ].

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SEMITIC AND EAST CUSHITIC: SOUND CORRESPONDENCES AND COGNATE SETS

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o. The purpose of this paper is to compare East Cushitic (as reconstructed on the Proto-East-Cushitic level by H.-J. Sasse, 1979, and on the Proto-Lowland-East-Cushitic level by Paul Black, 1974) to Semitic. I have tried to choose the most reliable cognate sets in order to establish regular consonant correspondences. This paper considers all classes of consonants except the laryngeals and the sonants.

I have used Sasse's and Black's reconstructions, as well as Bernd Heine's Proto-Sam (Somali-Boni-Rendille) reconstructions and my own East Cushitic reconstructions based on available material. Wherever possible, the Egyptian correspondences are taken into account as well.

1. Sem. **b*, Eg. *b* = ECush. **b*

- (1.1) Sem. **ba'raḱ*- 'lightning' > Hebrew *ba':ra:ḱ*, Aram. *bar'ka:*, Arab. *barq-un*, Tigre *bärḱ*, Akkad. *birk-um* 'lightning'; Sem. **√brḱ* 'to lighten' > Akkad., Hebrew, Eth. *√brḱ*, Arab. *√brq* 'to lighten' = ECush. **bark-*/ *birk-* > Elmolo *ibirga*, Dasenech *bidḍi* (< **birk-ti*), Sidamo (Cerulli) *birako* 'lightning'. Cp. also Eg. *b'ḱ* 'to be bright', Coptic *ebrēce*, *ebrēt* 'lightning'. See Sasse 1979.49, cp. Dolgopolsky 1972c.227-8.
- (1.2) Sem. **√'bd* (basic stem **-'bad-*) 'to get lost' > Hebrew *√'bd* (impf. *yo:'bad* < **ya-'bad-u*) 'to get lost', Ugar., Phoen., Aram. *√'bd* id., Arab. *√'bd* 'to become wild' (cattle) = ECush. **bad-* 'to get lost, to be extinguished' > Saho, Afar *ba(:)d-* 'to perish, to be extinguished', Dasenech *bad-*, Elmolo *ped-*, Galla *bad-* 'to be lost', Konso *pat-* 'to be ruined', Gidole *pat-* 'to disappear, to be lost, to die', Burji *bas-s-* (< caus. **bad-s-*) 'to extinguish', Gawwada, Harso *pat-* 'to disappear', Gollango *pat-* 'to get lost'. See Black 1974.176, Sasse 1979.14.
- (1.3) Sem. **baḡan/m-* 'venomous snake' > Akk. *bašm-um* 'a mythic venomous snake', Ugar. *bḡn* 'snake', Arab. *baḡan-un* 'venomous snake' = ECush. **bos-* 'snake' > Galla *bof^a* 'snake' and perh. Somali *abe:so* 'type of snake', Saho, Afar (')*abe:so* 'snake'. See Sasse 1976.127.

- (1.4) Sem. $\sqrt{bhl}$ or $\sqrt{bxl}$ > Aram. (Pehl.) *bhl* 'fierce animal' = ECush. $\sqrt{bahal}$ - 'wild animal' > Somali *bahal* 'wild animal', Rendille *bahaši* (< $\sqrt{bahal-ti}$) 'lion'. See Sasse 1979.41.
- (1.5) Sem. $\sqrt{bk}$ 'to split' > Hebrew, Aram. $\sqrt{bk}$ (impf. $\sqrt{bka}$) 'to split', cp. $\sqrt{bkw}$ > Eth. (caus.) $\sqrt{a-bkawa}$ 'distendere, aperire (os), hiare', *bakw* 'hians, hiscens' = ECush. $\sqrt{bak}$ - 'to crush' > Afar *bak*- 'to crush', Somali *baq*- 'to curdle', Galla *bak*- 'to melt', *bakak*- 'to crack', Konso (caus.) *paq-š*- 'to chop', Gidole *paq-ke-iyi*- (sg. caus.) 'to chop', Gawwada *paq-q-as*- (sg. caus.) 'to chop'. See Black 1974.197, 253, Sasse 1979.48, 49.
- (1.6) Eg. *b'* 'snake's hole' (if it is not cognate with Sem. $\sqrt{b'r}$ 'hole') = ECush. $\sqrt{bohl}$ 'hole' > Saho *bo:l* (< *bohól*), Somali *bohól*, Galla *bo:l-a* (< $\sqrt{bohl-a}$) 'hole in the ground', Gidole *pohól-a* 'wall', Hadiyya *bo:r-a* 'salt-hole'. See Black 1974.120, Sasse 1979.16, 41.
- (1.7) Sem. $\sqrt{bVšš}$ - > Hebrew *biš'ša*: 'swamp', Christian Pal. Aram. *bšy* 'swamp' (and perh. Sem. $\sqrt{ba:š}$ - 'sand' > Akk. *ba:š-um* 'sand', Ar. *ba:š-un* 'sand', cp. Hebrew *boš* 'silt') = ECush. $\sqrt{baž}$ - 'lake, sea' > Saho, Som. *bad* 'sea', Rendille *hey* 'lake', Dasenech *baž* 'lake Rudolf', Elmolo *paw* 'lake Rudolf', Gollango, Dobase *pas-o* 'lake'. See Sasse 1976.137, Sasse 1979.20, Dolgopolsky 1966.54.
- (1.8) Sem. $\sqrt{a'b}$ - (i.e. nom. $\sqrt{a'b-u}$, gen. $\sqrt{a'b-i}$, acc. $\sqrt{a'b-a}$) 'father' > Akkad. *ab-um*, Hebrew $\sqrt{a:b}$, Arab. $\sqrt{ab-un}$ (see Dolgopolsky 1978.1, 3-9) = ECush. $\sqrt{a:b}$ -/ $\sqrt{abb}$ - 'father' > Saho, Afar *abb-a*, Somali *a:bb-e* 'father' and *abb-a:n* 'protector', Rendille *ab-a*, Bayso *abb-o* 'father', Galla *abb-a*: 'father' (general), *a:bb-o*: 'own father', Konso *a:p-a*, Gidole *app-a* 'father', Hadiyya *a:bb-a* 'father', Burji *a:bb-o* 'father'. See Sasse 1979.15.
- (1.9) Sem. $\sqrt{bb}$ > Arab. $\sqrt{bb}$ (pf. *abba*, impf. $\sqrt{ubb}$) 'to gulp, to swallow water in one draught', Eg. *b'b* 'to drink' = LECush. $\sqrt{a-ab}$ - 'to drink' > Afar $\sqrt{a-ab}$ - (juss.), $\sqrt{a-ub}$ - (pf.) 'to drink', Saho $\sqrt{o:ob}$ - (pf.) 'to drink', Somali $\sqrt{ab-b}$ - 'to drink'. See Black 1974.150, Dolgopolsky 1973.139, 225-6.
- (1.10) Sem. $\sqrt{dbr}$ 'back, behind' = ECush. $\sqrt{dib}$ -/ $\sqrt{dub}$ - 'tail, behind', $\sqrt{dab}$ - 'tail' (see 3.2).
- (1.11) Eg. *dbḥ* 'to need, to ask for (esp. food, water)' = POromo $\sqrt{de:b-od}$ - 'to become thirsty' (see 5.6).
- (1.12) Sem. $\sqrt{gb}$ 'hill', $\sqrt{gbl}$ 'mountain' = ECush. $\sqrt{gub}$ - 'mountain' (see 6.6).
- (1.13) Sem. $\sqrt{lb}$ 'lion' > OAkkad. *lab'um* id., Hebrew *la:bi:(')* 'lioness' = PSam $\sqrt{liba:h}$ 'lion' > Somali *libah*, Boni *gi'wa*, *giwah* 'lion'. See Heine 1978.67.

- (1.14) Sem. * $\sqrt{gbb}$ > Akkad. *gubbubu* 'to roast' = ECush. **gub-* 'to burn' (see 6.7).
- (1.15) Sem. **ganb-* 'side' = SLECush. **ga₂b-* 'bank, ditch' (see 6.12).
- (1.16) Eg. *gb* 'arm' = ECush. **gVb-* > Saho, Afar *gaba* 'hand' (see 6.14).
- (1.17) Eg. *k'b* 'knee' = ECush. **gilb-/gulb-* 'knee' > Afar, Saho *gulub*, Somali, Rendille *gilib*, Boni *silub*, Bayso *gilib*, Galla *gilba*, Konso *kilpa*, Gidole *kilp*, Gawwada *kilp-aybo*, Tsamay *gilib-ko*, Hadiyya *guruhbo*, Burji *gilba* 'knee'. See Black 1974.148, 163, 182, Sasse 1979. 5, 6, 18, Heine 1978.61, Dolgopolsky 1973.75.
- (1.18) Eg. *kb(b)* 'cold' = ECush. **kab-* 'cold' (see 8.5).
- (1.19) Sem. **ḡa'nab-* 'tail' = ECush. **zanb-/zinb-* 'tail' (see 11.1).
- (1.20) Sem. **ḡi(V)b-* 'wolf' = ECush. **zo:b* 'lion' (see 11.2).
- (1.21) Sem. * $\sqrt{shy}$ 'to moisten, to dye' = ECush. **ṣub-* 'to dip in' (see 12.1).
- (1.22) Sem. **'libab-* 'heart' > Hebrew *leb*, etc. (see Dolgopolsky 1978.2, 10-11) = ECush. **lubb-* 'heart' > Elmolo *rup-ai* 'heart', Galla *lubb-a* 'life', Konso *lupp-o:ta* 'heart, soul' (see Black 1974.259) = Eg. *lb* 'heart'.

Apparent deviations from the above sound correspondence are sometimes found in the intervocalic position and in one case in a consonant cluster, where ECush **f* (rather than **b*) happens to correspond to the Sem. **b*:

- (1.23) Sem. **'ar'ba-* 'four' > Hebrew *'ar'ba*, Arab. *'arba-*, Akkad. *erbe*, *erbû-m*, etc. = LESuch. **'af(a)r-* (~ **'arf-*) 'four' > Saho and Afar (Reinisch) *afar* 'four', Somali *áfar*, Rendille *afar*, Bayso *afar(-i)*, Arbore *afára*, Dasenech (Heine) *affur* 'four' and the ordinal numeral ('fourth'): Somali *afr-a:d*, Galla *afr-afa* ~ *arf-afa*, Konso *arf-atta*, Gidole *arf-iyya*. The fact that the consonant in question is unvoiced in other Semito-Hamitic languages (Bedawye *faḍig* 'four', Eg. *ifd* 'Vierzahl', Chadic probably **fwVdV* ~ **VfwVdV* 'four' > Hausa *hudu* ~ *fudu*, Bolewa *poddo*, Angas *fi:r*, Margi *fwàdà*, Wandala *ufádé*, Mubi *fádà*) suggests that the underlying Proto-Semito-Hamitic phoneme was unvoiced and therefore the irregular correspondence of Sem. **b* to ECush. **f* has to be explained by voicing in Semitic rather than by unvoicing in Cushitic. See Black 1974.153, 104, 167, Dolgopolsky 1973.231-2.
- (1.24) Sem. * $\sqrt{rbš}$ 'to lie' > Aram. $\sqrt{rb}$ 'to lie', Hebrew $\sqrt{rbš}$ 'to lie, couch' (animals), Arab. $\sqrt{rbḍ}$ 'to lay down, to cower', Akkad. $\sqrt{rbš}$ 'sich lagern' = ECush. **raf-* 'to sleep, spend the night' > Dasenech, Harso, Gollango *raf-* 'to spend the night', Elmolo *rap-* 'to sleep', Galla, Gawwada *raf-* 'to sleep', Hadiyya *lap-* 'to sleep'. See Sasse 1979.22.

2. Sem. **p* (and Eg. *f*, *p*?) = ECush. **f*

- (2.1) Sem. * $\sqrt{pry}$ 'to bear fruit, be fruitful' > Hebrew *pa':ra:*, Aram., Syr. *pa'ra:*, Eth. *farya*; Sem. **pir(i)y-* 'fruit' > Hebrew *pa'ri:*, *'peri:*, Phoen., Ugar. *pr*, Aram., Syr. *pe':ra:* 'fruit' = ECush. **fir-* > Saho (Reinisch) *fire* 'flowers, fruit', *faray-* 'to blossom, bear fruit', Galla (Thiene) *firi* 'frutto'; cp. Agaw: Bilin *fir* 'fruit', *fri-* 'to bear fruit' = Eg. *pr.t* 'fruit'. See Dolgopolsky 1966.64.
- (2.2) Sem. **put-* 'vulva' > Hebrew *poṭ* = ECush. **fut-* 'slot' > Somali Isaaq *futo* 'anus', Galla *fuči* 'vulva'; cp. Chadic: Angas *fut* 'deep hole'. See Dolgopolsky 1973.247.
- (2.3) Sem. * $\sqrt{p'l}$ 'to do, to make' > Hebrew, Phoen., Aram. $\sqrt{p'l}$ 'to do, to make', Arab. $\sqrt{f'l}$ 'to do, to act', Tigre $\sqrt{f'l}$ 'to weave' = ECush.: Proto-Sam **fal-* > Somali *fal-* 'to do, make', Boni *fal-* 'to make'; cp. Omotic: Kaffa *hal-* 'to do, to create', Mocha *ḡalli-* 'to create', Gofa *pol-* 'to be fulfilled'. See Heine 1978.58, Dolgopolsky 1966.61.
- (2.4) Sem. **pars-at-* 'hoof' > Hebrew *par'sa:* 'hoof', Syr. *parsa'ta:* 'hoof' = ECush. **fer-* 'finger' > Afar *fe:ra*, Somali *far*, Boni *per*, Rendille *fār*, Elmolo 'far-ro' 'finger', (Heine) *parro* 'Klaue', Kambatta (Fleming) *far* 'finger'; cp. Omotic (Koyra *parta:* 'finger') and Chadic (e.g., Hausa *farče* 'finger-nail'). See Heine 1978.59, Black 1974.117, Dolgopolsky 1966.60-61, 1973.41-2.
- (2.5) Sem. * $\sqrt{prh}$ > Eth. $\sqrt{frh}$ 'to fear' = ECush.: Proto-Konso **fu:r-* 'to fear' > Konso *fu:r*, Gidole *hu:r* 'to fear'. See Black 1974.167.
- (2.6) Sem. * $\sqrt{pyr}$ 'to open wide (mouth)' > Hebrew, Syr. $\sqrt{p'r}$, Arab. $\sqrt{fyr}$; perh. also Sem. * $\sqrt{prg}$ > Arab. $\sqrt{frg}$ 'to open (a door, the mouth), to part (the legs)' = ECush. **fur-* 'to open, to free, to untie' > Somali *fur-*, Rendille, Boni *fur-*, Dasenech, Galla, Konso *fur-*, Gidole (Black) *fur-yyy-*, (Sasse) *hur-*, Burji *fur-*; cp. Berber * $\sqrt{frk}$ (Ahaggar *saffarakat* 'ouvrir, découvrir'). See Sasse 1979.19.
- (2.7) Sem. * $\sqrt{pls}$ or * $\sqrt{plʒ}$ > Eth. *ta-fa:laša* 'minutatim diffringi vel diffindi' = ECush. **falç-* (i.e. **fald*₁- in Sasse's symbolization) 'log', 'to split (wood)' > Galla (Thiene) *falata* 'pezzo di legno spaccato, travicello', Yāku *pilç* 'small sticks of firewood'. See Sasse 1979.31, cp. Dolgopolsky 1973.42.
- (2.8) Sem. **p-* (i.e. nom. **p-u*, gen. **p-i*, acc. **p-a*) 'mouth' > Hebrew *'pe:*, st.c. *'pi:*, Arab. *fam-*, st.c. *fu:*, *fi:*, *fa:*, Akkad. *pūm*, etc. (see Dolgopolsky 1978.1, 3-9) = ECush. **'af-* 'mouth' > Saho, Afar *af*, Rendille, Boni *af*, Somali *af*, Dasenech *'af-u*, Galla *af-a:ni* (pl.), Konso *af-a:* (pl.), Sidamo, Darasa, Alaba *af-o*, Burji *af-a*. See Sasse 1979.19,

51, Dolgopolsky 1973.230-231 (with cognates in other branches of Cushitic).

- (2.9) Sem. * $\sqrt{np}$ > Akkad. (*n*)*apû* 'sichtbar sein', Hebrew *bo: 'pi:a* 'to appear, to shine', *yip' 'a:* 'beauty, splendour' = ECush. **if-* 'light (Licht)' > Saho *if-o*, *if-tiin* 'light', Afar Saho *if-is-* (caus.) 'to illuminate', Galla Borana *ib-se* 'light', *ib-s-* (caus.) 'to illuminate', Somali Isāq *i:f* 'daylight, light'. See Black 1974.104, Dolgopolsky 1973.232-3.
- (2.10) Sem. * $\sqrt{np\chi}$ 'to blow' > Akk. $\sqrt{np\chi}$ 'to blow up (the fire)', Hebrew, Aram. $\sqrt{np\chi}$, Eth., Arab. $\sqrt{nf\chi}$ 'to blow', Ugar. *mpxm* ($\sqrt{np\chi}$) 'Blasebalg' = Eg. *nf* 'breath, wind' = ECush. **nef* > Saho *nef* 'face', Somali *náf* 'soul, self', Galla Borana *nafa* 'body', *nab-se* 'soul'. See Black 1974.166, cp. Dolgopolsky 1973.177.
- (2.11) Sem. * $\sqrt{t\phi l}$ 'to spit' = ECush. **tuf-* 'to spit' (see 4.5).
- (2.12) Sem. * $\sqrt{k/p}$ 'bark of tree' = ECush. **kolf-* 'bark of tree' (see 8.2).
- (2.13) Sem. * $\sqrt{zhp}$ 'to creep' = ECush. **za:f-* 'to creep' (see 11.3).
- (2.14) Sem. * $\sqrt{spr}$ 'to plait' = ECush. **çifr-* 'braid, smth. plaited' (see 12.9).
- (2.15) Sem. * $\sqrt{np\delta}$ 'to breathe' = ECush. **nafs-/neps-* 'to breathe, to rest' (see 10.12).

However in the intervocalic position the ECush. correspondence of Sem. **p* is sometimes **b*:

- (2.16) Sem. * $\sqrt{spp}$ 'to press (?)' = ECush. **çi:p-* 'to squeeze, press' (see 12.10).
- (2.17) Sem. * $\sqrt{tp}$ 'to close' = ECush. **dib-* 'to cover, to bury' (see 5.4).
- (2.18) Sem. * $\sqrt{r'p}$ 'to drip, trickle' > Arab. *ru'u:f-* 'fine rains', $\sqrt{r'f}$ 'to flow (blood)', Hebrew $\sqrt{r'p}$ 'to drip, trickle' = ECush. **ro:b-* 'rain' > Saho, Afar *rob*, Somali, Boni *ro:b*, Galla *ro:ba*, Konso *ro:pa*, Gidole *ro:p* 'rain', Galla *ro:b-*, Konso, Gidole *ro:p-* 'to rain'. See Black 112, 164, Heine 1978.72, Sasse 1979.22, Dolgopolsky 1973.173.

3. Sem. **d* (and Eg. *d*) = ECush. **d*

- (3.1) Sem. **dakē-/dikē-* 'thin, fine, minute' > Hebrew *dak(ē-)* 'thin, fine', Ug. *dk* 'zart, schwach', Arab. *diqq-* 'fine, minute', *daqqa* 'was fine, minute' = ECush. **dikē-/dukē-* > Somali *di:q-* 'to become faint, tenuous', Galla *dikē-a* 'small', Hadiyya *tukē-a* 'narrow', Harso *ti:kē-assa* 'small'. See Sasse 1979.50.
- (3.2) Sem. * $\sqrt{dbr}$ 'hinder, back' > Arab. *dub(u)r-* 'back', *dabu:r* 'western wind', Hebrew *dā'bi:r* 'the hinder (or western) part of the temple',

- Eth. *ta-dahara* 'to fall backwards' (see Leslau 1958.16) = ECush. **dib-/dub-* 'tail, behind' > Somali *dib* 'short tail', Rendille *dub* 'tail', Boni *tib* 'tail', Elmolo *dup* 'tassel of animal's tail', Dasenech *dum* id., Galla *du(:)b-a* 'behind', Konso *tup-a* 'behind', *tup-p-a:* 'upper back', Alaba *dubb-o* 'tail', Hadiyya *dubb-o* 'behind', Gawwada, Harso, Gollango *tup-* 'behind, after'; ECush. **dab-* 'tail' > Somali *dab-o*, Bayso *deb-e* 'tail'. See Black 1974.177, Sasse 1979.16.
- (3.3) Sem. **dall-* 'weak, meager, without strength' > Ugar. *dl* 'schwach, dürftig', Hebrew *dal(l-)* 'weak, meager, poor', Punic *dl* 'imparfait, défectueux', Akkad. *dall-u* 'small, inferior' = ECush.: Somali *Isāq da:l-* 'to be/become tired', *dà:l* 'fatigue'; cp. Omotic: Kaffa *dalli-* 'diventar magro', Mocha *dallo* 'hunger'. See Dolgopolsky 1966.74, 1973.74.
- (3.4) Sem. **daθ(V)-* 'grass' > Akk. *dīšu, diš'u, daš'u* 'spring grass', Hebrew *dešē* 'grass', OSArabian *dθ*, Arab. *daṭa'iyy-* 'spring rain' = SLECush. **de:z-* (or **de:d-*) 'grass' (prob. < **de:s-* > **de:s-*) > Galla *de:d-*, Konso *de:t-* 'grass', Elmolo *dé:t-a*, Arbore *dé'd-anta* 'grass'. See Black 1974.260, 266.
- (3.5) Sem. **√drr* 'to flow' > Hebrew *dā'ro:r* 'flowing' (*mōr-dā'ro:r* 'flowing myrrh'), Arab. *√drr* 'to flow abundantly' (milk) = ECush.: Galla (Thiene) *dorani* 'puddle after the rain'.
- (3.6) Eg. *dg* 'gehen' = ECush. **daḳ-* 'to come, to go' > Sidamo *da'-*, Hadiyya *ṭa'-* 'to go', Galla *ḍaḳ-* 'andare' (in Hadiyya and Galla **daḳ-* < **daḳ-* by assimilation?). See Sasse 1979.49.
- (3.7) Sem. **ḥadd-* 'sharp' > Hebrew *ḥad(d-)* 'sharp', Arab. *ḥadd-* 'pungent', 'hot' (sun), 'hot tempered', Akkad. *eddu* 'spitzig' = ECush. **ḥadd-* 'bitter' (< **ḥadd-* under the influence of the laryngeal **ḥ*, cp. **ḥek-/ḥok-* 'to scratch' < **ḥVḳ-*, cognate of Sem. **√ḥkk*) > Galla *ḥadd-aa* 'bitter', Konso, Gidole *ḥadd-aw* 'to become bitter', Konso *ḥadd-a:* 'snake venom', Rendille *ḥa'dād* 'bad tasting', Boni *ḥa'rē:r* 'bitter'. See Black 1974.196, Sasse 1979.54, Heine 1978.63, Dolgopolsky 1973.249.
- (3.8) Sem. **√'hd* 'to get lost' = ECush. **ḥad-* 'to get lost' (see 1.2).
- (3.9) Sem. **√ḳdh* 'to bore, to perforate' = ECush. **ḳadh-/ḳudh-* 'thorn' (see 8.3).
- (3.10) Sem. **√rdy* 'to step, to run' > Syriac *√rdy/w* 'to walk, to run', Arabic *√rdy* 'to beat the ground in running', Hebrew *√rdy/w* 'to tread', Akkad. *redû* 'gehen, (mit sich) führen, begleiten' = ECush. **-rd-* 'to run' > Afar *-erd-*, Somali *ord-* 'to run', Boni, Rendille *-irid-* 'rennen', Somali *rà:d* 'footprint' = Eg. *rd* 'foot'. See Black 1974.152, Sasse 1979.23, 1980.163-72, Dolgopolsky 1973.241.

- (3.11) Sem. $\sqrt{wrd}$ 'to descend' > Akkad. $\sqrt{wrd}$ 'hinab-, herabsteigen, hinuntergehen', Hebrew $\sqrt{y/wrd}$ (pf. *ya:'rad*, caus. pf. *ho:'ri:d*) 'to descend' = Saho, Afar (Reinisch) *ra:d-* 'to fall'.
- (3.12) Sem. $\sqrt{w'd}$ 'to bury' > Arab. $\sqrt{w'd}$ 'to bury (alive)', *ta-wa:'ada* 'to conceal somebody (the land)' = ECush. $\sqrt{wV't-}$ 'to sow', 'seed' > Bayso (Bender) *wuta* 'a seed', Sidamo (Moreno) *wite* id., Hadiyya (Plazikowsky-Brauner) *wi:to* id., Kambatta (Cerulli) *wit-* 'to seed'. For this method of reconstructing ECush. $\sqrt{\quad}$ see Black 1974.210, Sasse 1979.54. See Dolgopolsky 1973.189. The irregular correspondence of Sem. $\sqrt{d}$ to ECush. $\sqrt{t}$ is perhaps due to assimilation in a consonant cluster.
- (3.13) Eg. *wdd* 'to boil' (itr., tr.) = ECush. $\sqrt{wa:d-}$ 'to roast' > Galla *wa:d-*, Konso, Gawwada *wa:t-* 'to roast'. See Black 1974.101.

4. Sem. $\sqrt{t}$ (and Eg. *t*) = ECush. $\sqrt{t}$

- (4.1) Sem. $\sqrt{t-}$, prefix of 2nd pers. forms of the verb (prefix-conjugation) = ECush. $\sqrt{t-}$, prefix of 2nd pers. > Saho, Afar, Somali, Rendille, Boni, Dasenech *t-*, 2nd pers. marker in prefix-conjugation, as well as ECush. $\sqrt{-t-}$, initial element of the 2nd pers. suffixes in suffix-conjugation (going back to the 2nd pers. prefix of an auxiliary verb in ancient periphrastic conjugations, see Dolgopolsky 1972b.103-5, Zaborski 1975a).
- (4.2) Sem. $\sqrt{t-}$, prefix of 3 sg. f. of the verb (prefix-conjugation) = ECush. $\sqrt{t-}$, prefix of 3 sg. f. (prefix-conjugation) > *t-*, 3 sg. f. prefix in Saho, Afar, Somali, Rendille, Boni, Dasenech, as well as 3 sg. f. prefix $\sqrt{-t-}$ of an auxiliary verb in periphrastic conjugations, underlying the tenses of suffix-conjugation in ECush. languages: Galla 3 sg. f. impf. *-ti*, pf. *-te*, Somali 3 sg. f. impf. *-ta:*, pf. *-tay*, Sidamo 3 sg. f. dependent imperfect *-ta*, 3 sg. f. dependent perfect *-te*, etc. See Dolgopolsky 1972b.103-5, Zaborski 1975a.
- (4.3) Sem. $\sqrt{till-}$ / $\sqrt{tall-}$ 'hill, heap (of stones)' > Hebrew *tel*, *till-*, JAram. *til'l-a:*, Syr. *tell-a:*, Arab. *tall-un* = SLECush. $\sqrt{tu:l-}$ 'to pile up' > Somali, Galla, Konso *tu:l-* 'to pile up'. See Black 1974.185.
- (4.4) Sem. $\sqrt{tk'}$ 'to strike' > Hebrew $\sqrt{tk'}$ 'to drive, to thrust', Aram. $\sqrt{tk'}$ 'to strike, to blow', Eth. $\sqrt{tk'}$ 'to blow (trumpet)' = ECush. $\sqrt{-tak-}$ / $\sqrt{-tuk-}$ 'to touch, to push, to strike' > Afar *-o:tok-* 'to strike', Galla *tuk-* 'to touch', Rendille (Heine) *tax-* 'to push', Dasenech *ta-* 'to push'. See Sasse 1979.48, Dolgopolsky 1973.276.

- (4.5) Sem. * $\sqrt{tpl}$ > Arab. $\sqrt{tfl}$ 'to spit' = Eg. *tf* 'to spit' = ECush. **tuf-* 'to spit' > Afar, Somali, Galla, Arbore, Konso, Sidamo *tuf-*, Gidole *ṣub-*, Dullay *tuf-* ~ *ṣuf-* 'to spit'. See Black 1974.166, 184, Sasse 1979.10.
- (4.6) Sem. **'anta* 'thou' (m.), **'anti* 'thou' (f.) = ECush. **'ati* 'thou' > Saho, Afar *at-u*, Somali *adi(-ga)*, Boni *adi*, Bayso, Rendille, Galla, Sidamo *ati*, Konso *at-ti*, Gidole *at-te*, Dullay *ato* ~ *ačo*, cp. Agaw **'ant(i)* 'thou' and Eg. *intk* 'thou' (m.), *intč* 'thou' (f.). See Sasse 1981.144, 1979.10, Black 1974.131-2, 184, Diakonoff 1965.71, Dolgopolsky 1973.133-4.
- (4.7) Sem. * $\sqrt{ty}$ 'to come' = ECush. **-t'i* 'to come' (> Boni, Elmolo). See Sasse 1980.
- (4.8) Sem. **'antim* 'you' (pl. m.) = ECush. **'atin*/**'itin* 'you' (pl.) > Saho *átin*, Afar *isin*, Somali *idin-ka*, Dasenech *itini*, Konso *išina*; cp. Agaw **'antan* 'you' (pl.). See Sasse 1981.144, 1979.11, Black 1974.131, Dolgopolsky 1973.134-5.
- (4.9) Sem. * $\sqrt{htt}$ > Arab. $\sqrt{htt}$ 'to rub off (mud)' = SLEcush. **ha:d-* 'to sweep, rub off' (**t* > **d* under the laryngealizing influence of **h*, cp. 3.7 and 7.10) > Somali *ha:d-* 'sweep', Rendille (Heine) *hár*, Galla *ha:d-* 'grattare, raschiare, raspare', Dasenech *e:t* (imp.) 'sweep'. See Black 1974.260, Dolgopolsky 1973.249.
- (4.10) Eg. *hwtf* 'to steal, to rob' = SLEcush. *bat-* 'to steal' > Somali *had-*, Galla, Konso *bat-*, Gidole *haš-* 'to steal'. See Black 1974.185, 200.
- (4.11) Sem. **put-* 'vulva' = ECush. **fut-* 'slot, vulva' (see 2.2).
- (4.12) Sem.: Syr. *ḵata:ya:*, *ḵata:ta:* 'pit' = ECush. **ḵot-* 'to dig' (see 8.8).
- (4.13) Sem. **-mu:t* 'to die' > Hebrew, Aram. (impf.) *-mu:t*, Arab. (impf.) *-mu:t-*, Eth. (subj.), Akkad. (pret.) *-mu:t* 'to die' = Eg. *mt* 'to die', 'death' = ECush. **-mu:t* 'to die' > Rendille (Schlee) *amut* 'ich sterbe', Gidole *mu:t* 'totkrank'. See Heine 1978.35, 52, Schlee 1978.17-9, Sasse 1980.165-7.

5. Sem. **t* (and Eg. *d*?) = ECush. **d*

- (5.1) Sem. **ta'lay-* 'young (of an animal), young person' > Hebrew *ta':le:* 'lamb', JAram. *talya:* 'Jüngling, Lamm', Syr. *talya:* 'a youth', Arab. *tala-n* 'young (of a sheep, goat, antelope)', Eth. *tali:* 'goat' = ECush. **dal-* 'to beget, to give birth' > Saho, Afar, Somali *dal-*, Rendille *del-*, Boni *del-*, Dasenech, Galla *dal-*, Konso *dal-/del-*, Gidole *dal-*, Dullay *dal-*, Yāku *del-*. See Black 1974.163, 195, Sasse 1979.21, 30, cp. Dolgopolsky 1973.58.

- (5.2) Sem. $\sqrt{t'm}$ 'to taste, have taste' > Hebrew, Aram., Eth. $\sqrt{t'm}$ id., Arab. $\sqrt{t'm}$ 'to taste', Akkad. *te:mu* 'Verstand' = SLEcush. $\sqrt{da'm}$ 'to taste' > Saho (Welmers) *da'am* 'to taste', Somali (Reinisch) *da'an*, pl. *da'mo* 'taste, juice, sauce', Galla (Thiene) *dama* 'sugo, succo, stero'. See Dolgopolsky 1973.317-8.
- (5.3) Sem.: Arab. *ṭawwaha* 'to strike with a stick' = ECush. $\sqrt{daw}$ 'to hit, strike' > Galla *da-e* (pf.) 'he hit', Konso, Gidole (pf.) *daw-é* 'he hit', Elmolo *da-* 'to hit, strike', Arbore (pf.) *da-y-iy*, Dasenech *do-*. See Black 1974.212, Sasse 1979.43.
- (5.4) Sem. $\sqrt{tp}/w$ > Aram., Syr. *ṭāpa:* 'to close, be closed', Arab., Eth. $\sqrt{tf}$ 'to go out' (fire) = ECush. $\sqrt{dib}$ 'to cover, to bury' (see Sasse 1979.54), cp. Agaw $\sqrt{dbb}$ 'to cover, to bury' (Agaw $\sqrt{d}$ corresponds to ECush. $\sqrt{d}$ and Sem. $\sqrt{t}$).
- (5.5) Sem. $\sqrt{-xi:t}/\sqrt{-xu:t}$ 'to sew' > Arab. *xa:ṭa* (impf. *-xi:t-*), Aram. *ḥa:t* (impf. *-ḥu:t*) = ECush. $\sqrt{hid}$ 'to tie' > Afar *hid-* 'to attach camels in Indian file', Somali, Rendille *hid-* 'to tie', Galla, Konso, Gidole *hid-*, Dasenech *hiṣ/t-* 'to tie'. See Black 1974.195, Sasse 1979.36, Heine 1978.64, Dolgopolsky 1973.159, 222.
- (5.6) Eg. *dbḥ* 'to need, ask for (esp. food, drink)' = ECush. $\sqrt{de:b}$ 'thirst, to be thirsty' > Galla *de:b-od-*, Konso, Gidole *de:p-od-* 'to become thirsty', Galla *de:bu*, Hadiyya *te:ba* 'thirst'. See Black 1974.110, Dolgopolsky 1973.230.

6. Sem. $\sqrt{g}$ (and Eg. *g, ḡ*) = ECush. $\sqrt{g}$

- (6.1) Sem. $\sqrt{gir(r)}$ > Akkad. *gir-um, girr-um* 'fire, god of fire' = Eg. *ḡr* 'fire' = ECush. $\sqrt{gir}$ 'fire', 'to burn' > Saho, Afar *gira* 'fire', Sidamo, Hadiyya *gir(a)* 'fire', *gir-* 'to burn', Kambatta (Leslau) *giräta*, Tembaro *girato* 'fire', Burji (Moreno) *gira* 'fire'. See Dolgopolsky 1973.202-3.
- (6.2) Sem. $\sqrt{gr}$ 'to cut (hair)' > Hebrew, Aram., Syr., Mehri (Šxauri dial., Bittner) $\sqrt{gr}$, Soḳoṭri (Leslau) $\sqrt{grh}$ = ECush. $\sqrt{-grV'}$ 'to cut' > Saho (Welmers) *-egre-*; ECush. $\sqrt{gawra}$ 'to cut throat' > Somali *gowra-* id., Boni *ku:ra-* 'to butcher' (see Heine 1978.60, Sasse 1979.45, Dolgopolsky 1973.316).
- (6.3) Sem. $\sqrt{-gi:}$ > Arab. *ḡa:a* (basic form *-ḡi:-*) 'to come, to arrive' = ECush. $\sqrt{gay}$ 'to arrive' > Afar *gay-*, Somali (caus.) *ge:-y-* (< *gay-y-*), Galla *ga(y)-*, Konso *kay-*, Dullay *o-kay-*. See Sasse 1979.43.
- (6.4) Sem. $\sqrt{gnh}$ 'wing, arm' > Arab. *ḡina:h-* 'arm, wing', Mehri (Šxauri dial., Bittner) *gi'nah* 'wing' = Eg. *ḡnh* 'wing', *gnh* 'wing' = ECush.

- **gan*'- 'palm of hand, hand' > Saho *gina*', Afar *gena*'-*ta*, Somali *ga*'*an*, Boni *ka*'*an*, Bayso *gene*, Galla *gana*-*a*, Konso *kan*-*a:ta*, Gidole *kana*'-*at*, Dullay *kana*'-'*e* (pl.), Yāku *kinne*'. See Black 1974.141, 161, Sasse 1979.17, 26, 54, Dolgopolsky 1973.316.
- (6.5) Sem. * $\sqrt{glh}$ > Arab. *galiḥa* (impf. -*ḡlah*-) 'to be bald-headed', Hebrew *gillaḥ* 'to cut one's hair' = ECush. * $\sqrt{glh}$ > Somali (Reinisch) *galah-i* 'baldness of the head', *galḥo*, *galḥadi* 'seitwärtige Glatze von den Schläfen aufwärts'; cp. in other Cushitic languages: Bilin (Reinisch) *g'alhay*- 'to be bald-headed', Bedauye (Reinisch) *g'al'a* 'baldness of the head'. See Dolgopolsky 1973.71.
- (6.6) Sem. **gab(V)*'- 'hill' > Ugar. *gb*', Hebrew *geba*', *gib'a*: 'hill', Akkad. *gab'a:ni* (pl.) 'heights'; Sem. **gabal*- > Arab. *ḡabal*- 'mountain' = ECush. **gub*- 'mountain' > Galla (Thiene) *gubba*, -*n* 'cima, sommite', Dasenech *gum* 'mountain'. See Sasse 1979.15.
- (6.7) Sem. * $\sqrt{gbb}$ > Akkad. *gubbubu* 'to roast' = ECush. **gub*- 'to burn' (tr.) > Somali, Rendille, Galla *gub*-, Konso *kup*-, Boni *kub*- 'to burn', Yāku *kup* 'rot'. See Black 1974.182, Heine 1978.61, Sasse 1979.17.
- (6.8) Syr. *gls* 'monkey' (< Sem. * $\sqrt{gls}$ or * $\sqrt{gls'}$?) = ECush. **gelz*- 'baboon' > Galla *gald-e:sa*, Konso, Gidole *kelt-ayta*, Sidamo *galad-o*, Harso *kals-akko*. See Sasse 1979.18, 20.
- (6.9) Sem. * $\sqrt{g'y}$ 'to call, to cry' > Hebrew *ga:'a:* (impf. -*ḡ'ε:* < **-g'ay*) 'to cry', Syr. $\sqrt{g'y/w}$ 'to call', JAram. $\sqrt{g'y/w}$ 'brüllen' = ECush. **mag*'- 'name' (a derived noun with the prefix **ma-* fr. a verb * $\sqrt{g}$ meaning 'to call'?) > Saho, Afar *miga*', Somali *maga*', Rendille *magah*, Bayso *me:ge*, Konso *maxxa*, Gidole *mabb(a)*, Arbore *meke'e*, Boni *ma'ag*, Galla *maḥa:*, Gawwada *makh-akko*, Harso *makah-ko*. See Sasse 1979.17.
- (6.10) Sem.: Akkad. *gašš-at-u* 'firewood' = ECush. **ge:z*- 'tree' > Somali *geid*, (Jabarti) *ge:d*, Rendille *gey*, Boni *ke:*, pl. *ke:tē*. See Heine 1978.60, Sasse 1976.137, Dolgopolsky 1973.62.
- (6.11) Sem. * $\sqrt{grn}$ 'to be old (?)' > Arab. $\sqrt{grn}$ 'to be worn out' (clothes), 'to be trained' (beast) = ECush. **ger*'- 'to grow old' > Galla *ḡa:r*-, Konso *ker*-, Mashile, Bussa *ker*-, Gidole *ker*'- ~ *kerd*- 'to grow old', Arbore *gair* 'old', Dasenech *ge:re*, Elmolo *gere*, Sidamo (Moreno) *ge:r-ṣo* 'old'. See Black 1974.207, Sasse 1979.37, Dolgopolsky 1972a.208.
- (6.12) Sem. **ganb*- 'side' > Syr. *gabba:* 'side (latus)', Arab. *ḡanb*- 'side' = ECush. **gVb*- 'river bank, ditch' > Somali *ḡeb-i* 'river bank', Konso *káp-a*, Gidole *káp* 'irrigation ditch', Gawwada *káp-te* id.; cp. Bilin *gaf* 'side, half', Hamir *ḡaba* id., Bedauye *ḡāb* ~ *geb* 'side'. See Black 1974.136, Dolgopolsky 1972a.199.

- (6.13) Sem. **-gu:r* 'to dwell (temporarily)' > Bibl. Hebrew *ga:r* (impf. *-gu:r*) 'to dwell as a guest (foreigner)', Middle Hebrew *ga:r*, *-gu:r* 'to dwell', Arab. *ġa:wara* 'to live close by', *ta-ġa:wara* 'to live near together' = ECush. **gir-* 'to be, exist' > Somali, Rendille, Galla *ġir-*, Boni *ſir-*, Bayso *gir-* 'to be, exist', Konso *kir-a* 'life'. See Black 1974.182, Sasse 1979.18.
- (6.14) Eg. *gb* 'arm' = Saho *gabaá*, Afar *gaba* 'hand'. See Black 1974.297, Dolgopolsky 1972a.206 (comparaison with Chadic cognate words).
- (6.15) Sem. **√g* 'to flow' = ECush. **si:g-* 'to move, come, go' (see 9.4).
- (6.16) Eg. *ngm* 'health' = ECush. **nagay-* 'well-being' > Saho (Reinisch) *naga:* 'peace, well-being, health', Galla *naga(y)a*, Konso *nakay-ta* 'well-being', Dullay *nakay-ho* 'peace, health'. See Black 1974.160, Sasse 1979.43.
- (6.17) Eg. *dg* 'gehen' = ECush. **dak-* 'to come, go'; **k* < **g* (see 3.6).

7. Sem. **k* (and Eg.) = ECush. **k*

- (7.1) Sem. **ka* 'thee, thy' (m.) > Akkad., Arab., Eth. *-ka*, Hebrew *-ka:* 'thee, thy' (m.), Akkad. (Babyl.) *kāta* 'thee' m., *kūm* 'thy' m., Old Assy. *kuāti* 'thee' m., *ku'ā'um* 'thy' m. (vowels on analogy with *šuāti* 'him', *šu'ā'um* 'his') = Eg. *-k* 'thy' m. = ECush. **ku* ~ **ke* 'thee' > Saho, Somali, Boni *ku*, Dasenech *kô*, Konso *ke*, Hadiyya *ke:-s*, Sidamo *-he:*, Burji *ſe* 'thee'; ECush. **kV* 'thy' > Saho *ku*, Galla (*-kán*, *-tán*)-*kè*, Rendille (*ka-*, *ta-*)*ha*, Sidamo *-ki*, Hadiyya *ki*, *ki:(k)*. See Sasse 1973.13, Tucker-Bryan 1966.521-3. For cognates in other Cushitic, Berber and Chad languages see Diakonoff 1965.71-7, Dolgopolsky 1973.77-8.
- (7.2) Sem. **'kulay-at-* (~ **'kalay-at-?*) 'kidney' > Bibl. Hebrew *kāla:'yo:t* pl., Middle Hebrew (Babyl. vocalization) *kul'ya:* sg., Arab. *kulyat-un*, Ugar. **klyt*, Eth. *k'ali:t*, Akkad. *kali:t-u* = ECush. **kal-* 'kidney' > Somali *kal-lí*, Konso *xal-l-a:*, Galla *kal-e*. See Black 1974.136, 192, Sasse 1979.12, Dolgopolsky 1973.77.
- (7.3) Sem. **karkar-* 'a circle' > Hebrew *kik'ka:r* 'round loaf of bread, disk, circle', Akkad. *kakkar-u* 'round bread, disk', Old South Arabian *krkr* 'load' or 'measure' = ECush. **kar-/kir-* /(?)**kor-* 'round, a circular formation' > Konso *kur-eta* 'circular dance', Galla *kor-a*, Somali *ſir* 'assembly'. See Sasse 1979.9.
- (7.4) Eg. *kp* 'Fußsohle', čb.t, čb.w 'Sandale' = ECush. **kob* 'shoe, sandal' > Afar *kab-el*, Somali *kab*, Boni *kôb*, Rendille *kob*, Dasenech *ko-ti*,

- Arbore *kóh-o*, Elmolo *kop(-o)*, Galla (Borana) *kob-e*, (Wollega) *kop-e*, Konso *xop-ta*, Gidole *hop-a*, Gawwada *xopé*. See Black 1974.151, 175, Sasse 1979.12, Heine 1978.66.
- (7.5) Sem. **k-*, **ka*: 'in this (?)' > Aram., Syr. *ka*: 'here', Hebrew *ko*: 'so', Akkad. *ka*:, *ki:a(m)* 'thus' = ECush. **ka*, nom. **ku*, masc. demonstr. pronoun > Somali *-ka/-ga/-ha* (nom. *-ku/-gu/-hu*) 'the', Bayso *hikina* 'this' m. (cp. *atina* f.), Galla *-k-*, masc. marker in forms with pronominal suffixes (e.g. *-k-o*, *-k-iya* 'my' m., *-k-e*: 'thy' m., *-k-e:na* 'our' m.), Sidamo *-ha* (nom. *-hu*), substantivizing article m., *ko*, *ku*, *konne* 'this' m. (cp. *te*, *tenne* f.), Hadiyya *ka*, *kak*, nom. *ku*, *ka(h)* 'this' m. (cf. fem.: *ta*, *tat*, nom. *tu*, *ta*, *tab*), Darasa *kuni* 'this' m., Kambatta *konni* 'this'. See Sasse 1979.62, Dolgopolsky 1973.258-9.
- (7.6) Sem. **kawr-* 'stove, furnace' > Syr. *kawra*:, Eth. *kawr*, Akkad. *ku:r-* (> Hebrew *ku:r* 'furnace') = SLECush. **kar-* 'to boil' (itr.) > Somali *kari* 'to cook, boil' (tr.), Boni *'käre* id., Rendille *'kari* id., Konso *xar-*, Gidole *har-* 'to boil' itr. Elmolo *kar-is-* 'to cook'. See Black 1974.190, Heine 1978.66.
- (7.7) Sem. **kI'* 'to' > Minaean *k* 'to', Mehri, Šxeri, Harsusi, Soḳoṭri *k(a)-* 'with', prob. also Ugar. *k-* 'als', 'zu' (final) = ECush. **kI'* 'to' > Saho *-(a)k* 'to' (*faras-ak* 'to the horse'), Somali (Benadir, Darod) *ku* 'to (him)' (*Liba:hi: waḥow wara:bihi: ku yiri* 'The lion said to the hyaena', lit. '... the hyaena to said'), Dasenech *ká* 'to', 'her-' (preverb), Sidamo *-bo* 'to' (*be:'to:-bo* 'to the girl'), Burji *-ha/-ga* 'to' (dative marker). See Dolgopolsky 1973.259.
- (7.8) Sem. **√nkʾ* 'to bite' > JAram., Syr. *√nket* 'to bite', Eth. *√nks* 'to bite' = ECush. **kis-* (or **kiš-*) > Sidamo (Cerulli) *kis-* 'to bite'; cp. Berber: Tahaggart *ʾkʿ* 'to bite, eat'.
- (7.9) Sem. **√'lk* > Arab. *√'lk* 'to champ (the bit)' (horse), and Sem. *-lu:k-* > Arab. *la:ka* (impf. *-lu:k-*) 'to chew' = ECush. **'ilk-* 'tooth' > Saho *ik-o*, Somali *ilig-*, pl. *ilk-o*, Rendille *ilah*, pl. *ilk-o*, Boni pl. *ilk-ē*, Bayso *ilk-o*, Arbore *ilk-wa*, Elmolo *ilk-o*, Galla *ilk-a:ni*, Konso *ilk-itta*, Gidole *ilh-*, Gawwada *ilg-e*, Harso *ilg-akko*, Burji *ilka ~ irka*, (?) Sidamo *(h)inko*; cp. Agaw **'rkʷ-* (> Bilin, Awngi *'rkʷi*, etc.) 'tooth'. See Sasse 1979.12, Dolgopolsky 1973.269-70.
- (7.10) Sem. **√hkk* 'to scratch' > Arab. *√hkk*, Akkad. *eke:ku* = ECush. **hek-/hok-* 'to scratch' (**k* > **k* under the influence of **h*? — cp. 3.7 and 4.8) > Saho *hokuk-*, Somali *hoq-*, *haqhaq-*, Rendille *ox-*, Boni *bo'*, Arbore *hek-*, Galla *ho:k-*, Gidole *hek-*, Burji *hoko:k-*. See Sasse 1979.48, 50.

8. Sem. **k* (and Eg. *k*) = ECush. **k*

- (8.1) Sem. **kall-* 'small, light (levis)' > Akkad. *kall-u* 'light, small, small in number', Hebrew *kal(l-)* 'light', *kal(lo:-)* pf. 'was light', Arab. *qall-a* 'was small in number, rare' = ECush. **kall-* (or **kal-*) 'thin, insignificant' > Saho *all-o* 'vanity, nothingness', Galla *kall-a*: 'subtle, thin, meager', Konso *qalla-* 'thin', Gidole *kalla-* 'narrow', Burji *kall-ane*: 'thin'. See Sasse 1979.22, 78, Dolgopolsky 1973.190.
- (8.2) Sem. **√klp* 'to strip off bark' > Akkad., Aram., Syr., Middle Hebrew *√klp*, Arab. *√qlf*; Sem. **'kil(l')p-* 'bark, skin' (> Akkad., Arab., Middle Hebrew), **kula:p-(at-)* 'bark' (> Akkad., Syr., Arab.) = ECush. **kolf-* 'bark of a tree' > Saho *kolof-o*, Somali *qolof*, Konso *qolf-a*: 'bark', Galla *kolof-a* 'foreskin'. See Black 1974.144, Sasse 1979.22, 48.
- (8.3) Sem. **√kdh* 'to bore, perforate, grind fire' > Arab. *√qdh* 'to make a hole, perforate, strike fire', Aram., Middle Hebrew *√kdh* 'to bore, perforate, kindle' = ECush. **kadh-/kudh-* 'thorn' > Somali *godāh*, Galla *kor-atti*, Gidole *kudd-eēt*, Konso *qeēt-ta*, Elmolo *ed*, Sidamo *uta*, Hadiyya *utta* 'thorn', Rendille *xadah* 'leaf'. See Black 1974.180, Sasse 1979.49, Dolgopolsky 1973.81.
- (8.4) Sem. **√kss* 'to cut' > Ugar., Hebrew, Aram., Syr. *√kss*, Arab. *√qss* 'to cut (off)' = ECush. **kaç* 'to cut' > Saho (Reinisch) *ad-* 'to cut hair', Dullay *qatt-* 'to cut, hoe up, fold', Yāku *qat-* 'to cut'. See Sasse 1979.31, 48.
- (8.5) Eg. *kb(b)* 'cold' = ECush. **kab-* 'cold' > Somali *qabow*, Rendille 'xóbo 'cold', Galla *kab-ban-a*, Konso *qap-pan-na:w-*, Gidole *kab-pan-naw-* 'to become cool', Arbore *kab-ata*, Elmolo *-ap-an-* 'cold'. See Black 1974.198, Heine 1978.71, Sasse 1979.49.
- (8.6) Sem. **ka(:)r-* 'beam, stick' > Hebrew *ko:'ra:*, Aram., Syr. *ka:ri:ta:* 'beam', Arab. *qari:yat-* 'stick', Akkad. *kari:t-u* 'Kornboden, Speicher' = ECush. **kor-* 'wood, tree' > Saho *or-* 'to hew', Somali *qori*, Boni 'orē, Rendille 'xóro 'wood, firewood', Somali *qor-* 'to trim timber', Galla 'kor-a:ni, Konso 'qor-a:, Gidole 'kor-a:, Dasenech *gór*, Elmolo 'or-o', Arbore 'koro 'wood'. See Black 1974.111-2, 97, Heine 1978.71, Sasse 1979.48, 49, Dolgopolsky 1973.24.
- (8.7) Sem. **√kr* 'to tear' > Hebrew, Aram. *√kr*, Arab. (Maghreb) *√qr* 'to tear' (and prob. Sem. **√krs* 'to cut' > Arab. *√qrđ*, Middle Hebrew *√krs*, Sem. **√krs* 'to curtail' > Akkad. *√krs*, Arab. *√qrs*) = ECush. **ker-/ku:r-* 'to cut' > Galla (Thiene) *kör-u* 'incidere, cesellare, lavorare il legno', Gidole *ku:r-*, Elmolo *ur-*, Arbore *kur-* 'to cut', Konso *qu:r-* 'to cut up'. See Black 1974.260, Sasse 1979.5.

- (8.8) Sem.: Syr. *kaṭa:ya:*, *kaṭa:ta:* 'pit' = ECush. **ket-* 'to dig' > Somali *god-*, Boni *od-*, Rendille *xut-* 'to dig, cultivate', Galla *ket-*, Gidole *koṣ-* 'to dig', Arbore *ket-* 'to plow', Dasenech *got/ɣ-* 'to dig, bury', Gawwada *got-* (or *got-*) 'to dig'. See Black 1974.112, Heine 1978.71, Sasse 1979.10.
- (8.9) Sem. **karr-* 'cold' (adj.) > Hebrew *kar*, Arab. *qarr-* 'cold'; Sem. **kurr-* 'cold' (n.) > Hebrew *kor*, Arab. *qurr-*, Eth. *kʷar(r)* = ECush. **kor-* 'cold' > Galla (Thiene) *korra* 'intense cold', Sidamo (Cerulli) *korre:* 'cold'.
- (8.10) Eg. *nḳw.t* 'Feuchtigkeit' = ECush. **koyy-* 'wet' > Somali, Konso *qoyy-*, Arbore *kuy-iy'oa* 'wet'. See Black 1974.198, Sasse 1979.49.

9. Sem. **ʕ* (and Eg. *s*) = ECush. **s*

- (9.1) Sem. **-ʕi:n-* 'to urinate' > Akkad. *šia:num* (pret. *-šī:n*), Syr. *ta:n*, Eth. *še:na* 'to urinate', Arab. *maʕa:nat-* 'bladder'; Sem. **ʕay(V)n-* 'urine' > Akkad. *šī:na:t-um*, Hebrew *ʕayin*, Syr. *ti:na:*, Eth. *śant* = ECush. **sinç-* 'urine' > Galla *finç-a:ni*, Konso, Gidole *sind-a:*, Arbore *iy-sind-aye*, Dasenech *sinn-a* 'urine'. See Black 1974.216, Sasse 1979.24.
- (9.2) Sem. **ʕkm* 'shoulders, back' > Hebrew *šə'kem* 'shoulders, upper part of the back', Ugar. *ʕkm*, Eth. (denom. verb) *ʕskm* 'to carry on the shoulders' = ECush. **sug-/ʕs'unk-/ʕs'akm-* 'shoulders, back' > Dasenech *sugu* 'back', Galla (Foot) *fugiso* 'upside down', Saho *sunku* 'shoulder joint' (cp. Bedaue Ammar'ar *'u sink'a* 'shoulder'), Somali (Reinisch) *sagan*, pl. *sagmo* 'Nacken, Genick'. See Sasse 1976.127-8, Dolgopolsky 1973.91. More accurate reconstruction of the ECush. root will be possible only when the development of consonant clusters is better explored.
- (9.3) Sem. **ʕw* 'sheep' > Ugar. *ʕā-t* 'ewe', Arab. *ʕa:'aw-at-* 'old sheep' (Aistleitner 1967.329-30) = Berber: Tahaggart *i-sa:-n* 'meat, flesh' = ECush. **so-* 'meat' > Galla *fo:-ni*, Konso *sów-a:*, Gidole *sób-a:*, Gato *só'-a*, Bayso *so:*, Dasenech *sú*, Elmolo *sou'*, Arbore *só-ra*, Somali *so'*. See Black 1974.205, Sasse 1979.50, 52.
- (9.4) Sem. **ʕgg* > Arab. *ʕgg* 'to flow' = ECush. **si:g-* 'to move, to come and go' > Saho (Reinisch) *si:g-* 'to advance', Galla *fi:g-* 'to run', Konso *si:k-* 'to come and go (like bees)'. See Black 1974.104, 168.
- (9.5) Sem. **ʕlʕlʕ* > Arab. *ʕlʕlʕ* 'to be weak, feeble' = ECush. **lʕs-* > Saho *lislis* 'soft', Galla *la:fa* 'soft'; cp. Agaw **lʕs-* 'soft' > Hamir (Reinisch) *lis-* 'to be soft'.

- (9.6) Sem. **baʕan/m-* 'venomous snake' = ECush. **bos-* 'snake' (see 1.3).
 (9.7) Eg. *sn* 'riecken' = ECush. **san-/sin-/son-/sun-* 'nose' > Afar *san*, Somali *san*, Boni *sa*, Rendille *sám*, Galla *fún-na:ni*, Gidole *sín-a:*, Gato *són-a*, Dasenech *sò:n-ò*, Arbore *són-o*, Sidamo, Darasa, Alaba *sano*, Kambatta *sänuta*, Hadiyya *sane:*, Burji *suna*. See Black 1974.151, Sasse 1979.5, 24, Dolgopolsky 1973.109-110.

In one root Sem. **ʕ* corresponds to ECush. **s*:

- (9.8) Sem. **√ɣ/ʕ* 'to be thick, bulky' > Arab. *√ɣ/ʕ* id. = ECush. **'ils-/ul-* 'heavy' > Afar *'ils-i*, Somali *'ulús*, Galla *úlf-äta*, Konso *uls-*, Dasenech *iliš*, Elmolo *ils-ida*, Arbore *ilt-iyda* 'heavy', Rendille *hulês* 'heaviness'. See Black 1974.139, 168.

In the root for 'three' (Sem. **√s/š* = ECush. **šazih/*šl'zḥ-*, see 10.8) we find ECush. voiced **z* corresponding to Sem. unvoiced **š*, which is prob. to be explained by combinatory factors (**ls* > **z*?).

10. Sem. **š, *ś* (= Eg. *s* and perh. *š*) = ECush. **š*

- (10.1) Sem. **š-*, causative prefix > Akkad., Ugar., Minaean *š-*, Modern South Arabian *š-* (causative-reflexive), Sabaean, Hebrew, OAram. *ḥ-*, JAram., Syr., Arab., Eth. *'* = Eg. *s-*, causative prefix = ECush. **-š-*, causative verbal prefix or suffix, with the allomorph **s* before consonants, according to the ECush. morphophonemic rule **š → s / _ _ C*. See Sasse 1979.32, Diakonoff 1965.98-101, Dolgopolsky 1973.287.
 (10.2) Sem. **ya'šar-* 'straight' > Akkad. *išar-*, Hebrew *ya:šar*, Aram. *yaš'ra:* 'straight', Arab. *yasar-* 'easy, gentle, tractable' = ECush. **šl'r-* 'straight' > Galla (Thiene) *sir(-ri)* 'straight', Sidamo (Moreno) *se:ra* 'straight'.
 (10.3) Sem. **-šū:p* > Arab. *sa:fa* (impf. *-su:fu*) 'to smell a th.', Aram. *šay'yep* 'anblasen (Wind), anfachen (Feuer)' = ECush.: Galla (Thiene) *suf-* 'to smell a th.' (Galla *s* < ECush. **š*).
 (10.4) Sem. **-šū:p* 'to rub (off)' > Hebrew, Aram., Syr. *ša:p* (impf. *-šū:p*) = ECush. **šō:f-* 'to file' > Galla (Thiene) *so:f-* 'to file, to saw', Somali *só:f-e* 'lime'. See Reinisch 1900-3:2.336, Zaborski 1975b.324.
 (10.5) Sem. **√špy* (or **√špy*) 'to sew, to tie up' > Eth. *√sfy* 'to sew', Akkad. *šapû* 'einbinden, einnesteln' = ECush.: Galla (Thiene) *supp-* (< **šub-* ?) 'to darn'.
 (10.6) Sem. **šibb-*, **√šbb* 'vein, rope' > Syr. *šebbe:* 'veins', Arab. *sibb-* 'turban, piece of thin stuff', *sabab-* 'rope' = ECush. **še:b-* 'leather'

strap' > Galla *se:p-ani*, Dasenech *se:b* 'leather strap', Harso *še:p-akko* 'leather belt'. See Sasse 1979.33.

- (10.7) Sem. * $\sqrt{s}k$ ' (or * $\sqrt{s}k'$) > Arab. $\sqrt{sq}$ 'to knock' = ECush. * $\sqrt{so}k$ - 'to beat, hit' > Galla *sok* 'to weed, cut off', Hadiyya *sukēk*- 'to beat, hit', Dullay *soq*- 'to hit'. See Sasse 1979.33. Perhaps Sem. and Eg. verbs with root-“élargissements” (such as Sem. * $\sqrt{s}kp$ > Syr. $\sqrt{s}kp$ 'verberavit, contudit' and Eg. *skr* 'to beat') also belong here.
- (10.8) Sem. * $\sqrt{s}l\theta$ 'three' > Akkad. $\sqrt{s}l\theta$, Sabaean, Minaean, Mehri, Šxeri $\sqrt{s}l\theta$, Eth. $\sqrt{s}ls$, CSem. * $\sqrt{\theta}l\theta$ (assimilation fr. * $\sqrt{s}l\theta$) > Ugar., Arab. $\sqrt{\theta}l\theta$, Hebrew $\sqrt{s}l\theta$, Aram. $\sqrt{tlt}$ = ECush. * $\sqrt{sa}zib/\sqrt{s}V'zib$ - 'three' > Afar *sidohu*, Somali (Isāq) *saddeh*, (Jiddu) *seye*, Rendille *séyyah*, Boni *siddè*, Bayso *sedi*, Galla *sadi*, Konso *sessā*, Arbore *sezi-ra*, Dasenech *seddi*, Sidamo *sasse*, Kambatta, Alaba, Hadiyya *sasso*, Burji *fadia*, Gawwada *ze:*, Gobze *sezeh*. See Sasse 1976.138-9, 135, Heine 1978.73, Dolgopolsky 1973.92-4.
- (10.9) Sem. * $\sqrt{s}(')r$ 'food grain': Eth. *šarna:y* 'wheat', CSem. * $\sqrt{s}V'a:r$ - 'barley' > Hebrew *š'o:'ra:*, Ugar. *š'r*, Aram., Syr. *sa'a:ra:ta:*, Arab. (derivative) *ša'i:r*- 'barley' = Eg. *šr.t* 'barley' = LECush. * $\sqrt{so}:r$ - 'food' > Somali *só:r*, Boni *só:r*, Galla *só:r-a* 'food', Gidole *so:r*- 'preserved melted fat'. See Black 1974.169. The consonant *' in CSem. (which is absent in the Eth., Eg. and ECush. forms) is perh. due to popular etymology, the word for 'barley' having been associated in CSem. with * $\sqrt{s}r$ 'hair' ('barley' as 'haired').
- (10.10) Sem. *' $\sqrt{is}(V)b$ - 'herb, herbage' > Hebrew ' *ésh*, Ugar. 'šbt, JAram. ' *isba:*, Syr. ' *esha:*, Arab. ' *uṣb*-, cp. Akkad. *iṣḥabtu* 'grass' = ECush. *' $\sqrt{aw}ṣ$ -/ *' $\sqrt{ay}ṣ$ - (perh. < *' $\sqrt{aw}iṣ$ - ?) 'grass' > Saho, Afar ' *ays-o* 'grass, straw, vegetation', Somali ' *aws* 'dry grass', Boni *a:sē* pl., Rendille *hos*, Bayso *e:s*, Dasenech ' *i:s* 'grass', Galla *e:s* 'a kind of corn', Dullay ' $\sqrt{aw}ṣ$ - 'to become ripe', ' *aṣ-ko* 'grass', Sidamo *ays-o* 'grass'. See Sasse 1979.44, 45, 47, Heine 1974.77, cp. Dolgopolsky 1973.149.
- (10.11) Eg. *šnč* (a kind of snake) = ECush.: Galla (Thiene) *soti* 'aspid' (perh. < **šonti*; for Cush. *-nt- > ECush. *-t- > Galla -t- cp. *' *anti* > *' *ati* > Galla *ati* 'thou').
- In one root we find Sem. * $\sqrt{s}$ corresponding to ECush. post-consonantal * $\sqrt{s}$ (special development in a consonant cluster?):
- (10.12) Sem. * $\sqrt{np}ṣ$ 'to breathe', *' $\sqrt{nap}(V)ṣ$ - 'breath, soul' = ECush. **nafs*- ~ **nefs*- 'to breathe, to rest' > Saho -*mfes*-/ -*mfis*-, verbal noun *nafs-e* ~ *nefs-e*, Rendille *nefsó* | *nef'sada*, Boni *ne:fso* 'to breathe', Somali *nas-o*, Rendille *nás* 'to rest', Elmolo *nas-i* 'to breathe, rest', Galla

naf-i: 'fermezza, sicurezza, energia, potere' (?), Konso *ness-a* 'soul, breath', Gidole *nass* 'voice, character', Dullay *nass-ad-* 'to breathe', *nass-o* 'soul, breath', Yāku *nes-i* 'breath' (see Sasse 1979.59, 23, Heine 1978.69-70). Cp. also Berber * $\sqrt{nfs}$ > Tahaggart *su-nfas* 'to breathe', *unfas* 'breath'.

11. Sem. * δ , * ζ (and Eg. *z*) = ECush. * ζ

- (11.1) Sem. * $\delta a' nab-$ 'tail' > Hebrew $\zeta a': na:b$, Arab. $\delta anab-$, Akkad. $\zeta ibb-at-$, etc. = ECush. * $\zeta inb-/ \zeta aban-$ 'tail' > Saho *daban*, dial. *zaban* ~ $\delta aban$ 'back', Galla **daban* in compound and derived words (*daban-killie* 'partridge', < *daballe* **daban-le*: 'plait of hair'), Harso *sinp-o*: 'uncircumcised penis'. See Sasse 1976. 140, cp. Leslau 1980.126.
- (11.2) Sem. * $\delta i'(i)b-$ 'wolf' > Hebrew $\zeta i' eb$, Arab. $\delta i'b-$, Aram. *de:b-a*: 'wolf', Akkad. $\zeta i:bu$ 'jackal' = Eg. *z'b* 'jackal' = ECush. * $\zeta o:bb-$ 'lion' > Sidamo *do:bb-itto*, pl. *do:bb-a*, Alaba *zobe-etto*, Kambatta *zo:bbe-ettu*, Tembaro *zobbe-ettu*, Kabenna *zo:bbo*: 'lion', Gogot (< Highland ECush.) *dobbiitto* 'kind of wild animal', cp. Iraqw *du'uma* 'leopard'. See Sasse 1976.141, Leslau 1979.3:195, 1980.120, Dolgopolsky 1973.106.
- (11.3) Sem. * ζhap 'to crawl' > Arab. $\sqrt{\zeta hf}$ (impf. $\zeta hafu$) 'to drag oneself, creep' = ECush. * $\zeta a:f-$ 'to crawl, drag oneself (as a baby)' > Konso *ta:f-*, Dasenech *za:f-*. See Sasse 1976.139-40.
- (11.4) Sem. * $\zeta ah(V)r-$ 'flower' > Arab. *zahr-*, *zahrat-* 'flower', Syr. *zahr-a*: 'flower' = HECush. * $\zeta ara:r-$ 'flower' > Sidamo *dara:ro*, Darasa *dara:ro*, Kambatta, Kabenna, Alaba *zara:ruta*, Tembaro *zära:ruta*. See Leslau 1980.120.
- (11.5) Sem. * $\sqrt{\zeta rk}$ 'to throw, strew, push' > Akkad., Bibl. Hebrew $\sqrt{\zeta rk}$ 'to strew, sprinkle', Aram., Middle Hebrew $\sqrt{\zeta rk}$ 'to throw'. Hadramaut Arab. $\sqrt{\zeta rq}$ 'to throw', Arab. $\sqrt{\zeta rq}$ 'to shift (its load: camel)', 'jeter un javelin' = ECush. * $\zeta rig-/ \zeta rug-$ 'to move (tr.), push' > Saho *-izrig-*, *-idrig-* 'to stir', Somali *durk-/durug* 'to shift one's position', Elmolo *yuruk-*, Arbore *zarug-* 'to push'. See Sasse 1979.20.
- (11.6) Sem. * $\hbar i\zeta a:m-$ 'strap, girdle' > Syr. *\hbar i\zeta a:m-a*: 'girdle', Arab. *\hbar i\zeta a:m-at-* 'strap, girth of a saddle' = ECush. * $\hbar i\zeta \zeta-$ 'root, vein' > Somali *\hbar idid*, Rendille *\hbar iy*, Galla *\hbar idd-a*, Konso *\hbar itt-ina*, Gidole *\hbar ittin* 'root, vein', Boni *\hbar i:dē* 'root', *\hbar iddē* 'vein', Bayso *\hbar idid-i*, Dasenech *\hbar i\zeta*, pl. *\hbar i\zeta zo*, Elmolo *\hbar iwe*, Arbore *\hbar iyds-o* (= *\hbar i\zeta zo* pl.?), Gawwada

hiss-e, Harso *hi:s-e* 'root' (see Black 1974.177, 200, Sasse 1979.20, Heine 1979.20). The underlying semantic change is 'root, vein' → 'rope' → 'strap'.

- (11.7) Sem. $\sqrt{r'z}$ > Arab. *mi-r'iz*z-, *ma-r'a*z- 'fine goat's hair' = ECush. $\sqrt{ri(:)z}$ -, $\sqrt{r'z}$ 'hair, beard' > Saho *ri:d*, Galla *are:dä* 'beard', Bayso *adar* id. (?), Burji, Sidamo, Darasa *orda*, Kambatta, Alaba, Kabenna *or'za-ta*, Tembaro *orzäta*, Hadiyya *odda* 'hair of body', Yäku *ris-in-i*, pl. *risin* 'hair'. See Sasse 1976.138, Leslau 1980.120.
- (11.8) Eg. *zm'.w* 'branches' = ECush. $\sqrt{za:m}$ - 'branch' > Galla (Thiene) *dam-e*, Konso *ta:ma*, Harso *san-če:*. See Sasse 1976.140.
- (11.9) Eg. *z* 'man, person' = ECush. $\sqrt{zat}$ - 'person, people' > Somali *dad*, Jiddu *yed*, Boni *dad*, Dasenech *-zat* 'person' and perh. Sago *da:t* ~ *za:t* 'Versammlung'. See Sasse 1976.140, Heine 1978.56.
- (11.10) Eg. *z'b* 'to pass through' ('/ein Ort/ durchziehen') = ECush. $\sqrt{zarb}$ - 'to pass' ('vorbeigehen') > Galla *darb-/dabr-*, Konso *tarb-*, Gidole *tarp-*, Harso *sarp-*, Yäku *-seur-* (< $\sqrt{-sebr-}$?). See Sasse 1976.140. Erman and Grapow's interpretation of Eg. *z'b* as derived fr. *z'b* 'jackal' (Erman-Grapow 1926-31.3:420) is not convincing.
- (11.11) Eg. *čzj*, *wčz* 'to raise, carry' = ECush. $\sqrt{siž}$ - 'to carry' > Somali *sid-*, Rendille *síd-*, Dasenech *siž-* 'to carry', Galla *fid-* 'to bring, give'. See Black 1974.168, 177, Heine 1978.73.

12. Sem. $\sqrt{s}$, $\sqrt{s'}$ = ECush. $\sqrt{ç}$ (= Sasse's $\sqrt{d'}$, Black's $\sqrt{D_1}$)

- (12.1) Sem. $\sqrt{sby}$ 'to moisten, to dye' > Arab. $\sqrt{sby}$ 'to soak, to dye', OAram. *šb'* 'gefärbt', Bibl. Aram. *mašabbä' i:n* 'those who moisten' = ECush. $\sqrt{çub}$ - 'to dip in' > Galla *çup-* ~ *çub-* 'to dip in', Dullay *çup-* 'to swim' and prob. Yäku *ço:b-* 'to sift'. Cp. in Omotic: Kaffa *çipp-* 'immergere, tuffare'. See Sasse 1979.30.
- (12.2) Sem. $\sqrt{s'r}$ 'to be reproached' > Syr. *š'ar* 'opprobrio affectus est', Aram. *ša''er* 'beschimpfen', Arab. *ša''ara* 'to turn away the face in disdain' = ECush. $\sqrt{çe:r}$ - 'to be ashamed' > Konso *çe:r-*, Gidole *çe:r-* 'to be ashamed'. See Sasse 1979.27.
- (12.3) Sem. $\sqrt{sll}$ 'to make pure', 'to clarify (a liquid)' > Aram., Middle Hebrew, Arab. $\sqrt{sll}$ id., Syriac *šala:la:* 'puritas', *šali:la:* 'purus' = ECush. $\sqrt{çall}$ - 'only' > Galla, Darasa *çalla*, Moreno, Burji (Moreno) *çalla* (i.e. *çalla*?), Hadiyya *çala'em* 'allein'. Cp. Dolgopolsky 1973.104. The comparaison is valid unless Sem. $\sqrt{sll}$ is fr. $\sqrt{sll}$ 'to sink'.
- (12.4) Sem.: Arab. *ma:ša* (impf. *-mu:šu*) 'to wash' = ECush. $\sqrt{mVyc}$ - 'to

- wash' > Somali Galla *mi:ɕ*-, Kambatta *meɕɕe*-, Kabenna *meɕɕi*-.
See Dolgopolsky 1973.308, Sasse 1979.26.
- (12.5) Sem. * $\sqrt{p/ɬ}$ 'to split' = ECush. **ɬalɕ*- 'log', 'to split' (see 2.7).
- (12.6) Sem. * $\sqrt{kɛɛ}$ 'to cut' = ECush. **kaɕ*- 'to cut' (see 8.4).
- (12.7) Sem. * $\sqrt{w/yɬk}$ or * $\sqrt{w/yɬk}$ 'to pour' > Ugar., Hebrew $\sqrt{yɬk}$ 'to pour, cast', Phoen. *yɬk* 'statue fondue' = ECush. **ɕak*-/**ɕik*- 'to wash' > Somali *ɕaqo*, Boni 'ɕá'o, Rendille 'ɕixo 'to bathe, have a bath', Dasenech *gik*- (?), Yāku *ɕoq*-, Konso *gag*-, Gidole *ɕik*- 'to wash'. See Sasse 1979.27, 29, 30, Heine 1978.57.
- (12.8) Sem. * $\sqrt{ɬpy}$ 'to wrap over' > Ugar. $\sqrt{ɬpy}$ (G-stem), Hebrew *ɬip'pa*-, Syr. 'appa: 'to wrap over, pull over' = ECush. **ɕuf*- 'to close, to shut' > Somali *guf*-, Galla *ɕuf*-, Konso *ɕuf*-, Gidole *ɕuh*-, Dullay *ɕup*-. See Black 1974.167, 215-6, Sasse 1979.29, 31.
- (12.9) Sem. * $\sqrt{ɬpr}$ 'to plait' > Arab. $\sqrt{ɬpr}$, Eth. $\sqrt{ɬpr}$ 'to plait, twist', Middle Hebrew *ɬa'pá:r* 'Geflecht' = ECush. **ɕifr*- 'braid, smth. plaited' > Gidole *ɕirf*-, Konso *girf*- 'braid', Galla *ɕifr-a*: 'women's hairdo'. See Sasse 1979.27, 29.
- (12.10) Sem. * $\sqrt{ɬpp}$ 'to press (?)' > Middle Hebrew *ɬa:'pu:ɬ* 'gedrängt, beengt', Arab. *ɕaff-at*- 'crowd of people', *ta-ɕa:ffa* 'to throng in a point (crowd)' = ECush. **ɕi:b*- 'to squeeze, press' > Dullay *ti:p*- 'to press', Somali (intens.) *ɕi:bɕi:b*- 'to bring thighs together to close crutch'. See Sasse 1979.29, 30.

There are cases in which a Sem. geminated emphatic sibilant corresponds to ECush. **ɕ*: Sem. **bVɬɬ* 'swamp' = ECush. **baɕ*- 'lake' (see 1.7) and Akkad. *gaɕɕat-u* 'firewood' = ECush. **ge:ɕ*- 'tree' (see 6.10).

Signs and symbols

In Proto-Semitic and in Sem. languages: *x* stands for traditional *h*, and **ɕ* for **d*.

In Ethiopian (Geez): *ɕ* symbolizes Šawt, and *ɕ* is used for Šappa.

In Old South Arabian: Beeston's *s*¹, *s*², *s*³ are rendered by *š*, *ś*, *s*.

In Egyptian: *z* stands for traditional (Erman-Grapow's) *ɕ*, *s* for *ɕ*, *x* for *h*, ' for *ɬ*, *č* for *ɬ*, and *g* for *d*.

In Cushitic: glottalized consonants are dotted (*ḳ*, *ṭ*, *p̣*, *ḍ*, *g̣*, *ɕ̣*), retroflex *d* is symbolised by *ɖ*, **ḍ* stands for Sasse's **d'*, and **ɕ̣* for Sasse's **d'*₁.

In all languages: hushing sibilants are denoted by ' : *ɕ* stands for the sound of Engl. *j* and *ɕ* (rather than *c*) for *ch*, *ɕ* for *sh*; *ɕ̣* symbolizes the palatal voiced injective stop (Sasse's *ɕ̣*).

Roman type is used for transliterating consonantic script, while italics symbolizes transcription. Half brackets '' denote dubious phonemes in reconstructions: e.g., **ɕ̣'unk*- (in 9.2) means '**sunk*- or **ɕunk*-. Consonantic roots are symbolized by $\sqrt{\quad}$.

Abbreviations

Sem. = Proto-Semitic; ECush. = Proto-East-Cushitic; LECush. = Proto-Lowland-East-Cushitic (see Black 1974); PSLECush = Proto-South-Lowland-East-Cushitic (see Black 1974); PSam = Proto-Sam (i.e. Somali-Boni-Rendille, see Heine 1978); CSem. = Central Semitic (Canaanite-Aramaic-Arabic).

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UNA SCARAMUCCIA POETICA TRA 'AFAWARQ GABRA 'IYASUS ED IL BLÄTTÄ GABRA 'EGZI'ABEHĒR

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Elena Sengal, in *Annali Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, 1943 (pag. 292), nelle sue «Note sulla letteratura moderna amarica» scrisse che 'Afawarq Gabra 'Iyasus, sotto lo pseudonimo di «cittadini di Asmara», aveva stampato, nel 1912, una poesia in risposta ad una poesia diffamatoria scritta contro l'Italia da un certo Blättä Gabra 'Egzi'abehēr in occasione della guerra italo-turca e che sapeva per certo che, sotto il detto pseudonimo, si nascondeva lo 'Afawarq. La notizia è stata ripresa dal Gerald A.S. nelle sue *Four African literatures* (University of California Press, pagg. 280, 411 e 431) e la si può considerare certa dato che la Sengal riferiva, sicuramente, notizie avute dal Prof. Gallina che fu il suo tutore.

Fra le carte del mio venerato Maestro ho trovato, stampata su un foglietto volante, la poesia dello 'Afawarq e ne do qui il testo e la traduzione insieme con la traduzione di due delle quattro poesie del Blättä Gabra 'Egzi'abehēr pubblicate da Y.I. Eadie nel suo *Amharic Reader* (Cambridge, University Press, 1924, pag. 195/202) la seconda delle quali, più che la prima, sembra essere, dalla frase «osservate Asmara» [verso 16], quella che 'Afawarq considerò diffamatoria per l'Italia. Ed affermo ciò pur se la poesia era conservata insieme con altro foglietto volante su cui era stampata la prima delle due poesie del Gabra 'Egzi'abehēr.

Sulla vita del nostro Blättä nulla conosco in più di quanto è stato pubblicato dal Merab in *Impressions d'Éthiopie* (Paris, 1929, pag. 259) ove si legge che il Gabra 'Egzi'abehēr fu imprigionato da Ras Makonnen nel 1902 per aver sostenuto la teoria Copernicana e che, buon conoscitore dell'italiano, era vissuto a lungo nella colonia eritrea ed aveva giocato un gran ruolo a favore dello Scioa durante gli anni che precedettero la guerra italo-abissina del 1896 e dal Pankhurst R. in *Ethiopia Observer* (Vol. VI, pag. 260) ove si legge che egli fu il primo giornalista editore di un giornaletto manoscritto, che nacque a Tsada Kistan nello Hamāsēn, che fu imprigionato dagli italiani a Nocra e che, dopo la battaglia di Adua, raggiunse la corte di Menilek ove divenne una specie di satirico di corte (a kind of court satirist).

Questa poesia di 'Afawarq, scritta nel 1912, precede quella da lui scritta in occasione della ascesa al trono della Regina Zaweditu e da me pubblicata

negli atti del V° Congresso Internazionale di Studi etiopici (*Modern Ethiopia*, A.A. Balkema, Rotterdam, 1980, pag. 1) ed è un bell'esempio dello stile poetico dell'Autore e, specialmente nelle due prime strofe, della violenza della sua satira.

Sarebbe assai interessante, anche a completamento della scarsa sua produzione poetica a noi nota, poter accertare se il sospetto di A. Triulzi in *Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici* (Roma, Accademia dei Lincei, 1974, vol. I, pag. 710, nota n. 41) sia fondato e se questa poesia sia contenuta nella raccolta indicata dal Triulzi, il che confermerebbe che essa appartiene al nostro Autore.

Dei sentimenti filo-italiani dell'Afawarq ho già detto in *Dictionary of African Biography* (Reference Publications, Inc. New York, pag. 45) e questa poesia dimostra che, a prescindere dai legami che lo legavano all'Italia sia per aver sposato un'italiana, sia per l'attività prestata a fianco del Prof. Gallina, la sua attività di giornalista filo-italiano nel periodo dell'occupazione fascista dell'Etiopia non affondava le proprie radici, come potrebbe sospettarsi, in un desiderio di conformismo ai nuovi tempi o di tornaconto personale, ma in un più inveterato, disinteressato sentimento.

La mia traduzione, anche se a scapito della forma italiana, è strettamente letterale. Le parole tra parentesi non figurano nel testo. Messo in buon italiano, per es, l'ultimo verso si sarebbe dovuto tradurre: «Egli non sa neanche scrivere l'amarico e pretende fare il poeta!». Ometto, per motivi di spazio, qualsiasi osservazione stilistica o grammaticale.

Le poesie di Blättā Gabra 'Egzi'abebēr

I

Ascoltami, ti prego, Šawā, Harar, Kāffā, Kontā,
 Goḡḡām, Bagēmeder, Tegrē fino all'Endartā,
 Wallo, Yaḡḡu, Wāg, Awessā fino al Lāstā,
 Abissinia tutta, ovunque tu sia.
 Mentre ti parlo, interpreta il (mio) dire con investigazioni¹.
 Il Turco, gente forte, che da Gerusalemme, da padrone,
 ha sciolto² il mondo a colpi (lett. scudiscio) di spada

¹ Leggi, cioè, e medita attentamente!

² *Ha sciolto* = ha fatto alto e basso, ha fatto quel che voleva. Cfr. Il mio «Il Dagmāwi Menilek ecc» in *Rassegna degli Studi Etiopici*, vol. XVII, 1961, pag. 12.

era arrivato anche da noi: un brigante, Grāñ³,
non si trovò un prode che lo frenasse!
Quest'anno, invece, lo han colpito i guai
poichè viveva ammalato (lett. nella malattia) di superbia,
senza apprendere un'arte, senza approntar colline (su cui difendersi)
e nell'invidia, in segreti conciliaboli,
uccidendo e battendo, con la scusa della religione,
di notte con le donne, di giorno coi giochi,
sempre saziandosi delle gioie mondane,
senza mai pensare, da mattina a sera, al suo governo.
Essendogli stato consigliato di esser paziente, di viver tranquillo
ed avendo egli risposto: «non ascolto», si consigliarono contro di lui,
— affinchè la sua voce, il flauto musulmano, si spegnesse, —
al fine di spodestar(lo dal)la sua carica, (dal)la sua posizione onorevole.
Un istruito, che non conosce facezie
governo libero⁴ gli venne immediatamente contro
per mare, per terra, dalle altezze del cielo,
battendo, da lontano, il (tasto del) telegrafo senza fili⁵.
Lo sgozzò, lo fece a pezzi, lo ridusse vagabondo (= lo scacciò).
Esso⁶ aveva navi, poche e scadenti,
e, non potendo (esse) difendersi da quelle dei prodi,
se ne fuggirono e si ammassarono nel porto dei Dardanelli.
Se (pur) presentava⁷ reclami a tutti gli Stati,
se (pur) piangeva e gridava, donde poteva arrivagli un aiuto
dato che era crudele, ozioso e corrotto?
In qual modo esso fu, a proposito del Golgota⁸, ingiusto a nostro danno
da quel che, man mano abbiamo sentito, impariamolo ormai!
E, poi, stiamo attenti, prima che giunga il (nostro) turno!
Impariamo dagli Europei, diventiamo quant'è più possibile forti
e sian molti, affinchè il nostro cuore non sia dubbioso, i consiglieri
sì che, nel giorno dello scontro, il nemico non vinca!
Studiamo la storia, leggiamo i giornali,

³ Il noto Mohamed, soprannominato «il Mancino» che invase l'Etiopia nel 16° secolo.

⁴ *Governo libero* = il Governo Italiano.

⁵ Cfr. *postea*, nota n° 18.

⁶ *Esso* = il Governo Turco.

⁷ Soggetto è il Governo Turco.

⁸ L'Etiopia possiede, fin dal XII° secolo, in Gerusalemme alcune località e chiese tra le quali quella del Golgota. Si accenna, forse, ad una qualche discussione fra i due Governi, essendo allora Gerusalemme sotto dominazione turca, a proposito di questa chiesa.

impariamo le lingue, guardiamo le carte geografiche!
 E' esso (= lo studio) che ha aperto gli occhi ai popoli.
 Le tenebre sono sparite, son diventate alba;
 dormire di giorno, è una vergogna il letto!
 Affinchè nostra madre, l'Etiopia, non si separi dal marito
 diamole oggi consigli sì che non diventi prostituta
 e noi, suoi figli, non siamo sbattuti qua e là.
 Un patrigno è crudele, (vive) ad adirarsi ed a percuotere
 e non imbandisce, poi, la mensa della gloria!
 Se io do sempre consigli, ogni domenica,
 non ho trovato alcuno, nè un signore che mi disapprovi
 nè uno che dica: «Altro che, ha ragione!»
 Dal momento che le cose stanno così, è meglio il silenzio!
 Dato che non ho guadagno, perchè insistere?
 Che importa a me? Ad un tal vagabondo?
 Guai a chi è abituato (a dir)⁹: «Son qui, son qui, Signor mio!»

Ha parlato il Blättā Gabra 'Egzi'abehēr.

II

Ascoltatemi tutti, musulmani e Amara (= Cristiani),
 metropolitani, monaci, sacerdoti di turno e dābtarā,
 (ascoltate) quel che è accaduto quest'anno: la congiura di guerra,
 la infelicità¹⁰ che ha colpito i Turchi.
 (Venendo) dal gran mare, fin (dal) mare eritreo¹¹,
 navigando su navi, in ordine di guerra,
 han cominciato a bruciarli, con inferno di cannonate,
 per prendersi il paese, per piantarvi la (loro) bandiera.
 Che cosa mostruosa quest'onta! E', mentre è temibile, terribile!

⁹ Interpretazione incerta, diversamente tradotto da Fadie. Credo che voglia dire: Guai ai popoli che non sono indipendenti, che sono abituati a rispondere «Eccomi, eccomi, padrone!».

¹⁰ *Hasār* è vocabolo ge'ez = disgrazia, angustia, ristrettezza. È in stato costrutto.

¹¹ Così traduco, essendo notorio che alla guerra italo-turca il Governo italiano fece partecipare molti reparti di ascari eritrei i quali, poi, rientrati in patria, presero il nomignolo di «Trembulē» (= Tripolini). Cfr. *Fusella*, «Una poesia amarica di Aqā Gabru sui fatti di Sagalē», in *Atti del 6° Congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici* (in corso di stampa). Ma si può anche tradurre: «l'infelicità che ha colpito i turchi, dal Mediterraneo al Mar Rosso».

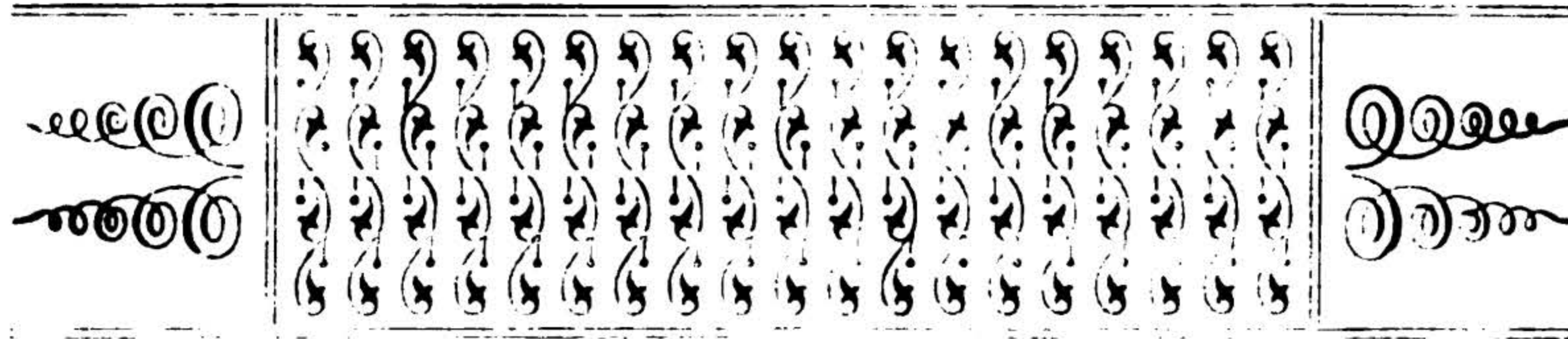
Adesso, prima che giunga l'avvoltoio, occorre esser cauti,
(l'avvoltoio) che depreda, con la violenza, il pane onorato;
(che) non ha pietà per i vecchi nè bontà verso i fanciulli.
E' fratello di Erode, soldato di Pilato.
Quando arriva, amaro come il fiele,
dicono che non dà mai neanche un posto per una tomba ¹².
Se non mi credete, osservate 'Asmarā!
Se oggi andiamo d'accordo, senza che alcuno di noi si insuperbisca,
così come ci disse Davide con la cetra del canto:
«il consiglio, per colui che lo pone in opera, è bello
e colui che lo accetta non teme alcuno»
diventerà ¹³ come il Giappone, forte in tutto.

Ha parlato il Blättā Gabra 'Egzi'abehēr.

La Poesia di 'Afawarq Gabra 'Iyasus segue alla pagina 148

¹² A questa accusa l'Afawarq risponde col verso 4, strofa 10, della sua poesia.

¹³ *Diventerà*: soggetto è l'Etiopia.

Testo della poesia di 'Afawarq Gabra 'Iyasus

እስተርጓሚ : ሁኖ : ሰሐን : ሲፈገፍግ :
 አሁን : ማን : አገባው : ከጨወታ : ተወግ :
 ታዛባ : ሳይለይ : ወድቆ : ሲአድር : ተፍግ ።

እክብረውህ : ነበር : ብለውህ : ብላታ :
 በግር : ብረት : ገባህ : ስለሆንህ : ወስላታ :
 እር : ስትጠርግ : የነበር : ስትደፋ : ባሬታ :
 ትሰድብ : ጀመረ : የብርሃኑን : ጌታ ።

ሁለቱ : መንግሥቶች : ፍቅራቸውን : ወደው :
 ስልክ : ሽቦ : ዘረጉ : መድፋቸውን : ትተው :
 ፍቅር : እንደ : ሸማ : ሊኖሩ : ተላብሰው ።
 እንኳን : ለንግዴሁ : በፊት : ተጠጥተው :
 መሐላ : ባልጠሉም : እንዳይፈርስ : እርቃቸው ።

በዚህ : መሀል : ገብቶ : ምን : ያስቀባጥራል :
 ለሱ : ሳያውቅበት : ለሌላው : ይመክራል :
 ለሱ : ባያልፍለት : ለኛስ : ደስ : ብሎናል :
 ጨለማ : ተሽሮ : ብርሃን : ገብቶልናል ።

ከንፈሩ : አክንባሎ : ውቃቢ : የሴለው :
ፍቅር : እንዲፈርስ : ነው : እሱ : የሚጥረው ።

ብልህት : ተኖረውስ : ታወቀ : ፈረንጂ :
ለጠብ : ምን : ባስጣረው : ለማፋቀር : እንጂ ።

ተንግዴህ : አይመጣም : ያዱአው : ጦርነት :
ተዛንተህ : ተቀመጥ : ያበሻ : ፍጥረት :
የቀጣፊ : ወሬ : ይቅርብህ : መስማት ።

ተንግዴህ : ቢመጣ : የጦርነት : ስራ :
ሰማይ : ሰማይን : እይ : ሲበር : እንዳሞራ :
በላይህ : ይዘንባል : እሳተ : ገሞራ :
እንኳን : ያየር : መንገድ : መርፌ : የማትሰራ :
እንዲህ : ባለው : ጠላት : አበሻም : አትኩራ :
ተፋቅራ : ትቀመጥ : ተኢጣሊአ : ጋራ :
ይሄን : ብታረግ : ነው : የምትኖር : ጠንክራ ።

ለእያሱ : ሲጥር : የኢጣሊአ : መንግሥት :
ምን : ያጠራጥራል : በቀጣፊ : ሐሜት :
ብርሃን : ተጠይፎ : ጨለማ : ለመግባት ።

ያሥመራ : ከተማ : እንዴቱን : ትደነቅ :
ውሸት : ገጠመባት : እውነቱን : ሳይጠይቅ :
የጥንት : ወሬ : ይዘ : የዛሬውን : ሳያውቅ :
ገዢው : ለኛ : ሁኖ : ርስትን : ሲጠብቅ ።

ነገሩ : ይድነቅህ : እረ : ስማ : ስማ :
አርነት : የወጣህ : ያሥመራ : ከተማ :
ኢጣሊአ : ተገባች : ተሸርአል : ጨለማ ።

እንኳን : ተግዛቱአ : ታሰብ : እስተ : ቀሩርደት :
ለጋላ : ተርፎታል : የኢጣሊኦ : ብልህት ።

ሸዋ : ደስ : ይበልህ :
ጉጃም : ደስ : ይበልህ :
ትግሬም : ደስ : ይበልህ :
ወሉም : ደስ : ይበልህ :
ሁሉም : ደስ : ይበልህ :
በኢጣሊኦ : ኃይል : ነው : የከፈተው : ዓይንህ ።

ኢጣሊኦ : በጠብዋ : እንዲህ : ከጠቀመች :
ተንግዴህ : በፍቅርዋ : ዓለም : ታሳያለች ።

ላገር : ማን : አይረዳም : ከፋት : ተኖረማ :
እያየው : ነው : እንጂ : አገሩ : ሲለማ ።

የወዛበት : ለሱ : ገንዘቡን : ማን : ደፍሮት :
ቤቱ : ከፍቱን : ቢአድር : አሳብ : የለ : ፍራት :
ጉቦ : መቅቡጥ : የለ : ለዳኛ : ለመስጠት :
እንዲአው : ዓለም : ጉኖአል : ያሥመራማ : መንግሥት ።

የቀድሞ : ግዛቱአን : ተቀምታ : ኑራ :
ሮማ : ተነሳች : ለመውሰድ : ጠንክራ :
ቱርክን : ምን : አገባት : ባልተገባት : ስፍራ ።
እንኳን : ትሪፖሊ : ይቀራል : ኤርትራ :
ገና : አልተጀመረም : ታያለች : መክራ :
እስጥምቡል : ከፋ : ናት : ያረመኒ : ኖራ :
ነገ : ትፈርሳለች : በክርስቲያን : ሴራ ።

ገጣሚ : ደፋር : ነው : ነገሩን : አያውቀው :
ኢቶኦያን : ከቱርክ : ምን : አመሳሰለው ።

የቱርክ : ስም : ተሰብርክል : ተገምሶአል : ጨረቃው :
 ያበሻ : ስም : ቅዱስ : ከዚያ : ከላይኛው :
 አላማው : አንበሳ : የሚአስፈራ : ግርማው ።

ገብረእግዚአብሔር : ገጥሞ : ከፋ : የሚያወራ :
 ኢጣሊኦ : ቢዋጋ : ከቱርክ : እስላም : ጋራ :
 አበሻ : ምን : ልትሆን : በፍቅር : ጠንክራ ።

የምትወጣው : ንጉሥ : እያሱ : ምኒልክ :
 ፍቅርህን : አጥብቀው : ልብህ : አይታወክ :
 ሰካር : በሚገጥመው : የማይጠጣ : በልክ ።

ተንግዴህ : ኢጣሊኦ : አትመጣም : በክፋት :
 እጅግ : ትመኛለች : ያበሻን : አንድነት :
 እንዳይነካት : ብላ : ያልታሰበ : ጠላት :
 አሳቡአም : ላንተ : ነው : እንዲገባ : ብልሐት ።
 የሮማ : ልማድዋ : የነበራት : ተጥንት :
 ባለሙ : መዝራት : ነው : ብልሐትና : እውቀት ።

ምላስህ : መርዛም : ነው : ከንፈርህ : መግላሊት :
 ሰባት : ጌዜ : ክደህ : የለህም : ሃይማኖት ።
 ለሞኝ : ይመስለዋል : ገብረእግዚአብሔር : ሲሉት ።

ዶሮውን : ሳያርዱ : ይገኛልን : መረቅ :
 ግጥም : ገጠምሁ : ይላል : አማረኛ : ሳያውቅ ።

ያስመራ : ልገሮች ።
 ለብላታ : ገብረ : እግዚአብሔር : የጅ : መንሻ ።

አሥመራ : ፲፱፻፳ ዓመተ : ምሕረት :

Traduzione

Mentre, come interpetre, strofinava¹⁴ i piatti
chi, ora, lo ha introdotto dalle cose futili in quelle serie¹⁵,
mentre, senza distaccarsi dallo sterco, passa la notte nel letame?

Ti avevano onorato, facendoti Blättā¹⁶,
entrasti in catene¹⁷ (= in prigione) perchè fosti imbrogliatore;
tu che, mentre spazzavi via lo sterco, mentre versavi il pitale,
cominciasti ad ingiuriare il padrone della luce (= l'Italia).

I due Governi, desiderosi di pace (lett. amore),
abbandonati i cannoni, stesero il filo telegrafico¹⁸

14 *Strofinava i piatti* = era sguattero. È riferito al Blättā Gabra 'Egziabehēr cui è dedicata la poesia.

15 *W'ag* = consuetudine, tradizione, usanza, diritto. Qui traduco: cosa seria.

16 Sembra che a nominarlo «blättā» sia stato il Governo Italiano. Sul significato e valore di detta carica, oltre a quanto detto da Bairu Tafla in *Atti del 4° Congresso internazionale di Studi Etiopici* (Acc. Lincei, Roma, 1974, pag. 611) ed ai riferimenti da lui indicati in nota, traduco quanto dice Takla Šādeq Makuriyā nella sua *Storia d'Etiopia. Da Aṭē Lebna Dengel a Tēwodros* (Artistic māttamiyā bēt, 2° ed. 1945 (1952/53) pag. 72): *Blättā* o *Blättēnā* significano «ragazzo». Anticamente così eran chiamati i trenta ragazzi che prestavano servizio nello *elfeñ* e nello *elfeñ addarāš*. Costoro, quando uscivano dallo *elfeñ*, non potevano uscire da soli, ma in corteo e come addetti alla sicurezza del re (*haṭabbāqinnā hāggābi kālbona baqar biččāllawen ayewatūm*). In seguito il loro numero aumentò fino a 150 divisi in tre reparti di 50 ragazzi ciascuno: un reparto addetto al *faras bēt*, uno al *zafan(?) bēt*, alla camera in cui il negus riceveva gli ospiti, un altro addetto al servizio del negus nella camera privata del re chiamata *anhassā bēt*. Costoro, al tempo d'oggi, sono chiamati *rāsgē bētoč*, *antāfiwoč*, *yalseñ zabañnoč* ed *aškarōč* ed alcuni anche *čenčā aškarōč*.

Ai tempi dell'Imperatore Sarza Dengel, divisi in due parti, i primi si chiamavano «piccoli *blättēnoč*» ed i secondi «grandi *blättēnoč*» ed i loro capi, quelli dei piccoli, si chiamavano, in amarico «*Teqāqen blättēn gētā*» (in ge'ez: *liqa ne'usān blättēnoč*) (sic!) e, quelli dei grandi, in amarico «*tāllāq blättēn gētā*» (in ge'ez: *liqa 'abiyān blättēnoč*) (sic!). Il loro compito, mentre quello dei «piccoli» era di addetti allo *elfeñ* ed ai servizi interni della casa reale, quello dei «grandi» era di addetti ai servizi esterni e corrispondeva, all'incirca, all'attuale compito del *ligābā*. Si dice che, in sovrappiù, talvolta, sia a loro, sia ai loro comandanti, si aggiungeva il compito di custodia del sigillo e di capo della polizia.

Cfr. anche R. Greenfield *Ethiopia, A new political history*, Pall Mall, London, 1965 (pag. 463) e Māhtama Sellāsē Walda Masqal, *Zekra nagar*, 2° ed. pag. 20 e *passim.*, e Dassetā Takla Wald Yāmārīñña mazgaba qālāt, 1970, pag. 1151. Forse, invece di *zafan bēt* (= casa dei canti) si deve leggere *zafān bēt* (= stanza del trono).

17 Qui sembra accennarsi alla prigionia in Nocra, disposta dal Governo Italiano e non a quella disposta da Ras Makonnen o, forse, ad ambedue.

18 Le prime linee telegrafiche e telefoniche furono stese da Menilek nel 1892 (= 1899/1900). Cfr. Māhtama Sellāsē Walda Masqal, op. cit. (pag. 490).

per vivere ammantati di amore come da uno šammā.
 Meno male che per l'avvenire, precedentemente pentitisi ¹⁹,
 essi non rifiuterebbero di giurare a che la loro pace non crolli.

Entrato in mezzo a quest'affare, che cosa (lo) fa cianciare?
 Senza saper (lo fare) per sé, dá consigli agli altri!
 Se a lui (le difficoltà) non passano, quanto a noi, siamo contenti ²⁰:
 la tenebra è stata fugata, è entrata, a nostro favore, la luce.

Il suo labbro (è come) un akenbālo ²¹, disgustoso ²²;
 quel per cui egli si sforza è perchè l'amore crolli.

Se avesse intelligenza, se conoscesse gli europei,
 che cosa mai lo farebbe affaticare, invece che per l'amicizia, per l'odio?

In avvenire non avverrà più la battaglia di Adua;
 o popolo (lett. creatura) abissino, stattene a tuo agio,
 cessi, per te, l'udire le notizie dell'imbroglione.

Se, in avvenire, venissero operazioni di guerra,
 guardalo ²³, in cielo, volare come un avvoltoio;
 pioverà, su di te, un fuoco infernale.
 L'Abissinia che non sa costruire, non diciamo vie aeree, ma neanche un ago,
 non si insuperbisca per (aver vinto ad Adua) un tale nemico!
 Se ne stia in amicizia con l'Italia;
 è, se farà così, che vivrà forte.

Mentre il Governo italiano si sforza in favore di 'Iyāsu,
 che cosa rende dubbiosi? Per ripiombare, per le calunnie di un imbroglione,
 nelle tenebre tenendosi a schifo la luce?

Quanto, la città di 'Asmarā, rimarrà stupefatta:
 (Gabra 'Egzi'abehēr), senza informarsi sulla verità, ha composto contro di
 essa versi di falsità,

¹⁹ Passo di interpretazione incerta. Forse vuol dire: pentitisi per quel che in precedenza era accaduto.

²⁰ Cioè: se lui è nei guai, noi, sotto il governo italiano, ce la passiamo bene.

²¹ *Akenbālo* «grosso coperchio del *metād*, ovvero, del forno per cuocere lo *engarā*».

²² Rectius: *yalēllaw*. *W'eqābi yalēllaw*, letteralmente «che non ha bellezza».

²³ *Guardalo*: si riferisce agli italiani ed alla loro aviazione.

prendendo (a base) vecchie notizie e senza conoscere le attuali
mentre il governatore, essendo dalla nostra parte, difende (la nostra) terra
avita ²⁴.

La cosa ti stupisca! Oh, ascolta, ascolta,
o città di Asmara uscita a libertà:
la tenebra, da che è arrivata l'Italia, è stata fugata.

Non solo nei suoi dominii, da Asab fino a Querdat ²⁵.
(anche) per i Galla la civiltà italiana è stata sovrabbondante.

Šawā, ralleggrati,
Goğgām, ralleggrati,
Tegrē, ralleggrati
Wallo, ralleggrati
tutti quanti siate felici,
è per la potenza dell'Italia che (Iddio) ha aperto i vostri occhi!

L'italia, se con la sua inimicizia, ha giovato tanto,
con la sua amicizia, in avvenire, farà apparire la felicità.

Se vi fosse del male, chi non aiuterebbe il (proprio) paese?
Ma è vedendolo prosperare (che l'etiopico non corre in aiuto del proprio
paese).

Chi mai gli ²⁶ ha strappato il denaro per cui egli ha sudato?
Se la sua casa resta aperta di notte, non vi è preoccupazione o timore,
non vi è donativo di corruzione o gubbo ²⁷ da dare al giudice;
il governo di 'Asmarā è diventato una felicità!

Essendo stata depredata dei suoi antichi dominii,
Roma, divenuta forte, è sorta a (ri)prenderseli.
Che cosa ha fatto entrare la Turchia in località che non le spettavano?
Verranno a mancarle non solo Tripoli, anche (i possedimenti sul mar) eritreo.
Le cose non sono ancora iniziate, essa ha ancora da vedere (i suoi) guai!

²⁴ *La nostra terra avita*: evidente risposta all'affermazione del Gabra 'Egzi'abehēr nella 2a poesia, verso 15, ove egli accusa il Governo italiano di non lasciare agli etiopici neanche un po' di terra per seppellirvi i morti.

²⁵ *Querdat* «Agordat».

²⁶ *Gli* = all'etiopico.

²⁷ *Gubbo* «donativo di corruzione dato ai giudici per guadagnarne i favori».

Istambul è cattiva, (è) una costruzione²⁸ di infedeli,
crollerà domani per la congiura dei cristiani.

Il poeta è audace! Le cose non le conosce!
Che cosa gli ha fatto paragonare l'Etiopia alla Turchia?

Il nome della Turchia si è rotto, la sua luna si è spezzata,
quello dell'Etiopia è santo. Là, sulla sua parte superiore²⁹
(del) suo vessillo (c'è) il leone la cui maestosità è temibile.

(E') Gabra 'Egzi'abehēr che, componendo poesie, sparge cattive notizie.
Se l'Italia combatte con i Turchi musulmani
che mai diverrà l'Etiopia forte nell'amore (= pace)?

O sorgente³⁰ re, 'Eyāsu Menilek³¹,
rinsalda il tuo amore. Che il tuo cuore
non si agiti per quel che va poetando un ubriacone che beve senza misura!

D'ora in poi l'Italia non verrà più in cattiveria³².
Essa desidera assai l'unità dell'Etiopia
allo scopo che non la attacchi un nemico cui non si è pensato (= improvviso).
Il suo pensiero è per te, affinché entri (in Etiopia) la civiltà.
L'abitudine di Roma, l'abitudine che essa ha fin dall'antichità,
è di seminare nel mondo civiltà e sapere.

La tua³³ lingua è velenosa, il tuo labbro (è come) un coperchio³⁴,
poichè hai tradito sette volte, non hai fede!
Quando lo chiamano «Gabra 'Egzi'abehēr», allo sciocco sembra vero³⁵!

²⁸ *Norā*, letteralmente «calce» = è una rocca di infedeli.

²⁹ Oppure: «Il nome dell'Abissinia è santo, lì, nel cielo, (opp. è benedetto dal cielo?).

³⁰ Nel testo: *yammetewatā*. Liḡ 'Eyāsu, infatti, all'epoca della guerra italo-turca era ancora sotto la tutela di Rās Tasammā. Egli, d'altro lato, non assunse mai il titolo di *negus*.

³¹ 'Eyāsu Menilek: La dizione non è esatta poichè Menilek era il *nonno* ex filia e non il *padre* di Liḡ 'Eyāsu.

³² *In cattiveria* cioè «da nemica, con intenzioni ostili e aggressive».

³³ *La tua lingua*: qui il poeta si rivolge al Gabra 'Egzi'abehēr.

³⁴ Nel testo: *maglālīt* «coperchio di marmitta». Vedi nota n. 21.

³⁵ Cioè: solo gli sciocchi, sentendoti chiamare col nome di Gabra 'Egzi'abehēr, possono credere che tu sia veramente «servo di Dio» che, cioè, il significato del tuo nome corrisponda al tuo modo di agire.

Senza che si sgozzi la gallina se ne può ricavare il brodo?
Egli, senza conoscere l'amarico, dice: «Ho composto poesie».

I ragazzi di 'Asmarā
Omaggio a Blättā Gabra 'Egzi'abehēr.
'Asmarā, 1905 anno di grazia (= 1912/13).

Post scriptum: durante la correzione delle bozze di stampa di quest'articolo ho potuto esaminare, grazie alla cortesia del Prof. Triulzi, gli scritti di 'Abbā Tsfā Sellāsē, oggetto del suo studio cui ho fatto cenno innanzi.

Alle pagg. 41/43 delle carte del Tsfā Sellāsē non vi è, come il Triulzi indica, «una lunga serie di poesie dello 'Afawarq» ma un'unica poesia, la nostra, trascritta con lievissime varianti e preceduta dal seguente titolo: «La risposta che diede (opp.: che *gli* diede) il Sig. 'Afawarq Gabra Yasus del paese di Zagē, Gōggām» e le varie strofe sono state scambiate, ad un'affrettata lettura, per singole poesie. A pag. 40 vi sono sei *geṭem* ed a pag. 39 vi è la poesia del Gabra 'Egzi'abehēr da me innanzi indicata col n° 2. Ciò conferma che, malgrado la intercalazione, nelle carte Tsfā Sellāsē, del foglio n. 40 e la riunione, nella carte Gallina, della nostra poesia con quella del Gabra 'Egzi'abehēr da me qui indicata col n° 1, quella alla quale lo 'Afawarq risponde è la seconda. La intitolazione data dal Tsfā Sellāsē, poi, ammesso che ve ne fossero, fuga ogni incertezza sull'identità del nostro Autore.

OLD AMHARIC FEATURES IN A MANUSCRIPT FROM WOLLO (EMML 7007)

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EMML¹ 7007 (19 × 17cm., 112 fols.², 2 cols., 19 lines to a column) is not particularly old. The genealogy of Ethiopian rulers on fols. 15v-16r ends with Iyyasu II, suggesting that it was copied between 1730 and 1755. But it contains features which thus far have been considered old by scholars of Amharic. If two centuries are not enough to make a language old, we may have to revise our knowledge about the dialects of Amharic; we may have been considering regional variations as phenomena of archaism. EMML 7007 is the microfilm of a manuscript from Wollo (Awas/Hawas Šəllase in Allamata). But the old features which its texts preserve are found in manuscripts coming from other parts of the country as well. We should also bear in mind that EMML 7007 could have been copied from an older manuscript originating in the Gojjam-Gondar region. This may, in fact, explain why it has both the old and the new forms of some words such as *hand* and *and* for "one" (e.g., fol. 31v: *handənnätun and qän tänaggäräw* "He [God/Christ] spoke [about] his oneness on one [and the] same day," or *g^ueta* and *geta* "master" (e.g., fols. 32r and 61v respectively), and why a few archaic conjugational elements (e.g., the object suffix *-walläw* or *-wallto*, for *-alläw* "them"³ are wanting in it. In other words, the copyist of this manuscript may have altered some words and copied others as they appear in the old manuscript from which he was copying. The chronology of the rulers of Ethiopia that ends with Aše Susənäyos (1607-1632) and the paragraph on the "seven deadly sins" (fol. 20v), a Western thought not common in Ethiopia, may indicate that the exemplar of this manuscript was written during the Jesuit enterprise in Ethiopia in the seventeenth century.

With the exception of the first twenty-nine leaves⁴, the original contents

¹ For abbreviations and full reference see Bibliography.

² Numbered 1 to 121, with the numbers 91 to 99 omitted from the series.

³ See, for example, *wälaḡ siläwalläw* "because he calls them begetter(s)" Wright (1877) no. 277, 1, p. 286 (col. 2). See also Praetorius (1879), p. 113; Cowley (1974), p. 604; and Guidi (1889), p. 59.

⁴ Fols. 3r-15r: the Apocalypse of Baruch, Br. Lib. MS Or. 503, fol. 63r, Wright (1877), pp. 20-1; fols. 15r-16r: chronology of the rulers of Ethiopia; fols. 16r-25v: two

of EMM 7007 are in Amharic. They include commentary on *Bä-samä Ab* or the Gə'əz Opening Prayer⁵ (fols. 30r-31v, 33rv and 32v); commentary on the Our Father⁶ (fols. 32v, 32r, 49rv and 34rv); commentary (with the usual lengthy introduction) on the Nicene Creed⁷ (fols. 34v-74v); admonition in a composition that *rhymes* in very short lines (fols. 74v-80r); and the symbolic meanings of the letters of the Gə'əz alphabet, in Gə'əz and Amharic⁸ (fols. 80r-110v). The rest (fols. 111r-121r) contains different hymns and litanies in Gə'əz in a later hand⁹. Since poems are not always good sources for the study of grammar and since editing it is in progress, the present study excludes the unique poem in fols. 74v-80r.

1.0. Orthography

The beautiful eighteenth century hand of the relatively careful copyist of EMM 7007 makes it easy for one to see clearly the different forms of the letters of this manuscript.

1.1. The letter for *ṣ* is **ṣ**, not **ṣ**¹⁰. Its first order form *ṣä*, is not distinguishable from its third order form, *ṣi*; both are **ṣ**:

ṣ (fol. 39v, for MA: **ṣ**)

ṣ (fol. 41v for MA: **ṣ**)

1.2. The sixth order form of *ṣ* is not different from its third order form; both *ṣi* and *ṣ(ə)* are rendered with **ṣ**. The form **ṣ** is very rare in this manuscript¹¹.

unidentified admonitions, with the second (fols. 18r-25v) having a paragraph on the seven deadly sins, *7 ḥatawə' amuran allä yəqättəlu näfsä* (f. 20v); fols. 25v-26r: a shorter version of the genealogy of Shoan monks, cf. EMM 1760, fols. 110v-130r, Getatchew Haile-Macomber (1981), p. 207; fols. 26r-27r: ages of biblical and other historical personalities; fols. 27r-29v: commentary on the creation, *Ṣənä fəträt*, and genealogy of rulers from Adam to Aṣṣe Susənəyos (1607-1632), concluded with some historical notes.

5 Br. Lib. MS Or. 792, fol. 2r, Wright (1877), p. 286.

6 *Ibid.*, fol. 3r.

7 Cf. d'Abbadie 101, fol. 2r, Conti Rossini (1912), no. 102, I, p. 483.

8 Probably d'Abbadie 212, fol. 1r, Conti Rossini (1913), no. 151, p. 27.

9 Fols. 111r-112r: *Bä'ntä Ṣəllasekə*, Hammerschmidt (1960), pp. 16-18; fols. 112r-115r: *Bəṣə'ṭ anti wä-nəḡəstā ṣəḍq*, Chaine (1913), no. 292, p. 345; fols. 115r-117v: *Nä'a Giyorgis* [MS: *Giyorgis*], Br. Lib. MS Or. 568, fol. 112r, Wright (1877), no. 181, b. p. 117 (col. 2); fols. 117v-119v: *O-ṣä-wärädkä*, Hammerschmidt (1960), pp. 20-24; and fols. 119v-121v: *Täfäsəḥi Maryam lä-Addam fəsikahu*, Chaine (1913), no. 302, p. 345.

10 Cf. Strelcyn (1968), p. 31; Praetorius (1879), p. 3.

11 Cf. Strelcyn (1981), p. 73.

Furthermore, its first order form, **ቸ** (*čä*), and its fifth order form, **ቼ** (*če*), interchange freely¹².

1. **ነበረቺ** (fol. 34v, MA: **ነበረች**).
- ነቺ** (fol. 35r, MA: **ነች**).
2. **እርሳቺውም** and **እርሳቸውም** (fol. 35v).
- እሳቺው** (fol. 38v) and **እሳቸው** (fol. 35v).

1.3. The free interchange can be seen also between the first order form of *š*, **ሸ** (*šä*), and its fifth order form, **ሼ** (*še*)¹³.

1. **እሸከመው** (fol. 31r).
- ተሼልኖ** (fol. 68r).

1.4. The labials *lʷä* and *mʷä* are consistently written as **ኸ** and **ኹ** respectively.

1. **የኸኸት** (fol. 41v, MA: **የኸኸት**).
- ይኸል** (fol. 35r [four times]).
2. **ከደኸ** (fol. 63r, MA: **ከደኸ** and **ከደኸ**).

2.0. Morphology

2.1. As in the old Amharic text studied by R. Cowley¹⁴, the (Gə'əz) verb **ጠበው** is changed to **ጠበ**, not to **ጠባ** as in MA.

1. **በደረትዋ ተቀምጦ ሲጠበ ተገኘ** (fol. 34v).
- He was found sitting on her chest and suckling.

The last radical of the verb from which **አወራ**, **አስወራ**, etc., are derived could have been **የ** (* **ወረየ** cf., Arabic **روى**). This manuscript preserves the form **አስወረ** "to disseminate, to spread news"

2. **እብላ ወለድሁ ብላ አስወረቺ** (fol. 84v)
- Lying, she made the news spread, saying, "I have borne (a child)".

2.2 We know that (Gə'əz) verbs ending in **ው/የ** change sometimes like those ending in **ሀ**, **ሐ**, **ኀ/አ**, **ዐ** in MA; e.g., **ጠበው** becomes **ጠባ** just as **ሰምዐ** becomes **ሰግ**. The influence of the analogical construction seems to work in

¹² On the use of the forms of *č*, see Griaule (1932), pp. 4-7; and Strelcyn (1981), p. 73.

¹³ Cf. Strelcyn (1981), p. 73.

¹⁴ Cowley (1974), pp. 597-607; Getatchew Haile (1980), p. 579.

the reverse as well. That is, verbs ending in *ሀ, ሐ, ኀ/አ, ዐ* change sometimes like those ending in *ወ/የ* in MA; e.g., *ፈርሀ* > *ፈረሀ* > *ፈረ* "to fear"¹⁵.

1. *ጸላቱም፣ ይፈረዋል* (fol. 31r).
His enemy, too, would fear him.
2. *አየና፣ ነገሩን፣ ፈረ* (fol. 67r).
He saw the matter and was afraid.
3. *እርሱም፣ ቢፈር፣ ይፈረና፣ ግለ* (fol. 37v).
And he, since he was afraid, dared and swore.

2.3. There are several derived verbs in this manuscript which are not common in MA, e.g., *አሄደ* "to cause to go, to make one go" (MA: *አስኪደ*).

1. *ገራ፣ መንገድ፣ የሚያሄዱ፣ አጋንንት* (fol. 30v).
Demons which cause one to go the wrong [lit. "left"] way.

In MA, *አሄደ* means "to thresh, to tread grain, to let animals walk on cereal plants for the purpose of threshing". Interestingly, the object in this present day meaning is not "animals" but the cereal plant:

2. *ገበሬው፣ ገብሱን፣ አሄደ* ።
The farmer threshed the barley.

The above example taken from fol. 30v (sentence 2. 3, 1) would mean that a sentence such as

3. *አጋንንት፣ ምእመኑን፣ ገራ፣ መንገድ፣ አሄዱት* ።
Demons caused the faithful to go the wrong way

was possible.

አኛ "to cause or to assist one to lie down". This verb, which is obviously the causative of **ኛ*, is very common in older Amharic¹⁶.

4. *እንደሰው፣ አፍኝ፣ አንሱኝ፣ እገመኝ፣ ተኩሱኝ፣ አላለም* (fol. 64v).
[Christ] never said like others, help me lie down, raise me up, treat me with *wagämt* (or) treat me with medical fire.

In MA (of Shoa), the verb *እገመ* is type B (O_2), not type A (O_1) as in this example¹⁷.

¹⁵ Strelcyn (1981), p. 74 (parag. 2.2.8).

¹⁶ Cf. Strelcyn (1968), p. 68; Getatchew Haile (1970), p. 71.

¹⁷ For similar examples in the Amharic dialect of Wollo, see Getatchew Haile-Seifu Metaferia (1973), p. 118.

አሰለበ : “to take off one’s clothing” (from **ገደላ** ሰለበ : “to take away, usually by force”).

5. **እንግዲያስ ልብስሽን ሁሉ ለሰለበ ለንድ ልብስ ልበሺ** : (fol. 43v).
If so, take off all your clothes; put on (only) one dress.
6. **ሁሉን ለሰለበኛ ግደነ ርገብም የራስ መሸፈኛ ለልቀራትም ሁሉን ለሰለበኛ** : (fol. 43v).
She took off every(thing). She did not spare even (her) veil (which is) the head cover; she took off every(thing).

ላሻሻለ : “to compare, to choose, to see which of the many choices is the better one” (MA: “to improve”).

7. **የግንን ገን (fol. 44v) ጉሥ ልጅ ላገባ ብሉ ሲል ሲያሻሻል ነበረ** : (fol. 44rv).
He was comparing (girls) and choosing (a wife) saying, “Whose king’s daughter should I marry?”.
8. **መጽሐፍ ላሻሻል ከአፈ መምህር ልጠይቅ ላይል** : (fol. 51v).
Without saying, “Let me choose/compare book(s); let me inquire from the mouth of a teacher”.

ተባባለ : “to disagree, to contradict each other” (from **አለ** : “to say”; MA: “to say to each other”)

9. **መጽሐፍት ተባባሉን** : (fol. 55v).
“Did the (holy) books contradict each other?”
10. **አልተባባሉም ጉባኤያቸው ለንድ ቀን አይደለውም** : (fol. 55v).
They did not disagree; the council(s about which each of the so-called differing books reported) did not take place in one (and) same day.
They did not disagree; they are not reporting about the same council.

2.4. **ጸ/ፀ** are very well preserved. The texts in this manuscript are very much influenced by the Amharic of Gondar. My examples are limited to words that are not common.

ልጽ : “bark” (MA: **ልጥ** :)

1. **የቤቱ ልጽ እንዳይበጠስ** : (fol. 110r).
In order that the bark of the house (with which the walls were tied together) might not be cut.

(See also fol. 107v).

ቀጸ : (< **ቀጽዐ**) “to cut, to tailor, to rule, to decide, to straighten”.

2. **ሰንከላር : እግዚእነ : ኢየሱስ : ክርስቶስ : በእንድ : ሐብሮ : ሲሰራ : ሲቀጸ : ይውል : ነበረ : ይላል :** (fol. 55v).

The Synaxary says, “Our Lord Jesus Christ used to spend the day together with (them) laying down rules and deciding on (matters concerning the Church)”.

ጸይም : “brown” (for human skin complexion, **ጸሊም** : > **ጸይም** : > **ጠይም** : ?)

3. **አይቀላም : አይጠቁርም : ጸይም : ነው :** (fol. 100r).

It shall neither be red (i.e. “light”) nor black: it (shall) be brown.

ጸፈጠ : “to be tasty” (MA: **ጣፈጠ** :)¹⁸

4. **በትምህርት : ጨው : ጸፍጣኚሁ : እንድትጸድቁ :** (fol. 108r).

That you may be justified spiced with the salt of learning.

2.5. The plural marker

The MA plural marker *-očč* which is suffixed to a singular (e.g., *bet* “house”, *betočč* “houses”) may have its origin in *at*, one of the plural markers in Gə‘əz (e.g., *gäṣṣ* “face”, *gäṣṣat* “faces,”). In this manuscript, the plural for **ልጅ** : “child” is in most cases **ልጆች** *lağat(č)*¹⁹.

1. **አዳምን : ከነልጆች : አወጸው :** (fol. 55v).

[Our Lord] brought out (of Sheol) Adam with (all) his children,
(See also fols. 35r, 36v, 102r and 102v).

The plural for **ሰው** : “person”, “man”, “human”, is always **ሰዎች** *säwac(č)*.

2. **ሰዎች : ከጽርዕ : ሀገር : መጽተው :** (fol. 36v).

His people coming from Greece [inquired about him].

(See also fols. 37r [twice], 38r, 53r and 84r).

2.6. The MA **ምንድር** : “what”, is always **ምንዱር** :

1. **ምንዱር : ነው : ገንድ : ነው ።** (fol. 44v).

What is it, a log?

(See also fol. 51r).

¹⁸ Getatchew Haile (1970), p. 80.

¹⁹ Cf. Cowley (1974), f. 4v (Plate III). For a similar form in Gafat, see Leslau (1956), p. 42.

2.7. As mentioned in the introduction, both forms **ጌታ** and **ጌታ** “master, lord” are common, although the earlier is more frequent than the latter.

1. **የበጎው ጌታ ጌታ ጌታ ጌታ ጌታ** (fol. 106r).
He is the Lord of the good as well as the bad (things).
2. **እግዚእ ጌታ ጌታ ጌታ ጌታ ጌታ** (fol. 67v).
ጌጂጎ (in *Gəʼəz*) means *gʷeta* (“master, lord”, in Amharic).

(See also fol. 101v [three times]). **ጌታ** is very common in older Amharic²⁰.

3. **እግዚእ ጌታ ጌታ ጌታ ጌታ ጌታ** (fol. 61v).
ጌጂጎጎጎ (in *Gəʼəz*) means *gʷeta* [sic] (“master, lord” in Amharic).

2.8. The MA **ያለ** or **ለ** “without” is invariably **እንበለ** as in *Gəʼəz*²¹.

1. **እንበለህ** (fol. 87v, twice).
Without this.
2. **እንበለ ሙጢ** (fol. 102r).
Without limit.
3. **እንበለ እርሱ** (fol. 110v).
Without him.
4. **እንበለ ባሏ** (fol. 41r).
Other than her husband.
5. **እንበለ ልብሴ** (fol. 41v).
Without my clothes.

2.9. The auxiliary verb *allä* retains its final vowel in the 3rd person plural in the compound verb.

1. **ካህናት በጸጋ እምላክ ተብለዋል** (fol. 59v)
Priests are called god(s) by grace.
2. **ምእመናንም የጸጋ ልጅ ተብለዋል** (fol. 61v).
The faithful, too, are called children (of God) by grace.
3. **እስራኤልም ወልድየ ስበከርየ ተብለዋል** (fol. 61v).
The Israelites, too, have been called “My first-born child”.

2.10. It is a well known fact that the *mm* (of the relative clause, **የም**) drops

²⁰ Praetorius (1879), p. 202; Getatchew Haile (I forthcoming).

²¹ Griaule (1933), p. 6 (line 5); Getatchew Haile (1970), p. 74. The form is still used in Səmen.

out in the negative²². There are apparently conditions in which it drops out in the affirmative as well.

1. **ይነገራት** : [MA: የሚነገራት ፡] የለም ፡ ብዩ ፡ እነገርሽ ፡ ብዩ ፡ መጸሁ ፡ (fol. 41v)
I came to tell you saying to myself (that) there is no one who would tell you [lit. "her"].
2. **አይሰማ** : [MA: የማይሰማ ፡] ታቦት ፡ አለና ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያኑን ፡ አቃ[ጸለው ፡] (fol. 38r).
He burnt the church saying, "(What use is) a *tabot* that does not listen (to prayers)"?
3. **መናፍቅ ፡ ኪመለስ** : [MA: ከሚመለስ ፡] የሰይፍ ፡ ሞት ፡ ይቀበል ፡ ይወዳል ፡ (fol. 58v).
A heretic would love to accept death by [lit. "of"] sword rather than returning (to the true faith).
4. **ምነው ፡ የሰማይ ፡ አባቱ ፡ በሉኝ ፡ ኪል** : [MA: ከሚል ፡] ወይ ፡ መምህራ ፡ ወይ ፡ ጌታየ ፡ በሉኝ ፡ ባለ ፡ (fol. 32r).
Why should he have said, "call me either 'my teacher' or 'my master'" instead of saying, "call me 'my heavenly father'"?

2.11. It is extremely interesting to note that the etymology of MA **እባክህ ፤ እባክሽ ፤** etc., "please", could be **ባረከ ፡** "to bless".

1. **ይባርካቺሁ ፡** [MA: እባካችሁ ፡] ወንድሞቼ ፡ ሳጽን ፡ አለኝ ፡ ... በመርከብ ፡ ላይ ፡ ጫኑልኝ ፡ (fol. 43v).
May [God] bless you [MA "Please"], my brothers, I have a box ... load (it) on (the) ship.

3.0. *Grammar*

3.1. The object marker **ን** can be used with an object that lacks a definite article.

1. **መቃብርን ፡ ቢከፍቱ ፡ ከሆድዋ ፡ ልጅ ፡ ወጽቶ ፡ በደረትዋ ፡ ተቀምጦ ፡ ሲጠብ ፡ ተገኘ ፡** (fol. 34v).
When they opened (the) tomb, a child was found (who), having come out of her womb, was suckling sitting on her chest.

²² For the same use of the form, see Griaule (1933), p. 26, no. 5; Getatchew Haile-Seifu Metaferia (1973), p. 115.

2. ከዝያ ፡ ጳላ ፡ ራሳን ፡ ቀብረው ፡ ያነን ፡ ልጅ ፡ እንስተው ፡ ጌዱ ፡ (fol. 34v).
Then they buried (the) corpse, took up that child and left.
3. የሚታዩንም ፡ የማይታዩንም ፡ ለፈጠረ ፡ አምላክ ፡ እናምናለን ፡ (fol. 61r).
We believe in God who created (the) visible and (the) invisible.
4. ያነገዜ ፡ ሰይጣን ፡ ዝሙትን ፡ አሳደረባት ፡ (fol. 35r).
At that time Satan made sexual lust dwell in her.

What is striking in the first three cases is not the presence of the object marker but the absence of the definite article (**መቃብርን** ፡ for **መቃብሩን** ፡ **ራሳን** ፡ for **ራሳውን** ፡ and **የሚታዩንም** ፡ **የማይታዩንም** ፡ for **የሚታዩትንም** ፡ **የማይታዩትንም** ፡ respectively). According to MA (of Shoa), the object marker in 3.1.2 is redundant or unnecessary, if not ungrammatical. However, the use of the Amharic definite article has not been thoroughly investigated yet.

3.2. The double introduction of quotations (with **ሲል ፡ አለ ፡** , **ብሎ ፡ አለ ፡** , etc.) is now so well known in older Amharic that commenting on it might be unnecessary. It may be fair, however, to say that this phenomenon is disappearing just in this century. Such quotations are introduced commonly by mentioning two forms of the verb **አለ ፡** “to say”.

1. አርዮስ ፡ ሲል ፡ እርሱን ፡ ቀድሞ ፡ ፈጠረ ፡ በርሱ ፡ እኛን ፡ ፈጠረ ፡ ይላል ፡ (fol. 62v).
Arius says, “He first created him and through him he created us”.
2. ዘርእየ ፡ ኪያየ ፡ ርእየ ፡ ለእቡየ ፡ ብሎ ፡ ሲል ፡ ተናገረ ፡ (fol. 31v).
He spoke saying, “He that hath seen me hath seen my father”.

3.3. At least in one case, a finite or a compound verb, **ይደብላል ፡** (i.e., a verb with an auxiliary verb), is used in a subordinate sentence.

1. በገና ፡ በመታ ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ፈረሱ ፡ ከጋጽ ፡ ሆኖ ፡ ይደብላል ፡ ሆነ ፡ (fol. 35r).
It so used to happen that when he played the harp, the horse in the stable danced (?).

3.4. On the other hand, the gerund, the verb form which in MA is considered non-finite (in Shoa), is used in the main sentence²².

1. የናቱ ፡ ሰዎች ፡ ዘመዶች ፡ በቅንዓት ፡ ሰኞ ፡ መከሩ ፡ ተፈታባቸው ፡ ማከሰኞ ፡ መከሩ ፡ ተፈታባቸው ፡ ረቡዕ ፡ መከሩ ፡ ጸንቶ ፡ (fol. 84r).
His [Christ's] mother's people, his relatives, conspired in jealousy on Monday; (their conspiracy) was foiled. They conspired on Tuesday;

it was (again) foiled. They conspired on Wednesday; (this time) it held.

See also 3.6.2 below.

3.5. The verb ነገሠ : “to be a king”, which is intransitive in MA, takes an object, “to rule(?)”.

1. ያባቱን ፡ መን (fol. 36v) ገሥት ፡ ነገሠ ፡ (fol. 36rv).
He ruled his father’s kingdom.

3.6. The particle ና, suffixed to a verb in the subjunctive, joins a subordinate sentence, with the meaning “so that, in order that”.

1. እስኪ ፡ ያነን ፡ ሕፃን ፡ ስደድልኝ ፡ ለምዶም ፡ እንደሆነ ፡ አየውና የተማረውንም ፡ እጠይቀውና ፡ ሲል ፡ ላከበት ፡ (fol. 37r).
He sent him (a missive) saying, “Please let that child come to me so that I may see (on) him if he is accustomed (to being here) and that I may inquire from him what he has learnt”.
2. እኔም ፡ አምንበታለሁና ፡ ስትመለሱ ፡ ትነገሩኝና ፡ ድረሱብኝ ፡ አላቸው ፡ አርደው ፡ ብሉ ፡ (fol. 83r).
Since I, too, believe in him, come to me when you return so that you may tell me (about what you saw). He meant, “so that I may slay him”.

3.7. The ና, when suffixed to an imperfect, seems to have the meaning of “if”:

1. ይህንስ ፡ አልኸኝና ፡ እስከታላየኝ ፡ ድረስ ፡ ቀድሜ ፡ በወንጌልና ፡ በመስቀል ፡ አምልሃለሁ ፡ (fol. 37v).
If you say this to me, I shall make you first swear by the Gospel and the Cross until you show me (the corpse).
2. በጎ ፡ ይህንንስ ፡ አልኸኝና ፡ ለማን ፡ እስገዳለሁ ፡ ትላለህ ፡ (fol. 57r).
Well, if you say this to me, who do you say you [lit. “I”] worship?

3.8. The verb አመነ ፡ “to believe” takes the preposition ለ (MA: በ).

1. ሰማዩን ፡ ካልነበረ ፡ እንደነበረ ፡ አድርጎ ፡ ለፈጠረ ፡ አ (fol. 61r) ምላክ ፡ እናምናለን ፡ (fols. 60v-61r).
We believe in God who created the heaven/sky from non-existent to existent.

2. **ለባሕርይ ፡ ለጠባይ ፡ ልጁ ፡ እናምናለን ፡** (fol. 61v).
We believe in his natural Son.
3. **በሐንድነት ፡ በሶስትነት ፡ ለሚኖር ፡ አምላክ ፡ እናምናለን ፡** (fol. 61v).
We believe in God who exists in unity and trinity.

3.9. The particle ት.

The grammatical role of the suffix ት found in old Amharic texts is not very clear. Goldenberg has valid reasons to consider it as a marker of an equative sentence, a variant of ነው ፡ “to be”²³. I had an opportunity to furnish materials in questioning the position of Goldenberg²⁴. The materials presented here make my position, that the particle may not be a simple variant of ነው ፡, stronger.

1. **እለ ፡ እስከንድሮስም ፡ ጠየቀው ፡ ምነው ፡ ወልድን ፡ ፍጡር ፡ ያልኸው ፡ ቢለው ፡ እኔት ፡ አልሁት ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ ይላል ፡ እንጂ ፡ አለው ፡** (fol. 56v).
Alexander asked him (a question). When he said to him, “Why is it that you call the Son creature?” Arius said, “Did I call him (so)? (No); but the scripture did.”

It may be tempting to suggest a translation such as, ... Arius said, “Is it I (who) called him (so) ...”. But such a translation could be accepted only if the structure was, ... እኔት ፡ ያልሁት ፡ ...

2. **መቅደንዮስም ፡ መለሰና ፡ እኔት ፡ አልሁት ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ ይለዋል ፡ እንጂ ፡ አለው ፡** (fol. 69v).
And Macedonius replied saying, “Did I call him (so) or the scripture?”
3. **እለ ፡ እስከንድሮስም ፡ ምሳሌህ ፡ ይህት ፡ ነው ፡ ሌላ (fol. 57r) ን ፡ አለህ ፡ ቢለው ፡ አርዮስ ፡ የለኝም ፡ አለ ፡** (fols. 56r-57r).
When Alexander said to him, “Is this your only proof-text [lit. “example”]? Do you have any other one?”. Arius said, “I do not have (any other; yes, this is all)”.

This is a unique example where both ት and ነው ፡ appear in one (grammatical) place, making the equation of ት with ነው ፡ impossible. More examples of this type, which are lacking in our manuscript, are essential to show that ት is not a variant of ነው ፡. It may be argued that in this unique example the

²³ Goldenberg (1974), p. 247; Goldenberg (1976), 131-7; Cowley (1977), pp. 139-43; Getatchew Haile (1979), pp. 119-121. Gafat has a copula in the form of a geminated ሲ, Leslau (1956), p. 78.

²⁴ Getatchew Haile (II forthcoming).

word ነው፡ could have been added by the copyist of this manuscript who may have not understood the role of ት in the old manuscript from which he was copying.

4. አባቶቻችን ፡ ለሃይማኖት ፡ አልተመቸኸም ፡ ሲሉ ፡ አስወጽተው ፡ ሰደዱት ፡ እኔት ፡ አገባዋለሁ ፡ አይቻለኝም ፡ አለ ፡ (fol. 67r).

“Our fathers expelled him and excommunicated him saying, ‘You are not fit for the faith’. Would I let him back? I cannot”, he said.

I see no way of understanding the ት in እኔት፡ in this example as any form of the verb *to be*.

The usual examples such as

5. ለመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስና ፡ (fol. 104r) ለወልድ ፡ አካል ፡ አብ ፡ ምናቸውት ፡ (ff. 103v-104r).

What is the Father for the person(s) of the Holy Spirit and the Son?

are also found in this manuscript.

After spending so much time in defining the role of this particle, I am inclined to believe that it is a certain type of a definite article, the same article that appears with a relative verb in the plural, e.g., የሄዱት ፡ “the ones who left”. There should be nothing new in the Amharic pronouns (e.g., እኔው ፡) taking the definite article:

6. እኔው ፡ አገባዋለሁ ፡

The I (of all people) shall let him in/back.

7. እኔት ፡ አገባዋለሁ ፡

The I (of all people) shall let him in.

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NOMINALIZATION IN AMHARIC AND HARARI: ADJECTIVIZATION

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1. Early in the history of Amharic studies it was well recognized that as the exponents of “genitive” and “relative” (including “conjunctive” substantivization) were identical it would be unadvisable and improper to treat those forms separately in the grammatical description. In fact, this observation, which Praetorius compressed into an incidental foot-note (AS 318 n. 2), is one of the most pregnant statements on Amharic syntax that were made in *Die amharische Sprache* (see also *ibid.* 3-4 and 458 §343a). Not only are all nominalizations effected by the same “translatif”, but the syntactically-nominalized transforms pass beyond the bounds of syntax in their becoming noun-like. Such syntactical constructions, especially in Amharic and in Harari, will be found capable of assuming post-nominal suffixes and even susceptible of entering, as bases, into further morphological noun-derivation.

Nominalization is the process by which any expression may be formed into a noun or into a construction assuming the function of a noun. The idea that linguistic expressions are often made to pass, whether by morphological or by syntactical means, from one grammatical category to another has long been conceived, referred to under various names such as “Überführung”, “conversion”, “Verwandlung”, “transposition”, (Fr.) “translation” (or Eng. “transference”), “rank-shifting” (in some sense), or the vogue term “transformation” in some of its uses¹.

¹ F. Praetorius (AS 319:10-11) referred incidentally to an adjective-derivational suffix as “der Ansatz zu formaler Überführung ins Adjektiv”. H. Schuchardt’s “Ueberführung in eine andere Wortklasse” has been mentioned by H. J. Polotsky (1976, p. 2 fn. 1); “Überführung” is now common, without being a technical term, as a German rendering of the French “translation”. “Conversion” was H. Sweet’s term for what Ch. Bally later called “transposition implicite” (Sweet 1891 I §105). [Revived by A. F. L. Beeston, “conversion” (or rather “clause conversion”) was differently employed for the substitution of a morphological transform for its syntactically equivalent clause; see Beeston 1970 ch. 12 etc.]. For “Verwandlung ganzer Sätze etc. in substantivische Satztheile” or “in adjektivische adnominale Attribute” v. G. von der Gabelentz² 1901, pp. 104, 463-470. A short historical survey of Ch. Bally’s “transposition” and L. Tesnière’s “translation” will be found in Tesnière 1959 ch. 163 (pp. 381-384). R. P. Stockwell 1977 pp. 51 & 142 will suffice as one possible reference for the rest.

The equivalence itself of a word to its syntactical parallels was brilliantly recognized in

Noun being understood as a generic term embracing substantive and adjective, nominalization consequently comprises substantivization and adjectivization as two special classes to be described in the sequel.

2. *Adjective and Adjectivization*

The adjective will be characterized as reflecting, in reduced form, some of the properties of the predicative nexus typical of the verb (or verb-like) complex from which it is considered to be derived. Like finite verbs it contains within itself its pronominal subject, which here represents the qualified entity. According to this conception, the deverbal adjective would take, in the first place, the form of a participle, other adjectival forms being regarded as quasi-participial². Teaching this doctrine, the Arab grammarians would explain the difference between a noun which is not an adjective (*ism ġayr šifa*) and a noun which is an adjective (*ism huwa šifa*) defining the former as *ġins ġayr ma'xūd min fi'l* "a common noun not drawn from a verb" (like 'man', 'horse' etc.) and the latter as *ma'xūd min al-fi'l* "drawn from the verb"³. The adjective is simply *šifa* when it has the form of a participle (*ism fā'il* or *ism al-maf'ūl*), otherwise it will be regarded as *šifa mušabbaha bi(-smi) l-fā'il* etc., or, in short, *šifa mušabbaha*. Considering an Arabic sentence like *marartu bi-raġulin ḥasanin* "I passed by a nice man" it has been said that *yakūnu fī 'ḥasan' damīr ya'ūdu 'ilā l-mawṣūf wa-huwa fī mawḍi' marfū' bi-'ḥasan'* "there is in 'ḥasan' ("nice") a personal pronoun referring to the qualified (substantive) [and in apposition to it], which (pronoun) is in the position of a nominative with relation to 'ḥasan'⁴. It is also said that the adjective which is in predicative position *yataḍammanu l-damīra* "contains a pers. pron." referring to the subject⁵. The implicit presence of the pronominal agent is typical of all

medieval Arabic grammar, where *al-ism | fi'l al-ṣarīḥ* ("the plain noun | verb") and *mā fī ta'wīlihī* (or *al-mu'awwal bihī*) are presented as belonging to the same syntactical category. In the Becker-Herling system of sentence analysis clauses would be regarded as 'developments' of the simple words for which they stood (Becker 1841 p. 510, Pfister 1972, 32; my attention was drawn to these writings by H. J. Polotsky).

² For such characterization of adjectival forms cf. Polotsky 1976, esp. § 2.1 (pp. 4-7).

³ Ibn Ya'īš, *Šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal* I 26:16-17 (ad § 3); cf. Zamaxšarī, *Muf.* 5:3, 85:1.

⁴ Ibn Ya'īš, *Šarḥ al-Mufaṣṣal* VI 82:14-15 (ad § 348).

⁵ The examples are *ḡayḍun qā'imun* "Zayd is standing" and *'amrun ḥasanun* "'Amr is nice"; see Ibn al-Anbārī, *Inṣāf* 30. The Arab grammarians are said to be in full agreement on this point; the "Kūfans" even went further in claiming that any nominal predicate, not only an adjective, should be regarded as containing a pronoun referring to the subject (see *ibid.*).

nominal forms of the verb⁶; in the deverbal adjective this hidden pronoun forms the head. If a finite verb-form can be characterized by the presence of (1) the pronominal subject and (2) the verbal lexeme with (3) nexal (predicative) relation between them, an adjective could be defined by the presence of (1) its implied pronominal subject and (2) the description or qualification, with (3) attributive relation between them. With the pronoun as head it is markedly nominal. Needless to say, free adjectives are not necessarily less adjectival than those modifying some substantive; they should not be described indiscriminately as substantivized.

Adjectivization is the transformation of any expression, whether nominal or pronominal or adverbial or a verb (i.e. a nexus-complex), into an adjective. Adjectivizations, the same as adjectival forms, imply a pronominal head. Besides the pronominal agent contained in the verb, any form capable of being extraposed in a nexal construction can equally be made the pronominal(ized) head of an adjectival clause⁷.

In the tradition of the Ethiopic *säwasaw* the equivalence of (a) adjectival forms to (b) adjectival phrases and clauses is made conspicuous through the terminology employed, the former being called *wästä-ṣä qəṣṣäl* (adjectives with implicit ṣä-) and the latter *gəṣä-ṣä qəṣṣäl* (adjectives with explicit ṣä-)⁸. By describing plain adjectives as containing within themselves the inherent translatif, the simple forms are shown as "converted". The particle ṣä- which is here mentioned has become in Gə'əz "ein allgemeines Bezüglichkeitszeichen" (Dillmann 1857, 264:9.11-12, §147a). Where no longer susceptible of the distinctions of gender and number, the ṣä- can hardly be considered in itself pronominal; it has rather become a nominalizing function-word. As such it resembles its southern parallels.

As already mentioned above (fn. 8), an adjective can always occur as a *bäqi qəṣṣäl*, i.e. without an explicit modified substantive, and will then behave like substantives and assume any nominal marker. If in the following

6 "Die Partizipialien, unter denen wir die Partizipien, Infinitive, Gerundien und Supine begreifen ... drücken zwar nicht mehr, wie das Verb, die Aussage aus, werden aber immer noch mit einem Subjekte gedacht" (Becker 514-515). The subject will be explicitly added to such "participials" where necessary (v. *ibid.*).

7 Indirect attributive expressions, the same as indirect predication couched in extrapositional construction, quite similarly involve a referential pronoun; just another manifestation of the structural affinity between attributive and predicative relations.

8 See MSäw. 311:6-19, 324:5, 332:34, 333:7; cf. *ib.* 213 (no. 31); MSG 73-74, 89-91; AMQ 469b:12-14; ASäw. 57. An adjective can also be *bäqi* (self-sufficient) when it is predicative or with qualified substantive understood. In such forms as well the implicit ṣä- is said to be present.

discussion adjectives are mostly quoted in attributive position connected with a substantive, this is done because it is precisely in such context that the special syntax of adjectival expressions is discernible.

ADJECTIVIZATION IN AMHARIC

3. The morphological formation of adjectives (as of other forms) by root × thematic pattern is available in Amharic as in its cognates. Adjectives so formed are mostly (a) participial; some other adjectives, limited in number, are (b) special primary words. Non-verbal forms will be adjectivized morphologically through (c) base + affix derivation. The syntactical value of the adjective will be the same in any case, in (a) *fäsaš wäha* “running water”, (b) *dägg säw* “a good man”, the same as in (c) *därrito-am läbs* “patchy clothes”, *särdö-amma märet* “weedy land” (lit. “full of couch-grass”), *andännät-awi yänuro adgät* “united development”, *hayl-ännä agär* “strong country”, *sänt-ännä šaräššar* “which walk” (lit. “of which time”), *yäbäčč-ännä-wa lägagäräd* “this girl”, or *yät-ännä-w tāmhart* “which study?”.

The inclusion of syntactical constructions with *yä-* (or any of its allomorphs)⁹ in the chapter describing the formation of adjectives, as found in Hartmann’s *Amharische Grammatik*, pp. 238-250, is completely justified, and could have been regarded, had it been done with consistency, as reflecting a profound conception of Amharic structure. In fact, however, Hartmann follows the Ethiopian tradition in recognizing the *gälsä-yä qəššäl* as adjectival (ASäw. §7); more closely he treads in the steps of P. Agostino da Hebo, whose *Grammatica amarica* 49-56 seems to have been one of Hartmann’s immediate models. But the bringing here of such expressions as *yä-käbbärä* “ehrenwert” and *yä-ṣare* “heutig” etc. together with *awaqi* “weise” or *kuratännä* “stolz” in a chapter describing the morphology (!) of adjectives seems mostly to reflect the author’s awareness of just the lexical equivalence of those “Verbaladjektivische Relativformen” (§ 5.2.1.1) and “Adjektivierte Nomina” (§ 5.2.3.18) to morphologically-derived adjectives in Amharic (like *käff yalä* “high” — *käffätännä*, *däss yämmiyassänn* “glad(dening)” — *asdässač*, *yäzäläläm* “eternal” — *zälälämawi*)¹⁰, or — more plausibly — his feeling that they are translatable as adjectives into German and other languages¹¹.

9 These are *yä-*, pronounced or *wästä tawaqi* (ASäw. § 247), *yämm-* / *mm-* / *m-*, or, for the Imperfect in absolute usage and in some survivals, zero.

10 Compare the following instance where a *wästä-yä qəššäl* and a *gälsä-yä qəššäl* are found parallel in the same context: *፬፬ 47:4 äggäg talläq wäyamm yannäsä waga* “a very big or small reward”.

11 See, e.g., the heading of Hartmann’s § 5.2.3.20 (p. 248): “Adjektivische Gliedsätze, die

Structurally there is no real difference between such adjectival expressions and any other "genitive" or "relative" like *yä-näḡus lāḡ* "(the) king's son", *yä-nnantä bet* "your house", *yä-šwa set* "Shoan woman", *yä-aksuṃ nāḡus* "king of Aksum", *yagär säw* "countryman", *yä-rsu'o mäṃṭat* "your coming"; *yämm-ičoh wāšša* "a barking dog", *həṣu yä-täläw'awwätä assab* "many different ideas", *həṣziyačč agär yallu säwočč* "people who are in that country", *yä-bäddälhub bädäl* "the injustice which I did to you", *baloččäččän yä-motubbaččän hulätt setočč* "two women whose husbands died upon them". In all such instances the forms or constructions marked with /yä-/ are equally "adjectival" in their syntactic value. And in Amharic, as already mentioned above, the syntactically-adjectivized and the morphologically-adjectivized "transférés" are much like the plain adjective in their syntactical and even in their morphological behaviour.

4. Adjectivizations having the form *yä---awi* or *yä---(ä)ñña* are markedly hypercharacterized. These are mainly common in "adjectival expressions of position" (v. FA 85, n. 3) like *yäfitäñña* "first", *yäh'aläñña* "last", *yälayäñña* "upper", *yätaččäñña* "lower", *yäwädiḡäñña* "nearer", *yäwädiyañña* "farther", and, formerly, in gentilic adjectives like Gen. xxiii 10 (C. 1886) *Efron yähetawi-w* "Ephron the Hittite", I Kings xxi 4 (C. 1886) *yäyazre'elawi-w nabot* "Nabot the Jezreelite", John xix 25 (C. 1886) *maryam yämägdälawitu* "Mary Magdalene", Traité 80 *yäfransawi säw* "Frenchman"; but also in *yamaräñña q'anq'a* "the Amharic language", Zeph. ii 15 (C. 1886) *yädässtänña-yitu agär* "the rejoicing city", MČ8:10 *yäwädiyañña-yitu aläm* "the next world" (ibid. 15:11-12 *yäwädiya-w aläm*), AZ 25 Hədar 1962 5d-e *yädəngätäñña taqlalla səbsäba* "an extraordinary general meeting", QQ 7:3-4 *yätarikawi qərs* "historical heritage", QQ 7:23-24 *yämängəstawi aq'am* "official position". See AS 317-320 (§ 249); (Guidi, Gr. § 61); Traité 80, 113; (NÉ 128); Agostino da Hebo, Gr. 56; FA 85 n. 3, 88 n.l.

It will hardly be possible to determine whether, e.g., *yäfitäñña*, *yähetawi* are to be analysed as *(yä-fit)-äñña*, *(yä-het)-awi* (AS 319) or as *yä-(fit-äñña)*, *yä-(het-awi)* (Traité 80), and whether there is at all one single way of analysis good for all such forms. Besides *yäfitäñña* there are also attested *yäfit* and *fitäñña*; besides *yäh'aläñña* - *yäh'ala* and *h'aläñña*; so there are *yälay* — *yälayäñña* — *layäñña*, *yätačč* — *yätaččäñña* — *taččäñña*. The tendency in the historical development of the language is apparently to replace the older *yä---(ä)ñña* forms by the simpler *---(ä)ñña* and the *yä---awi* forms by

im Deutschen durch einfache Adjektive wiedergegeben werden". "Der Attributsatz" is discussed in another part of Hartmann's grammar, among the other dependent clauses, pp. 448-452.

awi; yet the simple *yä* — is also found as an alternative form for gentilic names as well¹². The formation of adjectival expressions through *yä*—(ä)*ñña* or *yä*—*awi* is not actually alive any more. The extant derivational means may well be employed for achieving differentiation; cf. *yägall* “private” — *galläñña* “isolationist” — *gallawi* “secluded, individualistic” etc.¹³.

5. Syntax of Attribute + Substantive: Marking of Plural

Two ways of marking the plural of indefinite A + S are possible: (I) A + S^{Pl} and (II) A^{Pl} + S^{Pl}. These will equally apply, in principle, to any adjectival expression. The examples which follow are arranged under three heads: (a) A = morphologically-formed adjective [in Tesnière’s notation: A, > A], (b) A = *yä*- + noun/pronoun/adverb (“genitive”) [Tesnière’s (syntactical) “translations” O > A, E > A], and (c) A = *yä*- + verb (“relative”) [I >> A]. [Construction (b) as here defined refers to the “plain genitive” only (*yähəšan(u) ləhs* “(the) baby’s dress”), and does not include the construction *yähəšan ləhsu*; see Hailu 1964].

I A + S^{Pl}

(a) IT I 273:9 *awwaki säwočč* “unruly people”; LTA 13:12-13 *bərtu məsəssowočč* “strong pillars”; ƏD 45:20 *bəxū nəgəročč* “many things”; MI I:22 *bəxū säwočč* “many people”; LZG 13:2 *kəfu säwočč* “bad people”; ibid. *mälkam säwočč* “good people”; HSN 17:22 *tallaq šumamənt* “high officials”; ĆS 12:3-4 *läarogit akəstočču, lätəlləq əbətəčču* “to his old aunts (and) to his elder sisters”; LTA 13:12-13 *baherawi təmhərt-bətəčč* “national (traditional) schools”; ƏD 47:9 *mənfəsawi sərəwočč* “pious deeds”; Fables 130:2 *bulətt set-mənək səwočč* “two nuns”.

(b) II Sam. xiii 33 *yənəgus ləgočč* “(the) king’s sons”; Neh. vii 6 *yagär ləgočč* “the children of the province”; IT I 211:29 *yäaksum nəgəstat* “kings of

¹² The substitution of the simpler forms for the pleonastic ones can probably be learnt from comparing Bible translations such as Pl. 1829 and C. 1886 with A.A. 1947-53. For the gentilic *yä*- see, e.g., the rendering of “Egyptian” as *yä-məsr säw* or *yä-gəhš säw* in the Amharic Bibles.

¹³ *gäləltəñña* approaches in meaning some uses of the last two forms; it is also normal now for “neutral”. An attempt to introduce *galləñña* for “neural” (SA 5 Oct. 1960 1d:62) seems to have been unsuccessful.

Aksum, Aksumite kings"; MTəzz. 21:31 *yāñña wägänočč* "those of our side, our folks"; WL 50:18, IMS 15:1 *yäqädmō säwočč* "the ancients"; MTəzz. 127:3 *yäsägga lägočč*^{13a}.

(c) Amharic syntax requires that the modified entity, expressed or not, should be represented pronominally in the adjectival ("relative") clause, wherever that is possible¹⁴. See AS 453-457, Traité 116-119, NÉ 119-120, Polotsky 1936 119-120 [= 456-457], Polotsky 1960 120 [= 6], FA 108-111, Goldenberg 1965 12, id. 1978 141-143. If the modified noun is in the plural, its pronominal representative too will be plural. But pronominal representation and the agreement it carries do not belong to the relative clause in its capacity as an adjectival expression. What concerns us here is the special marking of the relative as plural to make it agree, qua adjective, with its *man'ūt*, and it will be seen in § 6c that such marked agreement is also possible in relative clauses, parallel to the A^{Pl} + S^{Pl} construction in the other attributive expressions. In this section suffice it to quote, for comparison, a few instances of A + S^{Pl} where the adjectival clause taken as a whole is not marked plural.

LM 92apu *abrän yämmənnasära säwočč* "we people who work together"; LTA 11:25 *čəlot lay yämmiqqämmätu-t daññočč* "the judges sitting in court"; IMS 20:6-7 *yäbarənnät qənbär yəwəddäqəbbaččäw säwočč* "people upon whom the yoke of slavery came". Textual evidence for the construction with *na't sababiyy* like *tarikəččäw yəmmiṣṣaf(-äw) wəttətočč* "youngsters whose story is being written" is adduced below § 8c (I have got no such example with the modified subst. indefinite, but that is due to mere chance).

6. II A^{Pl} + S^{Pl}

(a) FK I 85:27 *təkəttayəčč wəttaddəročč* "escort soldiers"; SWärq II 55:14 *bəzuwočč a'waf* "many birds"; ƏD 27:9 *bəzuwočč čəčutočč* "many chicks";

13a *yäsägga lägočč* is the appellation given to the followers of the Däbrä Libanos doctrine of the Hypostatic Union.

14 In cases where such representation should have involved the verbal complex itself, it is impossible when the position of the required cataphoric pron. suff. is occupied by another pronoun representing some "indirect" complement, as, e.g., in *əgziabəher yəsəttäññ lägočč* "the children whom the Lord has given me"; the pron. suff. representing the recipient person, or a mediate suffix in any function, will be given preference over the object suffix, and as the "slot" available for post-verbal suff. cannot accomodate more than one suffix, the pronominal representation of the *ism man'ūt* will often have to be left out; cf. Polotsky 1960 120 [= 1971, 6], Hetzron 1966, 95-97.

IT III 145b:11-12 *q"arraṭoṭṭ mäləktänḥoṭṭ* "determined messengers"; ƏD 49:8 *räṣṣəmoṭṭ täraroṭṭ* "high mountains"; ƏD 14:17 *leloṭṭ säwoṭṭ* "other people"; ĞT 141:1 *talallaq säwoṭṭ*, MTəzz. 74:25 *talallaq säwoṭṭ*, AWDjA 11:26-27 *talallaqoṭṭ säwoṭṭ* "great men, gentlemen"; ĞT 143:9 *dägagg säwoṭṭ*, ibid. 28apu *dägaggoṭṭ säwoṭṭ* "kind people"; Hirut 205:6 *ṣämānawiwotṭ wäṭṭatoṭṭ* "modern youngsters"; IT III 2:22 *mānfäsawyan ṣəhəfiwoṭṭ* "spiritual writers"; HSN 15:20 *wanna wanna ṭəqmoṭṭ* "main interests", AWDjA 1apu *wanna wannawoṭṭ fəraṅgoṭṭ* "most important Europeans"; LTA 13:22-23 *wāndoṭṭ-anna setoṭṭ ləgoṭṭ* "boys and girls".

(b) NÉ 102 *yəhagəroṭṭ säwoṭṭ* "les gens du pays" [plural of *yəhagär säw*]; IT I 211:33 *yäaksumoṭṭ nəgəstat* "Aksumite kings, kings of Aksum"; Traité 136 *yənewoṭṭ* "my ones, mine"; KBT 7:26 *yəqādmowoṭṭ abbatotṭaṭṭən* "our forefathers"; MSäw. 51:22 *yəruqoṭṭ setoṭṭ* "distant females, 3rd pers. fem. pl.". The "genitival" adjectives are marked as plural like any adjectival form in the $A^{Pl} + S^{Pl}$ construction, the plural marker referring to the adjectival complex as a whole: (*yä-aksum*)-oṭṭ, (*yä-əne*)-oṭṭ.

(c) The agreement in number (also in gender) of the relative clause, as complex, with the modified S is readily seen when the adjectivized verb is in a compound tense with *nəbbärä*. It has already been observed that the plural marked in the form of the auxiliary refers to the adjectival complex as such and not to the verbal compound as it is in the sentence underlying the relative:

transférende	<i>ləgoṭṭ hedäw nəbbär</i> (or, less commonly, <i>nəbbärä/nəbbäru</i>) "the children had gone"
transféré	<i>(hedäw yänəbbär)-u ləgoṭṭ</i> "children who had gone"
transférende	<i>nəfsaṭcäw təṭämta nəbbär</i> (or <i>nəbbäräṭṭ</i>) "their soul(s) had been thirsty"
transféré	<i>(nəfsaṭcäw təṭämta yänəbbär)-u säwoṭṭ</i> "people whose soul(s) had been thirsty"

The marking of the plural in the form of the auxiliary *yänəbbär-u* in the first example is obligatory only because of the adjectivization [in the substantival "abstract relative" the aux. need not be plural]; in the second example its status as A^{Pl} is even clearer since it agrees with the S^{Pl} but not with the subject of the relative clause. See Goldenberg 1965 12, Hailu 1972 499-500, and mainly Goldenberg 1978 141-143. The same rules apply to the agreement in gender.

The plural in *yänäbbär-u*, then, does not belong to the verb *näbbär* but to the adjectival complex *yänäbbär-*, and only because in the sequence of morphemes it is immediately attached to a verb-form, this plural is marked by a verbal plural morpheme, a typical example of morphology crossing syntactic structure. The nominal status of the relative, analogous to any other adjectival form or complex, finds full expression in the dialectal construction of relative complex + *-očč* pl. Such plural relatives, found in the Amharic of Goggam (and Wollo?), are mostly quoted as free adjectives (i.e. as primaries) or else furnished with a definite article. See IA I 71 n., *Traité* 117 (§ IV, 11), Goldenberg 1966 65 n. 3 & 74 n. 3, Getatchew & Seifu 1973 116, Goldenberg 1978 141-143. Relative complex + nominal plural marker is common in Harari; see below § 15c.

IA I 71 n. *yähedočč naččäw*, *yämmihedočč naččäw* ("they are those who came/those who come"); *Traité* 117 *yämäččtočč* "(ceux) qui sont venus"; Getatchew & Seifu 1973 116 *qaddam yämäččtočč wändammočče naččäw* "those who came a moment ago are my brothers"; *yäbälločč täññatäw* "those who ate have slept"; *yäqomočč daññočč naččäw* "those who are standing are judges"; *mihedočč* "those who go"; *mibäločč* "those who eat"; *misämočč* "those who hear". A few examples of relative complex + *-očč* in a printed text have been discovered by Roger Cowley: KH 190:34-35 *kä-Pawlos qal yäwäččtahäw antä bäñña balwäččtanočč lay lätəččäqsäw yaggäbbal-ənə ayaggäbbamm* "is it proper that you, who have departed from the word of Paul, should impute it to us, who have not departed? certainly not!"; *ibid.* 202u *kähawaryat hagg baltänawwäšnočč lay* "to us, who have not moved away from the ordinances of the Apostles"; *ibid.* 223:18-19 *əñña bəašädä säga yallänočč bəašädä näfs lallut zämadoččəččən ənnəšälləyallän* "we, who are in the 'realm of the flesh' [= the 'land of the living', earthly life], pray to our relatives who are in the 'realm of the soul' [= the world to come, (above of) after-life]". See also below, § 9c.

7. Syntax of Attribute + Substantive: Definite in Sg. and Pl.

Both the position of the definite article, attached to the attribute, and, in many cases, the forms of the article as well, show the structural equivalence of (a), (b) and (c)¹⁵. The syntax of the definite A + S in the singular and in the plural:

¹⁵ As elsewhere in the present paper, we have no intention of presenting a full description of the facts. The examples adduced here are meant to illustrate the diversity of expressions which may enter the constructions discussed. A + S formula compounds are here

III A^{an} + S

(a) SWärq II 81:24 *čär-u amlak* “the gracious God”; ST 189:2 *talläq-u säw* “the great man”; AWDjA 2:30 *dägg-itu nägast* “the kind queen”; HSN 15:20 *addis-itu iṭalya* “the new Italy”; MTəzz. 24:2 *galla-ytu balabbat* “the Galla lady”; ČS 8:17 *yəhəččəñña-wa ləgagäräd* “this girl”; IT II 105:20 *əññəh-u mänäk* “se” “this monk”; AA 17:21 [2 17:4] *assər-u bərr* “the ten dollars”.

(b) IT I 70:1 *yänəgus-u mäls* “the king’s reply”; AWG 274:29 *bäne-w korəčča* “with my saddle”; SWärq II 73:24 *yäne-yitu-mma* “as to my one ...”; WL 68u *yətorənnät-u mässariya* “the weapons of war”; IT IV 116b:23 *wädä təsfa-yitu agär* “to the promised land”; MSäw. 51:21 *yäruq-u wänd* “3rd pers. m. sg.” (“the distant male”); ZI (title) *yəzəre-yitu ityopya* “Today’s Ethiopia”; AA 48:16 [2 40:24] *yəzəre-wa miste* “my present wife”; ID 28 Mäsk. 1957 1a-b: -4 *yäsera liyone-wa wäyzäro* “the beauty queen of Sierra Leone” (“Miss. Sierra Leone”).

(c) MSG 26:30 *kämäšəhəft yätəgəñña-w-əñña yəmmiggəñ-əw əwnätəñña-w tarik* “the true story which has been found and will be found in the books”; Zad. 57:6 *dəro yadərg-əw yänəbbärä-w asdəssač wäg* “the delightful talks which he used to have [with her] previously”¹⁶; LA 22:5-7 *šəyon mogäsa lämmattəbbal-əw, bəsetočč gädam lämmattəmmar-əw ləgagäräd* “to the girl called Š.-M. who learns in the convent”; IT II 40:11-12 *yodit yəmmattəbbal-əwa yäfälaša set* “the Falasha woman called Judith”; IT III 84b:25 *yodit yätəbaläčč-əw* “the one called Judith”; ZI 14 Gənb. 1957 1d:34-35 *madam eyliš elis yätəbaläčč-itu* “the one called Mme. E. E.”; SWärq II 36:3 *käbet yalläčč-itu əhətəš* “your sister who is at home”; SA 27 Mäsk. 1957 4a:1-2 *wəb bəhonäčč-əw bəaddis abäba* “in the beautiful Addis Ababa”; ID 29 Mäsk. 1957 1e:16-17 *aššənnafi yəhonäčč-wa wäyzärit məsraq aləmayyāhu* “Miss M. A. who was the winner”; AWT 12:24 *ləgəzəzəññ-u arəməni* “to the pagan who bought me”; GMB 69apu *yəmmifälləgəññ-u* “he who seeks me”; AWT 13:18-19 *wädənəbbärəbbät-u mäske* “to the meadow in which he was”; FA 109 n. 3 *yänəggərat-u ləg* “the boy who told her”.

ignored. These have (A + S)^{an} structure, like *təqlay-ministər-u* “the prime minister”, *yäfəqad-wərəqät-u* “the licence”. Neither do we discuss here A + S where possessive suffixes do also interfere. For some important details of the “genitive” constructions one should refer to Hailu Fullas’ thoughtful study (Hailu 1964), where due attention is paid to constructions like *yəhəšan(u) ləhsu* (which is intermediate between the simple “genitive” *yəhəšan(u) ləhs* and the extrapositional constr. *həšan(u) ləhsu* ...).

¹⁶ The -əw in *yadərg-əw* is the cataphoric pronoun; the -w in *yänəbbärä-w* is the definite article referring to the “noun phrase” whose head is *wäg*.

8. IV $A^{an} + S^{pl}$

(a) Plural substantives, when definite, require as a rule that their attributive adjective (which carries the article) should agree in number, i.e. be marked as plural: $A^{pl-art} + S^{pl}$. C. H. Dawkins seems to have been the first to formulate this rule (FA 87 § 173), later repeated by Klingenberg (1966, p. 19) and Hartmann (292 § 5.5.2.2, 303-304 § 5.8.2.1, R 76). An accurate formulation of the rule should not refer to the plural marker *-očč* (Dawkins, Hartmann) but to the agreement in number as such; numerals other than “one”, which are plural in any case, do not assume the plural suffix: AWG 275:27-28 *bulätt-u wättaddäročč* “the two soldiers”; ƏD 19:23 *sost-u-mm säwočč* “all three men”. The Goggame *arattočč*, *ammastočč*, *bulločč* have only been observed “when there is no noun to be head of a noun phrase” (Getatchew & Seifu 1973, p. 116).

(b) Definite “genitive” + S^{pl} with the A unmarked as plural is never allowed in cases of “*zärf astäne*”, but tolerated with real “*zärf*” (possessive): AWG 300:15 *yäm“at-u zämädočč* “the relatives of the deceased”. Cf., however, below, § 9b.

(c) If the attribute is a relative clause, agreement in number with a plural S will be marked wherever possible; v. supra § 6c, also § 5c. Definite relatives will further be marked by the definite article attached to the A. The normal structure of definite A + S in the plural will then be $A^{pl-art} + S^{pl}$. The construction $A^{art} + S^{pl}$ can only be said to exist where the explicit marking of A (qua adjectival complex) as plural is impossible, as in cases of *na’t sababiyy* like LTA 11:7 *ənnih tarikəččəw yəmmiṣṣaf-əw wəṭṭatočč* “those youngsters whose story is being written”. The definiteness of the A + S is marked in any case by the article attached to the relative as to any other A.

9. V $A^{pl-art} + S^{pl}$

As mentioned above (§ 8a), this is the structure required as a rule in definite plural A + S.

(a) ST 7:12 *addisočč-u sərratəññočč* “the new workers”; MTəzz. 143apu *lätəlaləqočč-u säwočč* “to the noblemen”; ib. 195:29; GAW 830:18 *bəzəwočč-u yəgraññ yətor aləqočč* “the many military commanders of Graññ”; SWärq I 240:10-11 *əndä leločč-u awrağğawočč* “like the other districts”; AL 437:3 *kəddatəññočč-u šəftočč* “the treacherous rebels”; AFS 31:6 *mənočč-u mogädəññočč-u*

säwočč gäččämu “what defiant people have joined (here)”; FK I 85pu-u *arbännnočč-u wättaddäroččäččän* “our valiant soldiers”.

(b) IT I 211:25 *yäaksumočč-u nägästat* “the Aksumite kings, the kings of Aksum”; GAW 286:32 *yännawočč-u wättaddäročč* “our soldiers”; YG (title) *yänewočč-u gäradočč* “my maids”; BG 39:25 *bäqädmowočč-u nägästat* “in the former kings ...”; HSN 49:8 *yäzarewočč-u qänočč* “the present days”; IT I 368:26 *yäzarewočč-u grikočč* “the peresent-day Greeks”; IMS 14:1 *yämägämmäryawočč-u säwočč* “les hommes à l’origine”.

(c) As stated above (§6c), the agreement in number of a relative A to its S is readily seen when the adjectivized verb is in a compound tense with *näbbärä*. The same is true when the construction is marked definite by the article attached to the A: in HSN 29:24 (*täbbäqänaččäw yänäbbär*)-u-t *wädağäččän* “our friend whom we have been expecting”, the 3rd pers. pl. affirmative, though verbal in form, belongs clearly to the adjectivization and not to the underlying “transférende” (whose subject is 1st pers. pl.). In other cases, like Const. 1931 art. 18 *yämmiyasfällägu-t akk’ab’anočč* “the requisite conditions”, AWG 266:20 *yäqärru-tu aškäročč* “the remaining boys”, the subject of the relative verb and the modified S are referentially identical, and this identity might be said to be reflected in the agreement of the verbal 3rd plural with both. The definite article in all relatives marks the adjectival complexes as nominal, also where the exponents of the article are object suffixes.

Relative complexes assuming the nominal plural marker -očč, thus manifesting their nominal structure even morphologically, have been mentioned in §6c. Such relatives when definite are attested as (1) (*yä- + verb*)^{art-očč} or (2) (asynd. rel. Imperf.)^{očč-art}: (1) AWGu. 132:18-20 *ändännä mädhanit mənəmm ändämmannawq-äw-očč abäšočč hullu* “comme nous autres Abyssins qui ne comprenons rien aux remèdes”; (2) IT I 81:24 *kämäsafəntočču yəbält-očč-u* “most of the dukes”; cf. IT IV 107b:9 (= *yämmibältut*, v. AS 460).

Syntax of Attribute + Substantive: Marking of the Accusative

10. The syntactical equivalence of the various adjectival expressions can also be shown by examining the syntax of the accusative -*n* marker. The conditions of when this marker is to be used and in what syntactic position are rather difficult to describe, because when the accusative complement is indefinite the -*n* is normally avoided, and when it is definite (whether explicitly marked as such or with a “zero article”) the -*n* hankers after the form that carries, or could have carried, the definite determiner. A detailed

study of the use of the accusative *-n* is O. Kapeliuk's (1972), where the various constructions of direct object with and without *-n* are properly classified and profusely illustrated. O. Kapeliuk well mentions the fact that "avec un complément non déterminé formellement" some writers would use *-n* more than others, and that in KBT and ASäw. the use of the *-n* for the accusative is almost generalized. Seemingly limited to the writings of language teachers, the stylistic status of this almost generalized use of *-n* with indefinite accusative looks rather questionable, and O. Kapeliuk therefore chooses (ib. § 6) to examine the use of the *-n* with indefinite accusative "chez les auteurs qui ne l'emploient pas toujours". It is, however, interesting to examine the syntax of the really-indefinite accusative with *-n*, because only with the indefinite the *-n* will be found in the basic position which it should occupy in the first place. In addition to KBT and ASäw., the indef. accus. with *-n* will also be found in AFS, a lively story written by Täklä-Maryam Fantaye, another language teacher, but also here and there in ƏD, MTəzz. and elsewhere. It appears to have some roots "bäkahnat-ənna bähagärä säb q^wwanq^wa".

With object expressions that are really indefinite, where the *-n* is normally avoided by most Amharic speakers and writers, those who have the *-n* at all will place it suffixed to the modified substantive: VI A + S^{accus.}. With object expressions that are definite in one sense or another, whether that definiteness is formally marked or not, the construction will be VII A^{(def)-accus.} + S¹⁷. To show this, suffice it to quote some pairs of phrases, definite and indefinite, all drawn from the same source, and some even taken from the same context:

VI	VII
(a) AFS 24:23 <i>sost aynät maḡbočč-ən</i> "three kinds of food"	AFS 24u <i>sost-u-n-əmm aynät maḡbočč</i> "the three kinds of food"
(b) AFS 23:13-14 <i>yäduqet-baṭbaṭ</i> <i>wəha-n</i> "water of flour-dilution"	AFS 23:22-23 <i>yäduqet baṭbaṭ-u-n</i> <i>wəha</i> "the water of the flour-dilution"
(c) AFS 3u-4:1 <i>läamarəñña mäm-mariya yəhonu mäṣabəft-ən</i> "Amharic text-books"	AFS 115:13 <i>yassäbaččəhu-t-ən gänzəb</i> "the money (of) which you have thought"

17 To say that "l'adjectif ou son équivalent s'attirent normalement le *-n* et l'article" (Kapeliuk 1972, 198 § 11a) is inaccurate. What could in fact be said is that the adjective attracts the article and the article attracts the *-n*. That is true for Kapeliuk's examples as well: both *həzmu čəggər-ən* "much trouble" (quoted ibid. 198) and *andand dərsətočč-ən* "some essays" (194) are of constr. VI. In the absence of a formal definite determiner, the use itself of constr. VII might serve to show the definiteness of the whole expression. For *and-ən säw* ("l'un ...", "l'autre") (Kapeliuk ib. 191) see below, footnote 18.

Some further examples:

VI (a) AFS 3:15 *ṭäqami awqät-ən* “valuable knowledge”; ibid. 10:8-9 *asṭäggariwočč nägäročč-ən* “things causing difficulty”; ibid. 22:19-20 *andit fäyyäl-ən* “one goat”¹⁸; MTəzz. 36:26 *hulätt mätö-n* “two hundreds”; KBT 166b:22-23 *dəngalt laḡ agäräd set-ən* “a virgin young woman”.

VI (b) AFS 7:12 *läyyu läyyu yäaggälaläṣ bahrəyočč-ən* “various qualities of expression”; ƏD 57:9 *quṭər yälelläw yätänk'al yäkäfatəmm sərəwočč-ən* “innumerable deeds of deceit and wickedness”.

VI (c) ƏD 21:6 *räṣṣəm yäbonu təmhartočč-ən* “extensive studies”; ƏD 76:1-2 *läsämay betaččən yämmismamma maḡhar-ən* “work that is appropriate for our celestial home”.

VII (a) AWT 13:19-20 *yan dagg adragi-w-n säw* “that beneficent man”; MSG 22:16-17 *anditu-n qän ənək'a sayəfäṣṣəm motä* “he died without even filling one day” (cf. fn. 18); Zad. 28:17 *yəbəčč-ən set* “this woman”; ČS 16:10 *ya-nn-ən-u qän* “that day”; WL introd. (1):4-5 *mälkam-u-n nuro* “the good life”.

VII (b) Hirut 221:14 *yabbat-u-n səm* “the name of the father [my father]”; AFS 22:20 *yägalgäločč-u-n af* “the mouth(s) of the kids”; MSäw. 51-21 *yäruq-itu-n set* “the 3rd fem. sing.” (lit “the distant female”); ƏD 48:14 *yänña-yitu-n aläm* “our own (small) world”; IT I 67:29 *yäzare-w-n ityoṣya* “present-day Ethiopia”; ST 189:24 *yäbäləy-u-n baläsəltən* “the high official”.

VII (c) ChrMən. 286:19 *yäwässädäw-n əqa* “the things which he had taken”; AWT 30:4 *yalləbbät-u-n-u geta* “the master who is in it”; AL 310:21 *yänəffägäččəññ-ən səm* “the name which she denied me”.

11. *Adjectivization in Amharic: Synopsis*

	(a)	(b)	(c)
A + S	dagg säw səntäñña səṛəṣṣər	yäaksum nəgus yärswo mämṭat	yämmiçoh wəṣṣa yäbäddälhuh bädäl
I A + S ^{pl}	awwaki säwočč bəzu nägäročč	yagär lägočč yänña wägänočč yaksum nägästat	yäsättäññ lägočč abrän yämmənnəsära säwočč

¹⁸ If the same author writes elsewhere *and-ən nägär* (AFS 12:7), it is because that was intended to mean “something, anything”, and in Amharic the expression for “(any)one”, “one another”, “l’un ... l’autre ...” mostly require “one” marked definite (*andü*, *andü landü*, *andü ... leləw ...* etc.) of which *and*, when employed, is the zero-marked equivalent.

II	A ^{Pl} + S ^{Pl}	tākāttayōčč } wāttaddāročč } bazuwočč a'waf	yagāročč sāwočč yānewočč yaksumočč nāgāstat	nāfsaččāw tātāmta } yānābbāru sāwočč } yāmāttōčč
III	A ^{an} + S	čāru amlak dāggitu nāgast assāru bārr	yāzarewa miste yāneyitu yāsera liyonewa wāyzāro	lāgāzzaññu arāmāni kābet yallāččitu əhətəs yānāggāratu lāg
IV	A ^{an} + S ^{Pl}	hulāttu } wāttaddāročč }	yām ^w āču zāmādočč	tarikāččāw yāmmiššafāw } wāttatočč }
V	A ^{Pl an} + S ^{Pl}	dāggočču sāwočč bazuwočču alāqočč	yānewočču gārādočč yāzarewočču qānočč yaksumočču nāgāstat	tābbəqānaččāw yānābbārut } wādağāččən } yāmmannawqāwočč abāsočč yebāltočču
VI	A + S ^{accus}	tāqami əwqātən hulātt māton	yātānk ^w āl } sərawoččən } yaggālālās } bahrayoččən }	lā- ... yāmmismamma } məgbarən } māmmariya yāmmihonu } mašahəftən }
VII	A ^{(def)-acc} + S	mālkamun nuro yəhəččən set	yabbatun səm yāññayitun alām yābālayun balāsəlṭan	yāwässādāwn əqa yallābbātunu geta yānāffāgāččəññən səm

ADJECTIVIZATION IN HARARI

12. The adjectivized verb in Harari discloses immediately its nominal character by being, as complex, susceptible of consistently assuming the suffixed pronouns (3rd pers., also as exponents of the definite article) in their “possessive”, i.e. post-nominal forms¹⁹: [245:6 *wīg-žo* “the child(ren)”]; *ibid.* *gidir-žo* “the big one(s), the adult(s)” — 1:2 & 10:4 *zigädärä-žo* “the biggest”; [54:10 *bägiḥ usu* “many people” — 54:9 *abxah usu* “most people” —] 62:3, 66u *abxah-žo* — 9u *yibäxḥi-žo* “the (its) majority”²⁰; 43:6 *yansi-žo* “lesser (of it)”, 201:3 *yansi-ziyu* “a few of them”; cf. Leslau 1965b 157b *yägädrāzal-žo*, *yəkätbāxax-žo*. In the marking of the plural, too, nominalization in Harari goes further than in Amharic as it uses freely the nominal plural marker with the relative as with any other noun.

The turning of non-verbal forms into an attribute is only marked by position: any such form may function as modifier of a substantive by just

19 References to Harari texts, when not otherwise specified, are to Leslau 1965a.

20 This example and the two following ones are bare Imperfects having the value of relative forms. Of such forms there will be found survivals in Amharic as in Harari; they were in general use in Old Amharic as they still are in some other South Ethiopian languages; see Goldenberg 1977 487-489 (with references to earlier literature on the subject), Leslau 1958

21 § 14d, *ibid.* 1965b 157b.

being placed immediately before it. The adjectivizing “translatif” *z-*, still attested in Old Harari as employed in a way parallel to that of the Amharic *yä-*, has completely disappeared in the modern language before non-verbal forms: what in the older language was, e.g., *za-hay zär* “river of milk” (Cerulli 294-5 = 312:33, v. ib. 379 § 147) became *hay-zär* in Modern Harari (also used as a name for a kind of a drum). While in Amharic such a process is mostly limited to the development of formulaic compounds²¹, Harari is no more capable of marking as adjectivized any non-verbal form, and consequently no “free genitive” is there available. Substantives that are thus functioning as attributes just in virtue of their pre-substantival position cannot fulfil this function without their head word. In the absence of a modified substantive (as when it has already been mentioned and its repetition is undesirable) a prop-word is indispensable. In Harari, *zät* “property” is called for in such cases²². May it here be repeated that genuine adjectives as well as adjectivizations, which, as characterized above, contain within themselves the pronominal representation of the modified entity, are in principle self-supported and independently adjectival. In modern Harari little is left of this adjectival independence (see below, § 15b).

The syntax of A + S in Harari is much simpler than in Amharic because of the greater consistency in the implications of the “*turanisirende Wortstellung*”²³: the accusative marker and the definite article (as well as the “adpositions”) find their proper place at the end of the whole construction (after the S) and thus cannot directly contribute to the formal characterization of A as nominal. But the nominal plural suffix attached to A marks the syntactically-transformed A as morphologically noun-like.

13. The A + S construction may have in Harari, as in Amharic, but with significant alterations, three types of A: (a) A = adjective, (b) A = substantive etc., (c) A = *z-* + verb (“relative”).

(a) The construction of (a) adjective + substantive is fairly common: 9:1, 57:13, 58:11 *gidir gār* “big building”; 11:9 *qäčīn ūga* “narrow street”; 2:7 *rūhuq zāmān* “far time, a long time ago”; 158:2 *gudōr timfāš* “long breath”;

21 See Leslau 1964, p. 19.

22 Examples for *zät* as prop-word: 28:5 *indōt irāz-wā abōt-zät yäsimalu* “they sell women’s clothes and men’s ones”; 99:12-13 *rāgāt härča-zīyu dārmāt-zät-be fiž-be yitlāyumēl* “the *härča* (*fat*-ceremony) of the old men does not differ much from that of the young men”; 230-1 *mēgāl-zät-āt-u nahdägeyu* “let me leave (them) the first ones (lit. those of the beginning)”.

23 See Praetorius 1871 p. 2 n. 1; cf. Polotsky 1960 117 [= 1971 p. 3].

8:1 *hurdi gār* “yellow building”; 55:7 *nāṭih afār* “white earth”; 8:3-4 *yī gār* “this building”.

(b) Besides the basic construction of (b₁) substantive^a + substantive^b, where the former constituent modifies the latter, there may also be considered in Harari in the same connexion the construction (b₂) subst^a + (subst^b + suff^a). This we do not because (b₂) does structurally deserve to be presented on a par with (b₁), but because its examination here may be found expedient for the accurate description²⁴.

Construction (b₁) is commonly employed wherever a substantival form is to function as a modifier, whatever might be the underlying relation between the modifier and the modified: 9:3 *dūk gār* “Duke’s house”; 9:13, 10:1 *arāqe gār* “liquor house”; 9:14 *dāwwa dukkān* “medicine shop, pharmacy”; 156:4 *toya usu* “people of the neighbourhood, neighbours”; 1:4 *gē sinān* “the language of Harar”; 247:13 *ašūra yām* “the day of Ašura”; 209:1 *qur’ān kitāb* “a Koran book”; Cerulli 224, no. 92 *yī zaman esuāt* “the people of today”; 60:2 *gār nāṣāfa* “cleaning of the house”; 60:8 *gār māträg* “sweeping of the house”.

Construction (b₂) is in its structure extrapositional, and often employed accordingly. Except for its outward appearance it has nothing analogous to the Turkish *izafet*, though it may be suspected that if not the seeming resemblance to the Turkish it would have had lesser chance to find its way into the chapters on genitive and possessive relation in Harari grammar (v. Cerulli 147-148, 380) as a type of noun + noun construction. Examples of (b₂) are: 99:12 *rāgāt bārṭa-ziyu dārmāt-ṣāt-be fiṣ-be yitlāyumēl* “the older people their *bārṭa* (*ṣāt*-ceremony) does not much differ from that of the young men”; 124:3-4 *liḡi wāldi qahat āwā āy-ze-wā qurra ahlāt gār ūgaw yilīṭumēl* “the boy will not pass by the house of the girl’s parents and close relatives” (lit. “the girl — her parents and close relatives”); Cerulli 213:29 = XI:12 *ilawá amīr ṭilōtziyu-bē adīgó* “they brought him to the emir’s tribunal” (“unto the emir in his law court”), cf. Cerulli 147-148.

However, the sequence subst^a + subst^b + suff can also stand for (b₁) + suff, i.e. (subst^a + subst^b) + suff²⁵. When the suffix does not agree with

²⁴ Compared to Amharic, (b₁) corresponds more or less to the type *yāḥaṣan lābs*; in (b₂) there is an extraposition corresponding in fact to the Amharic *ḥaṣan(u) lābsu*, but perhaps to the intermediate *yāḥaṣan(u) lābsu* as well; v. supra, fn. 15. For the indication of definiteness in these constructions see below.

²⁵ Suffixes whose referents are outside the (A + S) have nothing to do with the construction as such and should not be allowed to interfere in the description. For instance 191:13 *wīgnāt umri-ziyu* “their (age of) childhood”, suff. referring to “boys and girls” which

subst^a the construction can only be (b₁) + suff, but when it does, any possible expression of formal opposition between (b₁) + suff and (b₂) is neutralized, and the interpretation is left to intuition (for possible help that may come from the accusative marker -*u*, see below). When the suffix is -*zo*, it can also stand for the definite article referring to (b₁); see Cerulli 148 § 82. As 30:2 *ḥarāši bisāya* means “agricultural products” (“product of the farm”), 50:8 *ḥarāši bisāya-zo* appears most likely to mean “the agricultural products” (“the products of the farmer”): (*ḥarāši bisāya*)-*zo*²⁶. So also 116:5 *gōyta qudra-ḡo-be* “by the power of the Lord”, but for 110:4-5 *ligi wāldi ṭaba-ḡo ḥafīš māxna yīgla* the translation which might better suit the context (*ligi wāldi* “the boy” being in contextual contrast with *qahat wāldi* “the girl”) will probably be “the boy — his voice begins to become thick”, that is with *ligi wāldi ṭaba-ḡo* as construction (b₂).

(c) The nominal character of the adjectivized verb as evidenced in Harari is shown in § 12. Many examples of relative clauses in Harari have been adduced by Cerulli (pp. 162-171, 387-391) and Leslau (1958) (p. 16, §§ 8c & 9c, and p. 22, § 17). Some further instances are 47:3 *qāčī-be ḡidīḡa usu* “a man who has come from outside”; 47:7 *alāy yisūčzal ayna* “another kind that has fragrance”; 1:9 *gē tiṭṭārahbāḡat sum* “the names by which Harar is called”.

Syntax of A + S in Harari: Marking of the Plural

14. I A + S^{pl}

(a) 207:13, 243:7 *gidīr usu’āt* “elderly people”; 11:2 *qāčīn ūḡāt* “narrow streets”; 232:7.8 *alāy wāḥačāt* “other girls”; 201:8 *abōč āwāčāt* “male saints”; 66:5 *indōč dāllālāt* “female brokers”; 171:9 *islām wāldāt* “muslim children” (cf. 196:5 *islāmāt*); 10:3 *yī dukkānāt* “these shops”.

(b) Cerulli 224, no. 92 *yī ḡaman esuāt* “the people of today”; 173:4 *tōya wīgāt* “the children of the neighbourhood”.

(c) With a modified noun in the plural, the relative verb will most usually carry the agreement in number through its subject morpheme or otherwise²⁷.

follows; 199:7 *māsgid-ḡo wāqfi* “the waqf of his mosque”, suff. referring to the *lāḡim* mentioned before.

26 50:7-8 *gē-usu’ ḥarāši ḡināra-bew ḡāmān-be yitxātātḡal ḥarāši bisāya-ḡo yārdū-bō nūr* “in the time when the Harari people were farmers, one used to place in it (viz. in the main upper-storey room) the agricultural products that can be stored up”.

27 I have got no evidence for A being an indirect attribute (cf. § 8c).

As explained in § 5c, such agreement does not belong specifically to the relation of a relative modifier, qua adjectival expression, to its *ism man'ūt*. The following instances can be regarded as carrying no marked agreement between A and S specifically belonging to the relative in its capacity as adjective; they represent A + S^{pl}. For A^{pl} rel. in A^{pl} + S^{pl} Harari has the nominal -āč plural marker freely employed; see § 15c. Examples: 57:12 *ziqäru gārāt* “the remaining houses”; 75:13 *yitrāmätleyuḡal usu'āt* “people for whom it is provided”; 201:2 *bäqla-be yithēläqḡalu āwāt* “holy shrines (lit. “fathers”) that are counted in hundred(s)”. In the following instance a plural subst. (inanimate) shows no agreement with the relative A nor with its predicate: 62:10-12 *aräb sinān, aḥmara sinān, tigrē sinān-baḥ yitmisāsälḡal isahad kilmāt gē sinām-bēm yiträxäbal* “some words^{pl} that resemble^{sg} Arabic, Amharic or Tigre are found^{sg} in Harari”.

15. II A^{pl} + S^{pl}

(a) 162:5-6 *rägāt indōčāt* “old women”; Cerulli 145, 157 *azḡiyāt mistāt* “those wives”; ibid. 157 *hiyač indočāt* “these women”.

(b) It is remarkable that in spite of the fact that in construction (b) no sign except position is usually left to show the attributive relation, there will be found besides forms like 211:7 *tōya wīg*, pl. 173:4 *tōya wīgāt* “the children of the neighbourhood” also 215:7 *tōyāt ūgāt* “the streets of the neighbourhood”; cf. supra § 6b. Of special interest is 241:4 *indōčāt azḡo tōyāt ḡitayāt* “women, those who are^{pl} of this^{sg} neighbourhood^{pl}”, i.e. (those who are)^{nominal pl} (*azḡo toy*)^{āč} (of this neighbourhood)^{pl}. The nominal plural marker is the only formal sign which still marks in such cases what is left of the adjectival character of A. We may thus feel relieved to find in this sign some justification for including the Harari constr. (b) among the forms of adjectivization.

(c) Relative marked as adjectivized by the nominal plural suffix, which in Amharic is limited to some form of local dialect (v. § 6c in fine), is very common in Harari: 34:14 *čāt yäsīmḡal-āč gē indōčāt* “Harari women who sell čat”; 214:7 *ḡissiqāqāl-āč qälādāt* “strips of leather that are hanging”; 215:5 *ḡisäma'-āč usu'āt* “people who have heard”; Cerulli IV:11-12 (p. 206) *Mäkke ḡihār-āč gey suāt* “Hararis who went to Mecca”; 162:4-6, 213:3, 215:4, 218:11, 219:1, 220:9; Cerulli 169 (§ 102), cf. Leslau 1958 15 (§ 7c).

16. III A + S^{accus}

As A + S^{accus} is a common and regular construction, involving no intricacies, it would have been practically unnecessary for it to be profusely illustrated, were it not for the comparison to Amharic. A few examples, however, will be helpful, especially as Cerulli's §84 (p. 151) is somewhat confusing.

(a) *gidir mägāla-w* "the Main Market"; 175:2 *šī'istāñ dāg-u* "the third stage"; 83:1 *yī dilāga-w* "this work"; 74:2 *isbālbālāt qābīla-w* "the different tribes"; 170:5 *wīg wāldi-w* "the baby".

(b) 11:1 *dukkānāl ūga-w* "the street of the shops"; 215:7 *tōyāč ūgāč-u* "the streets of the neighbourhood"; 118:12 *dārma mugād-u* "the young men's association"; 228:4 *sāsa sōmānzo-w* "the thirty-day fast"; 208:4 *qur'an kitāb-u* "the Koran"; 58:9-10 *gār hawāz hangūr-u* "the food of the family"; 124:3-4 *qurra ahlāč-ze gār ūga-w* "the street of the house of her close relatives"; 73:13-14 *aḥmara wāldi yilīqbāzal adāb ūga-w* "the *adab* way (good manners) in which the Amhara child is brought up".

Extraposition will involve repetition of the accusative marker: 152:10-11 *wāldi-w qāmzo-w yaḥaṭbo* "one washes the body of the child" (lit. "the child, his body", a typical case of the $\sigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\theta'\ \acute{o}\lambda\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\varsigma$, Arab. *badal al-ba'd min al-kull*); Cerulli 217:13 = XIII:24 *qahassina-w simzie-w* "the name of our daughter" (lit. "our girl, her name").

(c) Cerulli 225, no. 16 *zitrōga riyāl-ū* "the stolen money"; 74:2-3 *yātfālsāzal sifātāč-u* "qualities that make them be praised"; 71:2 *yātxīšzal xurūgiyazo-w* "its (or: the) necessary expenses"; 48:11-12 *māqōraḥti tāḥay-le zāl wāntāf lūḥ-u* "the threshold board which is below the locker"; 241:10 *yisāgdizalāč usu'āč-u* "the people who pray"; 50:5, 122:10-11, 81:4-5, 63:8-9.

17. A + S in Harari: Synopsis

		(a)	(b)	(c)
	A + S	qāčīn ūga yī gār	gē sinān gār mātrāg	zidīga usu' yisūčzal ayna
I	A + S ^{pl}	qāčīn ūgāč yī usu'āč	yī zamān usu'āč tōya wīgāč	ziqāru gārāč yitmisāsalzal kilmāč
II	A ^{pl} + S ^{pl}	rāgāč indōčāč azzīyāč mistāč	tōyāč ūgāč	ziḥārāč usu'āč yāsīmzalāč indōčāč
III	A + S ^{accus}	gidir mägāla-w yī dilāga-w	dārma mugād-u tōyāč ūgāč-u	zitrōga riyāl-u yātxīšzal xurūgiyazo-w

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- IT Tāklā-Šadāq Māk^wriya, *Yä-Ityopya tarik*. I 1951 E.C., II 1951 E.C., III 2nd ed. 1945 E.C., IV 4th ed. 1946 E.C. Addis Ababa.
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- LTA Bämnät Gäbrä Amlak, *Lägnät tämalläso aymätamm*. Addis Ababa 1949 E.C.
- LZG Həruy Wäldä-Səllase, *Yələqso zema gətam. məstiru kəməšəhəft gara yätəsmamma*. Addis Ababa 1910 E.C.
- MČ Zännäb, *Məšəfä təwata səgawi wəmənfəsawi*. 2nd ed. Addis Ababa 1951 E.C.
- MI Aləmayyāhu Mogäs, *Mäklə'a Ityopya (yə-Ityopya mälk)* I. Asmara 1952 E.C.
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- YG Pəwlos Nəhəno, *Yənewoʽəu gərədoʽə*. Addis Ababa 1965.
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REPRESENTATION OF LANGUAGE SIMILARITY IN A SAMPLE OF SEMITIC

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This frankly exploratory paper is a report on a preliminary application in a linguistic context of some techniques for bringing out groupings and patterns of similarity and difference in complex data arrays. The long-term perspective of the present limited undertaking is a project for assembling extensive comparative files in Afroasiatic, and the eventual goal is to see what can be done with a realistic range of data—type-systemic and token-textual, lexical, phonological, morphological, and syntactic, over a wide spectrum of languages, living and dead, well-attested and poorly-attested. Techniques of the kind examined here may or may not result in improved explanatory models of synchronic relations of similarity and diachronic relations of phylogenetic succession. But a sufficient reason for their continued exploration is, in my opinion, the prospect of being able to use currently available large-scale data processing techniques in order to periodically “take the temperature” of growing historical-comparative language data files, and to derive preliminary hypotheses about relations existing in the data and suggest directions for further data collection.

As an initial step a feasible approach to the longer-term goal seemed to be a study of lexical and grammatical similarities in a short, accessible text in a sample of better-understood Semitic languages. An obvious accessible text is the Bible, and, in order to keep the Hebrew data comparable to that of the other languages, I chose the New Testament. Hence the trial data is Luke 7,1-19—A text-token sample of about two hundred words of a simple narrative, translated into seven different languages: Geez, Tigrinya, Amharic, Arabic, Hebrew, Syriac, and Neo-Aramaic (“Assyrian”)¹. The textual histories of these translations, and their relations to one another, to the Greek original, and to translations not considered here are complicated in

¹ As a Cushitic (Oromo) lexicographer (whence the impulse to make a representative Afroasiatic language-data file), I can claim some professional competence in Ethio-Semitic. I have a “gentlemen’s knowledge” of Arabic and Hebrew; but the reader should be forewarned that I am a rank outsider in Aramaic, and that, in this exploratory exercise, my conclusions about Aramaic should be taken hypothetically and by way of example.

the extreme. Hence I wish to make no exaggerated claims about these seven passages as adequate samples of the seven languages in question. For the present purposes it is sufficient that they permit us to consider with a degree of realism certain aspects of data processing with language data of this type. This having been said, it would of course be surprising if nothing at all could be learned from them about the languages they represent; and apart from the technical aspect of the problem, which is our primary focus here, I think some interesting working hypotheses about developments and relations of "West Semitic" languages are suggested by our analyses.

Because the sample texts are seven different renderings of a single narrative, it was possible to make a text comparison of lexical cognacy. Only major lexical categories (noun, verb, adjective, adverb) were counted. Passages where, because of translational idiosyncrasies in one or more of the versions, comparison was problematic were left aside. Likewise, an identical set of words was not counted more than once (e.g. "say" Eth. *bhl* = Arb. *qwl* = Heb., Syr., Nam. *7mr* occurred eight times; "hear" *smg* in all languages occurred three times—each of these counted as a single correspondence set, one for "say" and one for "hear"). This left seventy-one septuplets on which cognates were counted. The raw similarity data are as follows:

	GEZ	TGA	AMH	ARB	HEB	SYR	NAM
GEZ							
TGA	29						
AMH	19	37					
ARB	9	9	7				
HEB	12	10	8	18			
SYR	13	12	11	16	24		
NAM	9	11	9	19	30	36	

Table 1: Lexical Cognates in Semitic Sample

From this one can see that Tigrinya and Amharic, for example, share 37 cognates, Syriac and Geez 13, Neoaramaic and Hebrew 30, etc.

Because of the shortness of the sample, only grosser typological features in morphology and syntax could be accounted for (mean number of morphemes per word, relative predominance of prefixing, suffixing, simple word order features—as opposed to tense/aspect distinctions, use of case, types of subordinate constructions, etc.). For the technique of counting these features I follow here the general technique of Greenberg (1960), who himself is trying to present in quantified form the typological approach of Sapir. Thus the features in Table 2 are scored in terms of Greenberg-like ratios. Previous

MORPHO-SYNTACTIC DISTANCES FOR SEMITIC SAMPLE

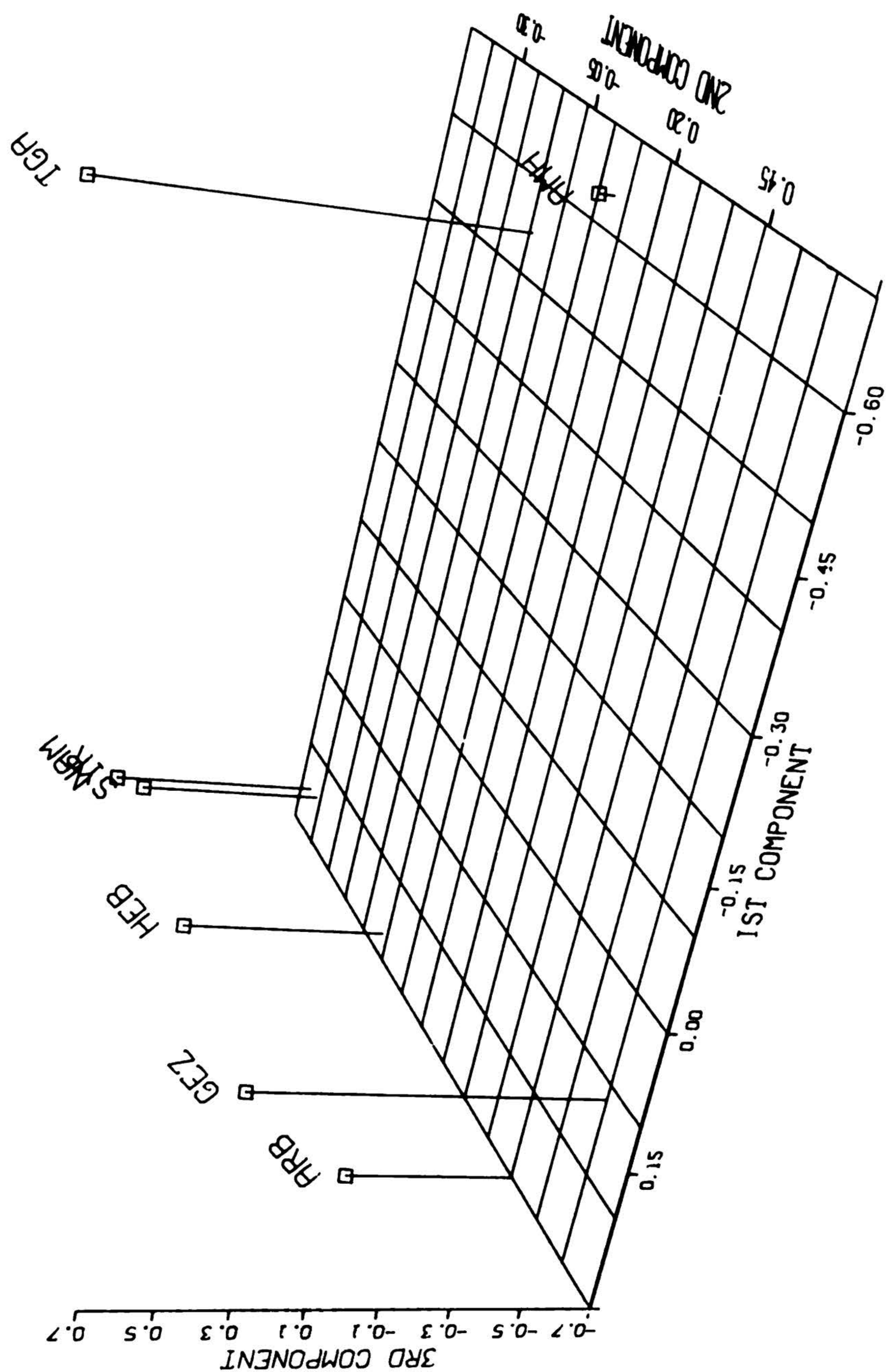


Fig. 1

	GEZ	TGA	AMH	ARB	HAB	SYR	NAM
1. morpheme / word	3.11	2.39	3.22	2.97	2.87	2.50	2.78
2. derivational-morpheme / word	.22	.11	.11	.35	.22	.34	.26
3. inflectional-morpheme / word	2.90	2.28	3.11	2.62	2.64	2.17	2.25
4. proclitic / word	.37	.05	.07	.32	.61	.38	.48
5. prefix / word	.26	.26	.43	.13	.21	.05	.00
6. derivational-prefix / word	.06	.01	.02	.07	.00	.04	.03
7. ablaut / word	.44	.31	.47	.31	.34	.32	.33
8. derivational-ablaut / word	.13	.09	.06	.23	.18	.12	.07
9. gemination / word	.08	.06	.21	.03	.01	.00	.00
10. suffix / word	.72	.52	.72	.84	.41	.33	.65
11. derivational-suffix / word	.02	.01	.02	.05	.04	.17	.17
12. enclitic / word	.02	.05	.18	.00	.01	.08	.07
13. infix / word	.00	.00	.00	.02	.00	.00	.00
14. genitive-pronoun / word	.21	.11	.13	.14	.21	.18	.15
15. concord-word / word	.07	.03	.03	.05	.06	.07	.06
16. article / word	.01	.03	.04	.09	.11	.00	.00
17. case (# of indications) / word	.26	.11	.23	.52	.33	.24	.30
18. genitive-particle / case	.02	.00	.08	.00	.00	.15	.21
19. preposition / case	.66	1.00	.46	.39	.84	.85	.79
20. postposition / case	.00	.00	.13	.00	.00	.00	.00
21. case-inflection / case	.32	.00	.33	.61	.16	.00	.00
22. "gerund" / verb (inflected verb)	.10	.18	.16	.00	.00	.00	.00
23. "participial-verb" / verb	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00	.30	.81
24. infinitive / verb	.01	.01	.00	.00	.10	.02	.01
25. subordinate-form / verb	.08	.15	.28	.09	.00	.00	.00
26. finite-verb (main) / verb	.77	.59	.55	.83	.76	.58	.05
27. copula-construction / verb	.04	.06	.01	.08	.14	.10	.11
28. subject-marker / verb	0.92	1.00	1.11	1.00	.89	.74	.78
29. object-marker / verb	.27	.22	.24	.06	.01	.03	.03
30. relative-marker / verb	.08	.11	.11	.02	.03	.11	.13
31. auxiliary / verb	.00	.07	.11	.00	.00	.19	.03
32. oblique-object-marker / verb	.00	.02	.03	.00	.00	.00	.00
33. internal-plural / plural	.86	.70	.14	.50	.00	.00	.00
34. suffix-plural / plural	.14	.30	.86	.50	1.00	1.00	1.00
35. V - S / V, S	.79	.00	.00	1.00	.73	.60	.64
36. S - V / V, S	.21	1.00	1.00	.00	.27	.40	.36
37. V - O / V, O	.96	.00	.00	1.00	.94	.86	.78
38. O - V / V, O	.04	1.00	1.00	.00	.06	.14	.22
39. Adj - N / Adj, N	.50	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
40. N - Adj / Adj, N	.50	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
41. Gen - N / Gen, N	.00	.17	.86	.00	.00	.00	.00
42. N - Gen / Gen, N	1.00	.83	.14	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
43. Rel - N / Rel, N	.00	1.00	1.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
44. N - Rel / Rel, N	1.00	.00	.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
45. Mod - N / Mod, N	1.00	1.00	.50	.50	1.00	.43	1.00
46. N - Mod / Mod, N	.00	.00	.50	.50	.00	.57	.00

Table 2: Grammatical Indices for Semitic Sample

(Cf. Table 4 for denominator counts, from which actual ratios can be calculated)

SYNTACTIC DISTANCES FOR SEMITIC SAMPLE

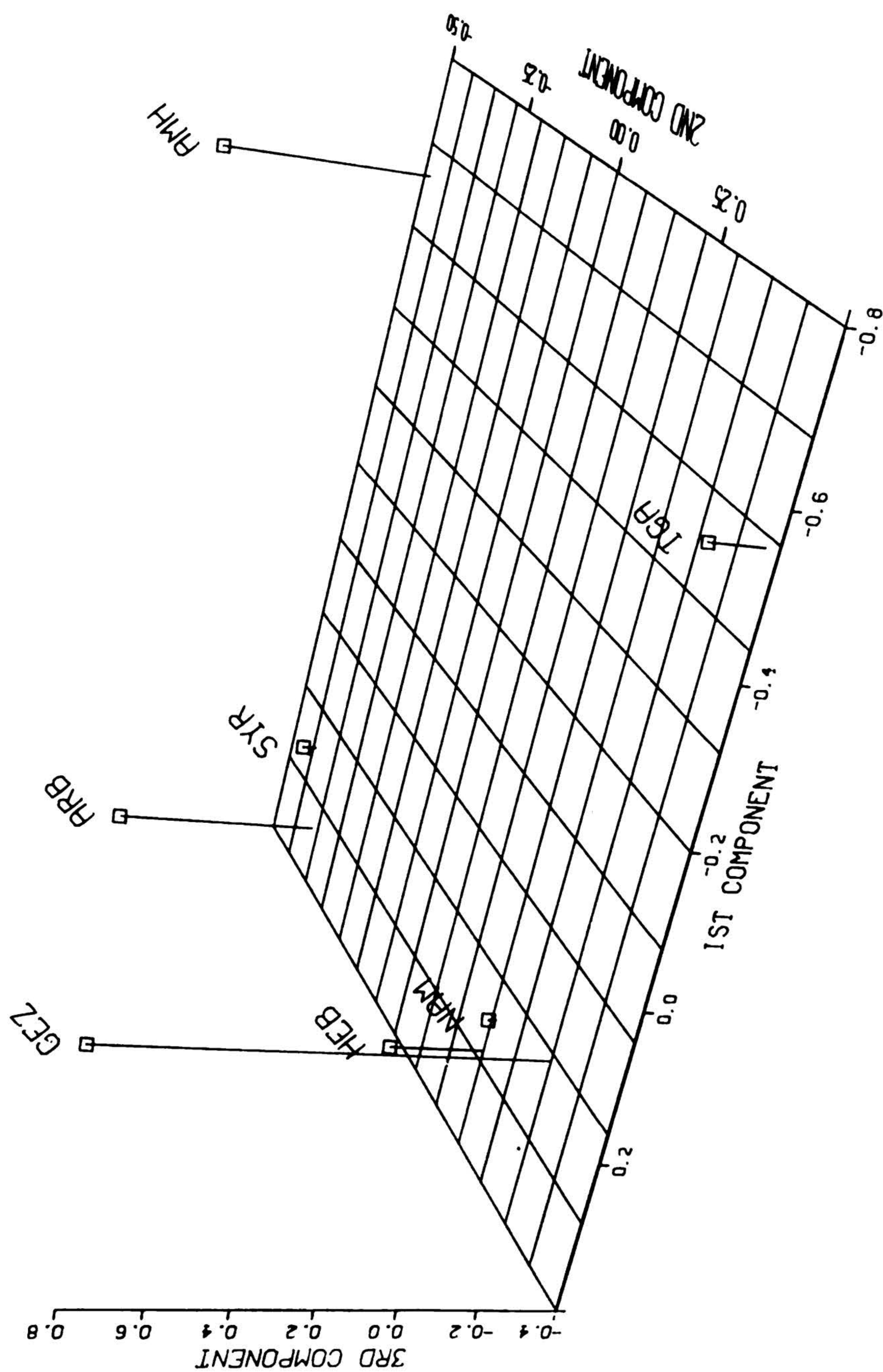


Fig. 2

experience with the specific indices of Greenberg (1960) convinced me that they are not well-suited for conveying important distinctions in Semitic, and the indices used here are those which seem best to differentiate the data at hand².

A more definitive set of indices would demand and merit a detailed justification, but for our purposes the following remarks will, I hope, suffice. Indices 1-34 are morphological in character. Index 1, the ratio of morphemes (i.e., concrete formatives) to words, is Greenberg's "index of synthesis". In 2 and 3 "derivational" morphemes are those which signal a part of speech (the Aramaic *-ā* formative with nouns was classified here, perhaps problematically), or which change one part of speech into another (e.g., formatives involved in verbal nouns and adjectives). Formatives involved in the Semitic so-called "derived verb stems" (causative, passive, frequentative, etc.) are in practice difficult, if not impossible to extricate from the inflectional formatives, and are here classified as "inflectional". Note that 2 and 3, with allowance for rounding, sum to Index 1. Indices 4-13 have to do with Sapir's "morphological technique"; while 14-16 and 33-34 cover some prominent nominal features (by "concord word" in 15 is meant a member of the pronominal or demonstrative system showing inflection for gender, number, or person). Index 17 gives the relative frequency of morphological indications of case, while 18-21 gives their relative distribution (and hence sum to unity). Indices 22-27 give the different types of verbal word (including a few cases of zero copula), and sum to unity also. "Gerund" is the Ethiopian converb; "participial verb" is the new suffix conjugation developed in Aramaic (Syriac and Neoaramaic). 25 covers morphologically marked subordinate clause forms (e.g., subjunctive in Arabic, relative verb in Amharic). In 26, «finite verb» is a residual category which in effect means a descendent of the West Semitic so-called perfective or imperfective, and hence may be a covert historical category. Indices 28-32 deal with morphological satellites of the verbal word; 32 refers to the *-b/-l-* suffixed object markers in modern Ethiopic Semitic (Amharic, Tigrinya here). The syntactic indices 35-46 are pair-wise dichotomous, and represent the most basic word-order features. Thus 35-36 account for all of the clauses in each of the languages which have a verb, and a morphologically independent noun as subject; they give the proportion of cases where the subject follows the verb (35) and proportion

2 This raises important issues in the philosophy or general approach one adopts to questions of taxonomy, particularly the choice, weighting, and number of distinguishing characteristics. For a discussion of this in the context of biological numerical taxonomy cf. Sneath and Sokal (1973: Ch. 3).

of cases where the subject precedes the verb (36) — similarly for the other pairs of indices. In 45-46 “Mod” stands for modifiers not covered by 39-44.

The next step in deriving an overview of the relative similarity of these languages consists in deciding on a measure of similarity/dissimilarity between the individual pairs of languages. A large variety of such measures are available and discussed in the literature³. For this investigation, for the morphological and syntactic indices, I chose to use the widely employed Euclidean distance measure, according to which the distance between individuals *a* and *b* in a space of *n* variables is:

$$D_{ab} = \sqrt{\sum_{i=1}^n (a_i - b_i)^2}$$

where, in our case, *a* and *b* are languages and *a_i*, *b_i* is the “score” of *a*, *b* on the *i*-th index. Note that this reduces to the familiar Pythagorean Theorem for the length of the hypotenuse of a right triangle:

$$ab = \sqrt{(a_1 - b_1)^2 + (a_2 - b_2)^2}$$

in the special case where *n* = 2, and *a₁*, *a₂* and *b₁*, *b₂* are the coordinates of points *a*, *b* in a two-dimensional Cartesian coordinate system. In the case of the Euclidean distance measure, 0 is the limiting case of identity between two individuals, while the upper limit is simply the square root of the largest sum of differences; inbetween, the smaller the number *D*, the more closely related are the items being measured. For the numerical ratios, therefore, the distance between two languages as measured by the ratios in Table 2 is simply the square root of the sum of the squared differences between the corresponding entries in the columns representing the two languages in Table 2. This number, for different combinations of indices, is given in Table 3A 2-5.

For the purposes of the present investigation, lexical distance was calculated simply as the square root of raw lexical difference:

$$\sqrt{71 - N}$$

3 Sneath and Sokal (1973: Ch. 4). There are several reasons for choosing straight Euclidean distance on non-standardized data in the present explanatory context. Among them are the intuitive accessibility of this measure, and the fact that it has a history of use in linguistic contexts (Altmann and Lehfeldt, 1973). Recent work on the ordination technique used here (Mather, 1976) however suggests that better results may sometimes be obtained with some less intuitively obvious similarity measures, and with standardized data matrices. The point obviously merits further investigation.

where N is the number of cognates between two languages, and 71 is the total number of correspondence sets. Note that under one possible interpretation, this measure of lexical distance differs from a strict Euclidean distance only by a factor of $\times 2$. That is, a Euclidean distance can be obtained by multiplying the distances of Table 3A 1 by $\times 2$. This effect will follow if each etymologically distinct word is considered a separate dichotomous feature, and languages are scored 1 or 0 according as they possess or do not possess this feature⁴. Note that for any two languages, the four possible cases of "distance" are 1-0, 0-1, 1-1, 0-0. The latter two possibilities are equal to 0, and hence do not contribute to the distance. Since, as the reader can verify, there are exactly $71 - N$ "1-0" terms, and $71 - N$ "0-1" terms, the Euclidean distance formula reduces to:

$$\sqrt{2(71 - N)} = \sqrt{2} \cdot \sqrt{71 - N}$$

Given the provisional nature of the original data, I will not dwell here on the results of this first step — although I believe that they are interesting in their own right, and worthy of consideration. They show very well, and in fact more accurately than the graphs, the distance between pairs of languages (or language samples) in the domains measured. However, as is often the case with similarity matrices of this sort, and as the reader can verify, many aspects of the global picture are not at all clear. What one can also verify for oneself very concretely (say, by cutting wires to scale and attempting to model concretely the distances among the set of languages as a whole) is that the distances represented in the matrices of Table 3A 1-5 are not two or even three dimensional (the wires will not connect properly without a lot of bending and stretching). In fact the raw dimensionality of the last matrix might be considered to be on the order of 200.

Hence the need for the next, mathematically and computational most complex step. There is a large and highly technical literature involved, which I have neither the competence nor in any case the space to summarize⁵.

- 4 On this interpretation the lexical material would represent in effect a large number of binary variables (186, in fact). The ease of deriving a distance matrix for a large collection of lexical material should be obvious. This ease, and the fact that with this similarity measure one can use a computationally convenient ordination technique makes the development of a similarity measure of this sort an interesting goal, which merits a good deal of intensive consideration. For the moment note that ordination either by $\sqrt{71 - N}$ or by $\sqrt{2} (71 - n)$ yields perceptibly the same result.
- 5 Here, as elsewhere, Sneath and Sokal (1973) provided a valuable initiation. Cooley and Lohnes (1971) was a general computational guide, with useful computer programs; while Mather (1976) gave specific detail on Principal Coordinates. In particular my Principal

A. Distance Matrices								B. Components		
	Gez	Tga	Amh	Arb	Heb	Syr	Nam	Comp 1	Comp 2	Comp 3
1. (Lexical)										
Gez								.335	.109	.585
Tga	6.48							.488	.065	.105
Amh	7.21	5.83						.471	.134	.385
Arb	7.87	7.89	8.00					.268	.752	.407
Heb	7.68	7.81	7.94	7.28				.293	.189	.528
Syr	7.26	7.68	7.75	7.42	6.86			.350	.455	.016
Nam	7.87	7.75	7.87	7.21	7.14	5.92		.387	.396	.232
R = .759/.787										
2. (Morphological: Indices 1-34)										
Gez								.518	.126	.139
Tga	1.20							.090	.741	.235
Amh	1.22	1.62						.258	.563	.329
Arb	0.86	1.36	1.15					.326	.104	.394
Heb	1.40	1.41	1.20	1.14				.173	.186	.565
Syr	1.75	1.27	1.63	1.48	0.87			.488	.184	.266
Nam	1.81	1.65	1.58	1.62	1.20	0.95		.531	.198	.522
R = .407/.549										
3. (Syntactic: Indices 35-46)										
Gez								.169	.359	.743
Tga	2.38							.547	.477	.264
Amh	2.75	1.21						.638	.482	.212
Arb	1.05	2.93	3.08					.322	.372	.196
Heb	0.71	2.63	2.97	0.81				.263	.215	.147
Syr	1.11	2.63	2.77	0.61	0.84			.219	.421	.360
Nam	0.78	2.47	2.83	0.93	0.26	0.82		.212	.225	.379
R = .606/.807										
4. (Morpho-Syntactic: Indices 1-46)										
Gez								.118	.610	.302
Tga	2.66							.546	.143	.662
Amh	3.01	2.01						.636	.063	.651
Arb	1.36	3.23	3.29					.298	.447	.196
Heb	1.57	2.98	3.20	1.40				.273	.087	.032
Syr	2.08	2.92	3.22	1.60	1.20			.246	.430	.080
Nam	1.98	2.97	3.24	1.87	1.23	1.25		.247	.460	.005
R = .731/.635										
5. (Total: Lexical plus Indices 1-46)										
Gez								.222	.446	.660
Tga	7.01							.514	.092	.008
Amh	7.81	6.17						.530	.256	.383
Arb	7.99	8.51	8.65					.275	.591	.601
Heb	7.84	8.36	8.56	7.41				.299	.152	.177
Syr	7.89	8.22	8.39	7.59	6.96			.334	.415	.160
Nam	8.12	8.30	8.52	7.45	7.25	6.05		.359	.427	.004
R = .702/.800										

Table 3: Distance and Component Matrices for Semitic Sample

Let me simply state for the present that there exist mathematical transformations whose function is to produce the most satisfactory low-dimensional approximation to high-dimensional numerical data arrays -- for graphing and visualization purposes, two- and three-dimensional approximations are obviously what are frequently envisaged. Criteria for "most satisfactory" can obviously differ from researcher to researcher and from project to project. Hence there is an *embarras de choix* of techniques. The technique used here, Gower's Principal Coordinates, is a Principal Component analysis of a transformed similarity matrix⁶. It works directly from the distance matrix, without going back to the original data matrix, or going through the intermediate step of a variable $\times$ variable correlation matrix⁷.

In table 3 B I give the first three principal coordinates (i.e., a "best" three-dimensional approximation) for the seven languages as measured by the corresponding distance matrices in Table 3 A. As a check, I offer under each distance-matrix/coordinate-matrix pair two values for "R", the so-called

Components program is based on the PRINCO program listed in Cooley and Lohnes (1971), Ch. 4. Good programs for these purposes are readily available in all academic installations. However, in the interests of testing the feasibility of this type of data processing, and seeing how far a relatively untutored linguist could maintain some control over the computational steps involved, I adapted their programs into BASIC and ran them on a microcomputer (TRS 80 Model III). The resulting program was monumentally slow and undoubtedly inefficient—but accurate to about three decimal places, as tested with selected data sets against the Principal Component routines of SAS.

⁶ Ordination is a term used for any one of a number of methods involving "display in graphical form of inter-object similarities in a low dimensional space" (Mather, 1976: p. 307). In Principal Component Analysis a $p \times n$ (in our case, for example, a 7 (language) $\times$ 46 (variable)) matrix, in which each of the p objects (the languages) is represented by n coordinates (the score for each of the indices), is replaced by a $p \times r$ matrix (7×3 in our case) in which each object is represented by a smaller number of coordinates (the components) "which in some sense retain approximately the same information as the original coordinates" (Kruskal, 1978). Principal Coordinate Analysis, stemming from Gower (1966), is treated in Mather (1976). In addition cf. the recent evaluations and comparisons of Principal Coordinates in Thorpe (1980) and Pimentel (1981). Besides Principal Component Analysis and Principal Coordinate Analysis, a third frequently used technique is Multidimensional Scaling—for an application in linguistics cf. Black (1978). My own initial trials with Greenberg and Greenberg-like indices seem to indicate that these three techniques result in what for our purposes are quite comparable ordinations.

⁷ This would have involved, for this initial trial, the processing of an $n \times n$ matrix where n is larger than 200 (and would be much larger than that in more realistic lexical probes), approaching the normal limits of the matrix processing routines of some of the standard statistical packages. With the approach used here I was able to derive the component matrices on a microcomputer, and could have done so with an indefinitely large number of variables (but not of languages).

TOTAL DISTANCES FOR SEMITIC SAMPLE

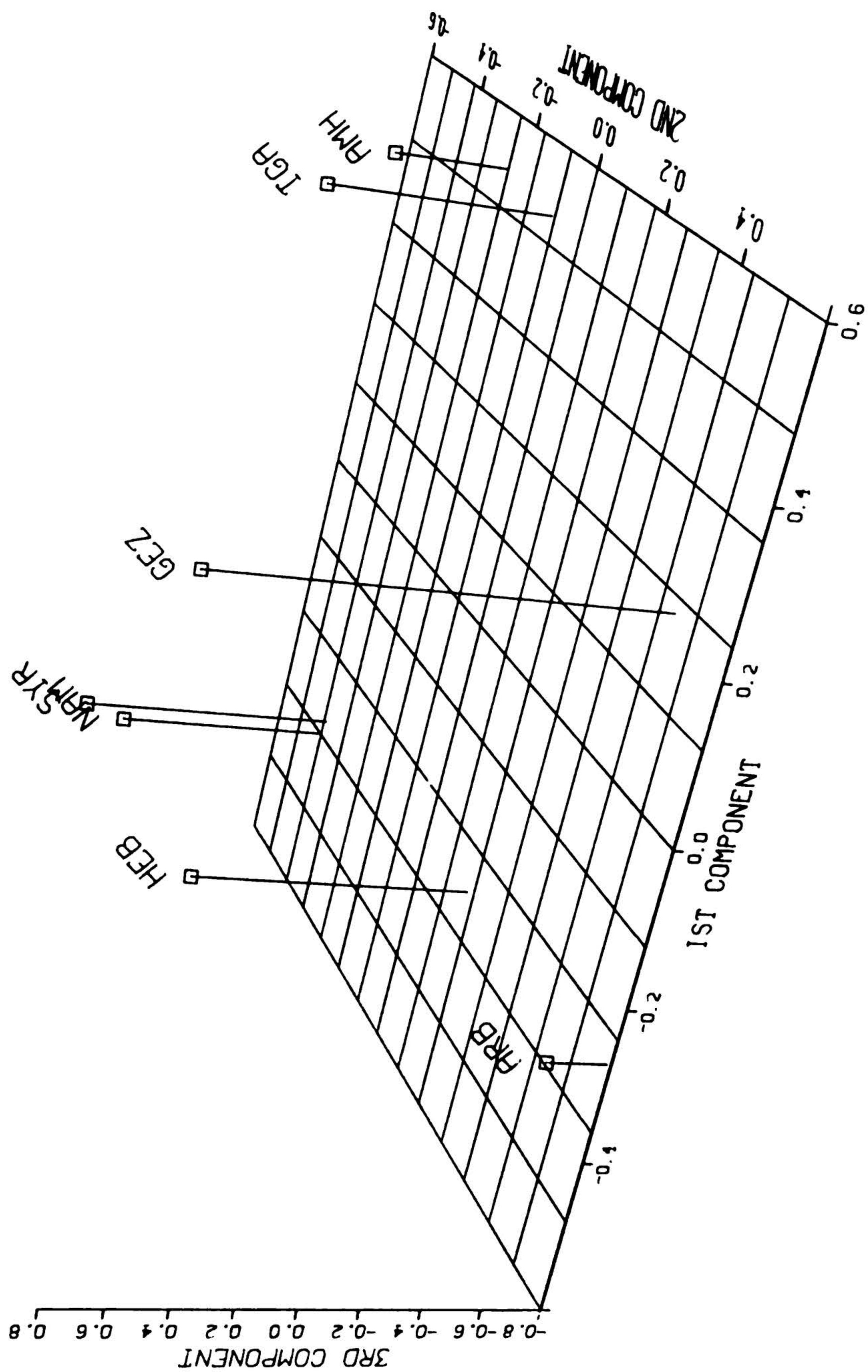


Fig. 3

“cophenetic” correlation coefficient. This is simply the product-moment correlation coefficient between the original distance matrix and a new Euclidean distance matrix (not given here, but calculable from the figures in Table 3 B) derived from the coordinates in the reduced variable space. The first value is for three principal coordinates, and the second for two. An “R” of between .6 and .95 is apparently considered normal in biological numerical taxonomy, and on these grounds all of our ordinations seem to fall within acceptable limits, with the exception of the morphological ordination, where the data are obviously not satisfactorily described in two or three dimensions (see below)⁸.

The results of this reduced dimensionality are plotted in Figures 1 to 5⁹. For these graphs I availed myself of a wide range of graphic software and hardware options available to the general user at the University of Chicago installation in order to produce a visually effective set of graphs. I should emphasize however, since practicality is a consideration in the context of this investigation, that the essential points made by the graphs could be made also, if less vividly, by a series of two-dimensional (e.g., Comp 1 by Comp 2, Comp 1 by Comp 3) scattergrams of the kind that can be produced by the humblest of microcomputers. These graphs are in no sense a definitive statement. But they certainly suggest some interesting questions for further investigations along these lines. Among the observations that might be made are the following:

The first graph gives a fairly close approximation to the clustering one might expect from the traditional Stammbaum of the Semitic language family. The cleavage between Ethiopian Semitic and Non-Ethiopian Semitic, however, is much deeper than one might have predicted; and Arabic, although neatly segregated in a corner by itself, is definitely on the same side of the fence with Northwest Semitic, as opposed to Ethio-Semitic, with which it

8 On the cophenetic coefficient see Sneath and Sokal (1971: pp. 278-80) and references cited there. Note that in Principal Component Analysis, as many principal components can be extracted as there are variables, with the first principal component accounting for the largest proportion of variance in the data, the second component for the second largest proportion, and so on. In the types of social science and biological data considered so far in multivariate analysis, it has been found to be usually the case that a large amount of the variance in a data array can be accounted for by a smaller number (e.g., two to four) of components. We have of course no specific precedents on which to base expectations for language data. In any case, the exploratory and ordination-oriented reduction of dimensionality undertaken here must be strictly distinguished from a more sophisticated type of analysis in which we would try to determine optimal or inherent dimensionality, and attempt substantive interpretations of these dimensions.

9 The data points were converted into graph vectors by means of the graphics language, DISSPLA, and plotted on a Calcomp drum plotter.

LEXICAL DISTANCES FOR SEMITIC SAMPLE

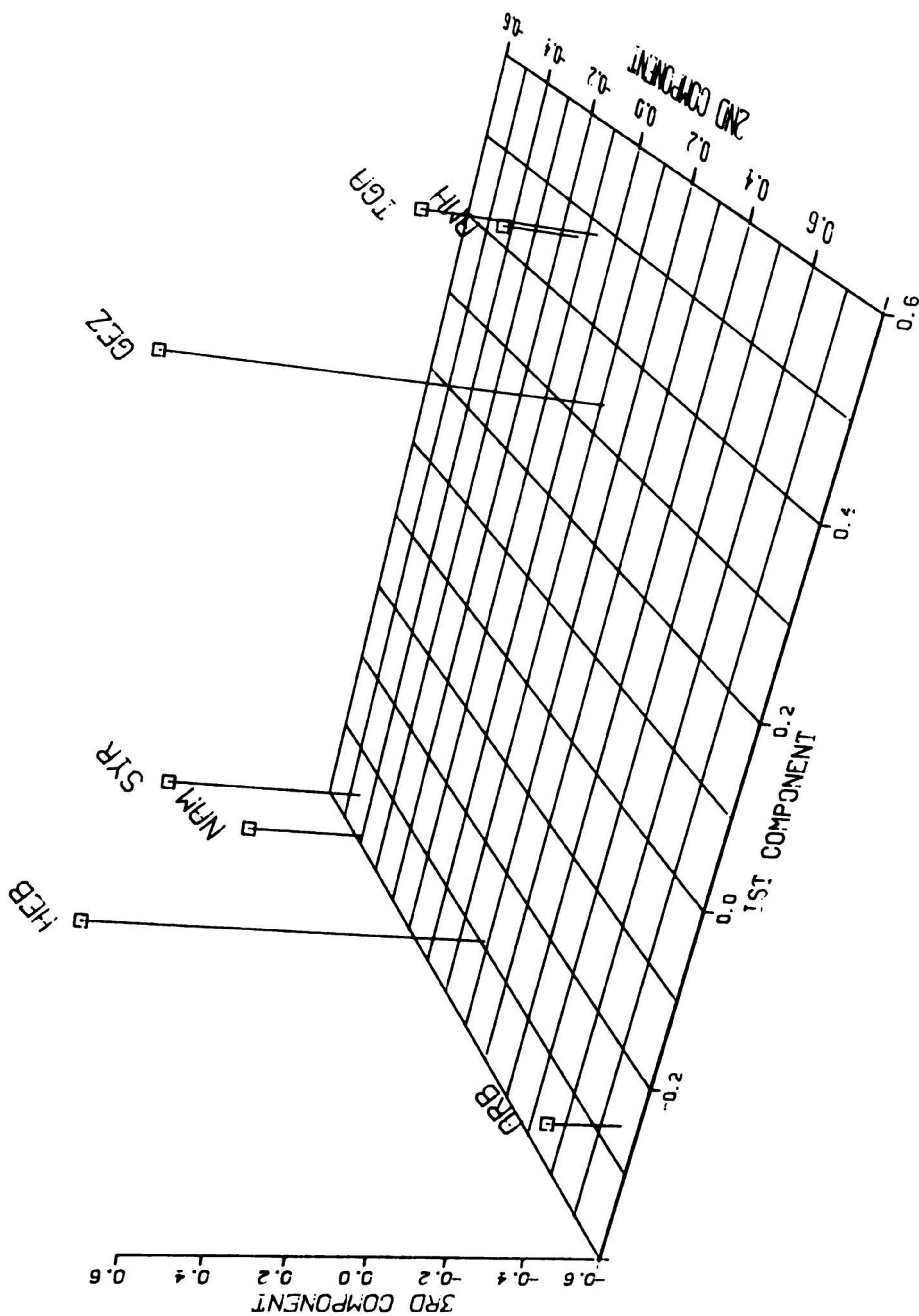


Fig. 4

	Gez	Tga	Amh	Arb	Heb	Syr	Nam
word	184	285	225	234	205	226	223
case	47	30	52	121	68	55	66
verb	77	88	93	64	72	80	80
plural	7	10	5	10	19	8	8
V, S	14	19	15	13	22	15	14
V, O	18	16	19	12	17	7	9
Adj, N	4	3	4	9	7	3	3
Gen, N	6	6	8	6	12	8	8
Rel, N	2	7	11	2	1	9	7
Mod, N	6	14	6	2	4	7	9

Table 4: Raw Counts of Ratio Denominators in Table 2

is often linked in a subfamily called South Semitic. It is interesting that Neoaramaic behaves like a proper Northwest Semitic language in this and other graphs, and not like the maverick it is sometimes made out to be. (In these graphs, Amharic and Tigrinya are the real mavericks). It is fascinating to speculate what the addition of Akkadian would do to the alignment depicted here. (In the absence of an Akkadian version of Luke, it was obviously out of the question to include Akkadian in this initial limited investigation). Another notable aspect of the first graph is its striking isomorphism with a somewhat distorted map of the geographical distribution of the Semitic languages—as viewed, say, from somewhere above Malta (Arabic is foreshortened into the North, and Ethiopia looms disproportionately large). This is perhaps the kind of map to be expected of lexical differences among languages which diffused gradually from a single core over a contiguous area. If this is the case, a graph for, say, Romance, might well share these features, while other language families (Indoeuropean as a whole, perhaps) might show some interesting differences. Finally, note that this method of measuring cognacy, although limited in its applicability (e.g. the Akkadian case), achieves some of the results looked for in lexicostatistics without involving assumptions about basic vocabulary or family tree structure. It might be worthwhile investigating whether the method might be extended to texts which are not literal translations of a single original text.

Graph two is much less clear—note also its low “R” (cf. above). The highly inflecting Arabic, Amharic, and Geez cluster together, and Hebrew occupies a medial position between them and Aramaic, whose solidarity and isolation is interesting. The extreme isolation of Tigrinya is noteworthy and hard to explain. As noted above, no clear low-dimensional picture seems to emerge from these counts, and more collection seems in order.

The syntax graph, not surprisingly, neatly separates SOV languages from

MORPHOLOGICAL DISTANCES FOR SEMITIC SAMPLE

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GENE GRAGG

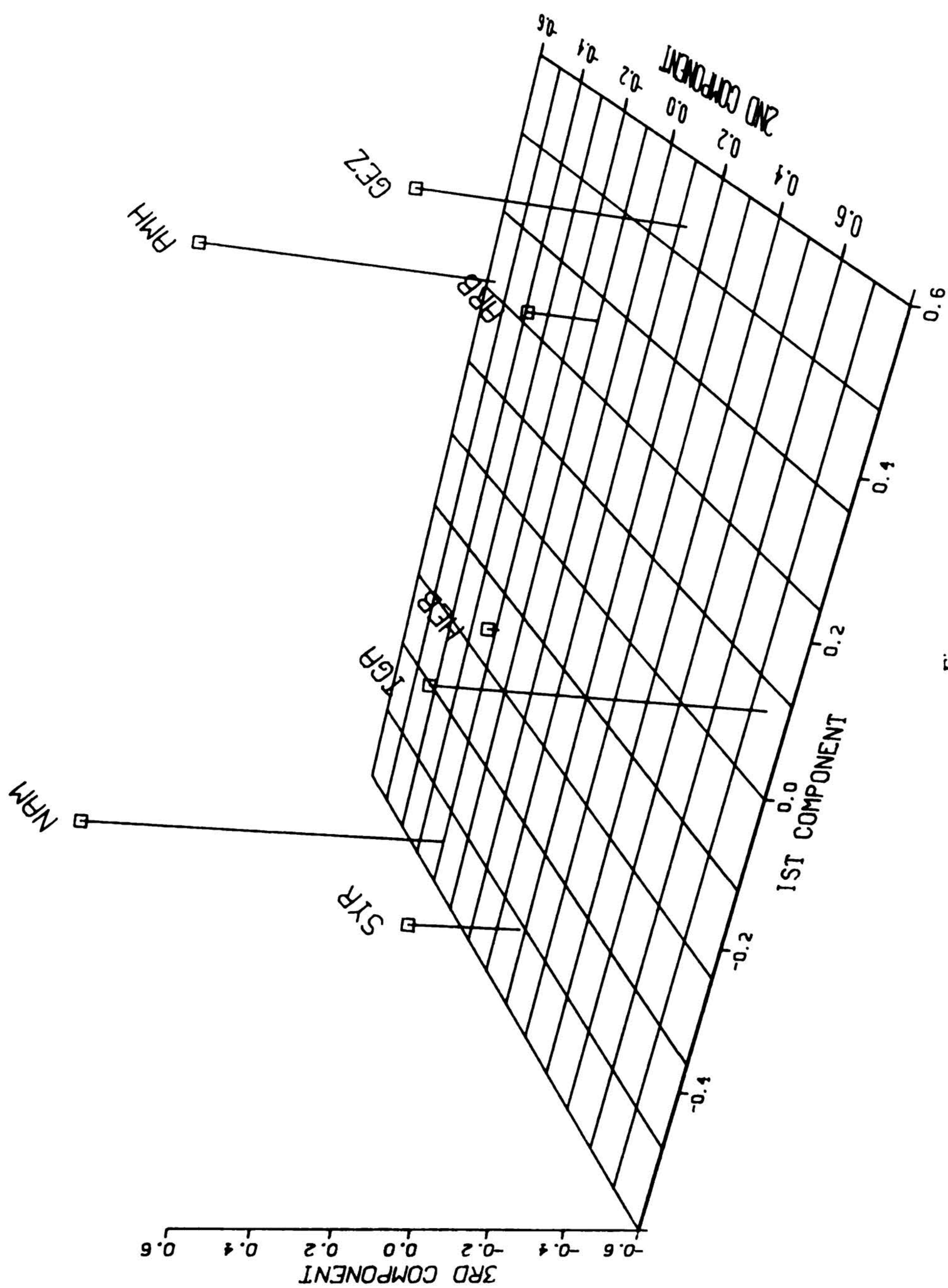


Fig. 1

the rest, and the more “classically” Semitic Arabic and Syriac from languages that have made more concessions to SOV-type syntax. Note here the usefulness of scoring word-order features in ratio terms, rather than forcing an all-or-none classification of word-order features—i.e., of recognizing that some languages are more or less VSO, SVO, etc. than others.

Given the differences between the two preceding graphs, what is surprising about Graph 4, which is based on the features underlying 2 and 3 combined, is that it provides as close an approximation to Graph 1 as it does. The single major exception is that Geez has frankly joined the rest of Semitic, leaving Tigrinya and Amharic at the edge of the Semitic universe. This suggests that lexical change may have worked relatively faster for Geez than morphological and syntactic change in combination, although obviously much more data are required. It will be interesting to see in larger collections of data to what extent grammatical and lexical features each give roughly the same configuration for language similarity, with allowance made for “swing languages” such as Geez.

The last graph is, not surprisingly, something of a compromise between Graphs 1 and 4, and perhaps gives the most balanced picture of the relations of similarity and distance which exist among these languages. As a single picture, graphs of this kind will obviously be preferred; but it will obviously be important to be able to “decompose” them into their underlying partial similarity configurations.

In conclusion I would like to observe, first of all, that there is no lack of problematic aspects in the approach to language difference projected here. We need to know more about the appropriateness and limitations of ratio-based indices. They seem to work well enough for text-count measures, but systemic measures will surely have to work more with ordinal, nominal, and dichotomous scales. Moreover some serious questions of homology have been glossed over in the above: In language difference measures, exactly what categories are to be taken as equivalent to what other categories? Thus gerundive verbs in Ethiopic and “participial” verbs in Aramaic were taken as distinct innovations in the finite verb system, and not equated with anything else. But should the gerundive verbs have been counted as just one more class of subordinate forms, and the “participial” as mainclause finite¹⁰?

Granted the existence of these problems, whose discussion and investigation can only advance our knowledge of language typology and language change, a use of techniques like those presented here as a heuristic adjunct to a

¹⁰ This is a classic problem in all kinds of numerical taxonomy. Cf. footnote 1, and the linguistics-oriented discussion in Altmann (1976).

comparative language data file seems feasible. Given properly encoded files, it seems possible, and potentially useful, to derive a similarity matrix and ordination based either on the file as a whole, or on some subselection of languages and/or properties. In particular, using some technique such as Principal Coordinates, lexical cognates, which in any case form the core of any traditional comparative language data file, can be interpreted as above to yield an easily derived measure of lexical distance.

Of course the number of practical details that remain to be solved (file structure, encoding, updating, revision, missing data) should not be underestimated; and the fact should be kept in mind that there are surely as many workable "solutions" as there are different perspectives which can be brought to bear on the task. I will mention in closing only one long-term perspective. On the one hand, by substituting a time-axis for the third component and providing a hierarchically arranged succession of ancestor nodes, graphs of the kind given here can easily be transformed into three-dimensional trees. Given suitable means for choosing the coordinates of intermediate nodes, this could result in an interesting graphic display of the extent and rate of change in lexical, morphological, and syntactic domains¹¹. On the other hand, the limitations of the family tree diagram as well as the artificial or unverifiable nature of some of its assumptions have been a topic of discussion among historical linguists since the last century. Ordination of languages in various two- or three-dimensional variable spaces, with or without a complete system of subtending ancestor nodes, may well function as a valuable complement to traditional representations of language relationship, and better display aspects of language relationship obscured by them.

¹¹ A good illustration of this in the context of paleontology is Rowell (1970); cf. further Sneath and Sokal (1973: pp. 356-61).

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A NOTE ON GE'EZ RELATIVE CLAUSES

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Introduction

To my knowledge, the most detailed discussion on Ge'ez relative clauses is found in Dillmann (1907; see especially pp. 332-333, 380, 527-537). Dillmann's discussion of the Ge'ez relative clause is so detailed and complete that it would be most difficult, if not impossible, to cite a relative clause construction that is not mentioned therein.

The purpose of the present study is, therefore, not to give examples of relative clause constructions which are not found in Dillmann but to clarify aspects of the grammar of one type of relative clause construction in Ge'ez and to show that, as regards this particular type of construction, typologically Ge'ez forms a different set as against the present day Ethio-semitic languages.

The relative clause in Ge'ez is characterized by the particle *zä* and its morphologically and syntactically conditioned variants (see Dillmann, p. 332; 527ff.). Dillmann and others call this morpheme a relative pronoun. However, it has been convincingly argued by Palmer (1961; 1962) and Hailu (1972) that the relative marker *zä* (and its equivalents in the other Ethio-semitic languages) is not at all a pronoun, but a particle which indicates that the clause to which it is attached functions as a relative clause. What Palmer (1961:26) pointed out in connection with relative clauses in Tigre is equally true in Ge'ez that the so-called relative pronoun "... does not mark the kind of distinction that is shown by the relative pronouns 'who', 'whom', 'whose', etc. ... These (distinctions) are marked ... by the concord between the noun and certain elements within the relative clause".

That this observation of Palmer's is true for Ge'ez is illustrated by the following examples.

- (1) männu wi?itu säbi? zäyikil D:335
 "who is the man that is able to?"
- (2) ?abäw zätägabi?u bänik'iya D:333
 "the fathers who assembled in Nicaea"

In example (1) zäyikil and in example (2) zätägabi?u function as adjectives qualifying säbi? and ?abäw respectively. The particle zä in all such cases marks the clause as adjectival and the elements that serve as relative pronouns are the third person masculine singular (= msg) subject marker in sentence (1) and the 3mpl subject marker /-u/ in (2). More generally, in Ge'ez and other Ethio-semitic languages if the head of the relative clause is (coreferential with the underlying) subject of the relative verb, that is, the verb with which the relative marker is associated or to which it is attached, then there is always agreement, expressed by subject markers affixed to the relative verb, between the head noun-phrase and the relative verb.

Since the relative clause is adjectival, it occupies the position of modifier; that is, it follows (in the overwhelming number of cases) the noun phrase which it modifies.

- (3) bi?isi zäyähawwir D: 531
 "The man who goes"
 (4) wäldiyä zä?afäk'k'ir Mk 9:8
 "my beloved son (more literally 'my son whom I love')"

There are, however, cases in which the relative clause precedes the noun phrase it modifies.

- (5) ?itir?ayu zäwädäk'ä iklu D. 530
 "gather not up the corn which has fallen aside".
 (6) kullu zätigäbbiru k'alä D. 530
 "all the things that you do".

Observations such as the above concerning the position of the relative clause are common knowledge and, therefore, do not need any elaborated or detailed discussion. It would be, nonetheless, interesting to study in detail the conditions which determine the position of the relative clause in relation to its head. Dillmann (p. 530) hints at one or two specific conditions governing the position of the relative clause; in a projected comprehensive study of the relative clause in Ge'ez, the present author will attempt to investigate these conditions in a more systematic and detailed manner.

I

To come back to the subject of this note. Although Dillmann (p. 332) declares that zä (and its variants) "serve as *Relative Pronoun* in Ethiopic, without any further combination", and although he asserts (p. 527) that

“Ethiopic has no other personal Relative”, he, nevertheless, expresses a reservation—or, if you like, he makes his strong assertion *conditional*—by saying (p. 351), “The ordinary way of indicating ... (case) relations ... is by treating the Relative Pron. ... merely as a general mark of relations which needs to be supplemented by Personal Pronouns”. As was argued by Palmer and Hailu in the above mentioned works, there is a fundamental distinction between a relative marker and a relative pronoun, and, consequently, in Ethio-semitic languages (in fact, in Semitic languages in general) the recalling of the antecedent and case relations in relative clauses are indicated by what Dillmann calls “Personal Pronouns”. It is, in fact, these “Personal Pronouns”, or pronominal affixes, that function as relative pronouns in the relative clause, even though they may be realized as *o* under given conditions.

In the other Ethio-semitic languages, there are well specified conditions which prohibit the recalling of the head noun of a relative clause by a relative pronoun. Thus, if the relative verb has an indirect object which is non-coreferential with the head noun then the head noun may or may not be recalled. In Ge'ez this alternative does not exist. The head noun in this type of construction cannot be recalled. Thus the Amharic sentences below,

- (7:a) läwändimme yäs'afkut däbdabbe
- (b) läwändimme yäs'afkullät däbdabbe
- (c) *läwändimme yäs'afku däbdabbe

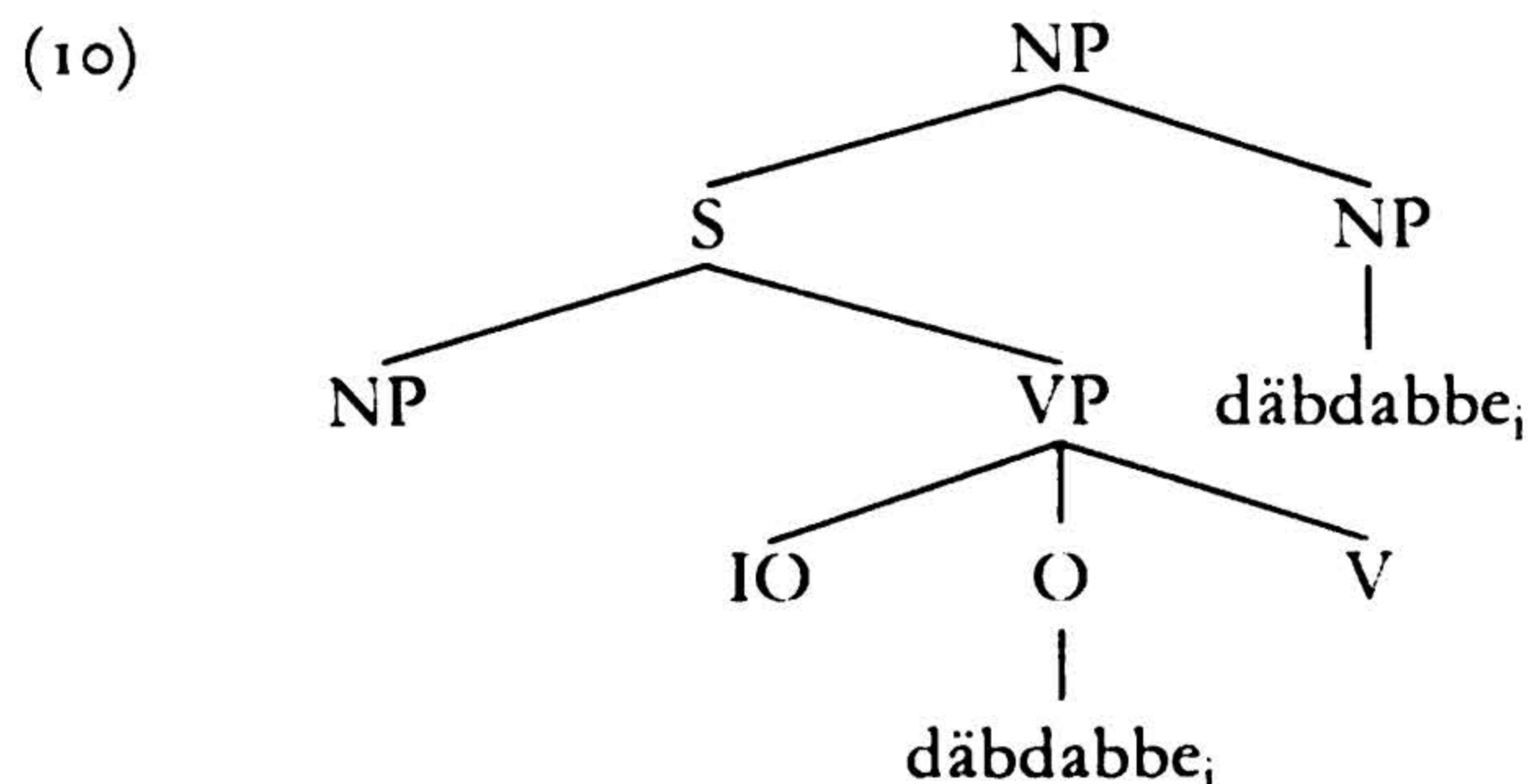
mean (except (7c) which is ungrammatical) “the letter which I wrote to my brother”. In (7a) the morpheme *-t* is the 3msg. direct object marker and agrees with *däbdabbe*. This is so because the direct object of the relative verb *yäs'afku* which was coreferential with the head of the whole relative clause, namely, *däbdabbe*, has been deleted. In such cases Amharic requires a pronominal copy of the deleted noun phrase unless this is blocked by the recalling of the indirect object, if any, in underlying structure. In (7b) the “prepositional” suffix *-llät* refers to *wandimme* and blocks the appearance of the direct object marker which would have recalled the deleted noun in the relative clause coreferent with *däbdabbe*. Similarly, in the Tigrinya sentences below:

- (8:a) niḥawwäy zis'ihafkuwwo däbdabbe
- (b) niḥawwäy zis'ihafkullo däbdabbe
- (c) *niḥawwäy zis'ihafku däbdabbe

a situation exactly parallel to the Amharic obtains. In Kistaniña, a Guraghe language, one finds exactly the identical structure, e.g.,

- (9:a) nāzāmmiddi yās'afkunni dābdabbe
 (b) nāzāmmiddi yās'afkuläyi dābdabbe
 (c) *nāzāmmiddi yās'afku dābdabbe

The Tigrinña and Kistaninña clauses mean the same as the Amharic clauses in (7). The clauses in the three languages have identical structures which can be represented by:



The subscripts /i/ indicate that the two nouns are coreferential.

If in the S cycle the IO is also recalled by a suffix attached to V, that is, if the underlying sentence is, niḥawwāy dābdabbe s'āḥafkullo, then on the matrix NP cycle O is deleted without leaving a pronominal copy. That is, one derives the (b) sentences in (7), (8) and (9) above. If, on the other hand, the IO is not recalled by V on the S cycle, i.e., if you have nāzāmmiddi dābdabbe s'afki in which the indirect object zāmmiddi "my brother" is not recalled by the corresponding suffix pronoun, then on the matrix NP cycle O will be deleted but it will be recalled by a pronominal copy attached to V. Thus are derived the (a) sentences in (7) and (9). These two are the only alternatives in the derivation of correct relative clauses having the underlying structure indicated in (10). Hence, the ungrammaticality of the (c) sentences in (7), (8) and (9) are automatically accounted for. This analysis holds in the case of all the Ethio-semitic languages spoken today.

Geez, however, diverges from this pattern. The Geez equivalents of the sentences cited in the other three languages are:

- (11:a) māli?ikt zās'āḥafku lä?ihuyä
 (b) māli?ikt zās'āḥafku lottu lä?ihuyä
 (c) *māli?ikt zās'āḥafkuwo ?ihuyä

In Geez if the head noun is coreferential with the direct object of the relative verb, the direct object is deleted and no pronominal copy of it is attached to the relative verb. Thus whereas

(12) zintu wi?itu wäldiyä zä?afäk'k'ir Mk 9:78

"This is my beloved son"

(13) wäzä?asärkä bämīdr yikāwwin ?isurä bäsāmayat Mk 16:19

"and whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven"

are sentence patterns which are grammatical, sentences such as:

(14) zintu wi?itu wäldiyä zä?afäk'k'iro

(15) wäzä?asärko bämīdr yikāwwin ?isurä bäsāmayat

are ungrammatical. This is exactly the reverse of what is found in present-day spoken Ethio-semitic languages. For instance, the translation of (12) and (13) in Amharic are (16) and (17) respectively.

(16) yāmmiwāddāw lije yih nāw

(17) bāmīdr yassärkāw bäsāmayim yātassärä yihonall

In terms of the overt presence of a recalling pronominal suffix, note that -w attached to yāmmiwādd in (16) and yassärk in (17) are pronominal copies of the deleted lije and säw which are O's of wāddädku and ?assärk, respectively, in underlying structure. As such (16) and (17) translate in a morphologically equivalent manner (14) and (15) rather than (12) and (13). Translations of (12) and (13) into other Ethio-semitic languages would show a similar form as (16) and (17) above.

For the sake of simplicity, consider the case in which the only object of the main verb of the relative clause is a direct object which is coreferential with the head of the relative clause. Leaving details aside, Geez relative clause formation is roughly as follows:

(18) $NP_i (X V NP_i Y) \longrightarrow$
 $NP_i (X V \emptyset Y)$

In present-day Ethio-semitic languages, however, the rule is roughly as follows:

(19) $(X NP_i V Y) NP_i \longrightarrow$
 $(X \emptyset V_{npi} Y) NP_i$

where both in (18) and (19) the outer NP_i represents the head, and the inner NP_i represents the direct object, and npi in (19) represents a pronominal copy of the inner NP_i .

Here are some more examples in Ge'ez, illustrating (18).

(20:a) wäri?yā kullo zägäbrä Gen. 1:31

"and God saw everything that He had made"

- (b) *wäri?yā kullo zägäbäro
 (21:a) ?ismä zäyimehhiru ?iyigabbiru Mt. 23:3-4
 "for they preach, but do not practice".
 (b) *?isma zäyimehhirowwo ?iyigabbiru
 (22:a) ?albomu zäyibälliṣu Mk 8:1
 "and they had nothing to eat".
 (b) *?albomu zäyibälliṣiwwō

Compare sentence (20) - (22) with their respective Amharic equivalents which illustrate the operation of rule (19).

- (23:a) yäsärrawin hullu ?ayyā
 (b) *yäsärran hullu ?ayyā
 (24:a) yämmiyastämirutin aysärumminna
 (b) *yämmiyastämiru(n) aysärumminna
 (25:a) yämmibälut ?alnäbbäraččäwimm
 (b) *yämmibalu alnäbbäraččäwimm

Notice that in the structures above wherever the Geez sentence is grammatical the corresponding Amharic sentence is not and vice versa. A parallel situation is found if the Geez constructions in (20) - (22) are translated into another Ethio-Semitic language.

II

In this section we shall show a construction which again marks Ge'ez as typologically distinct from the rest of Ethio-semitic.

As is well known, in Ge'ez one of the ways the direct object is indicated is by the suffix *-a* attached to it. The suffix *-a* becomes $\emptyset$ after nouns ending in vowels other than *-i* and *-u*. In the latter case a phonetic rule reduces *-i + a* to *-e* and *-u + a* to *-o*.

One way of indicating the fact that a proper noun is a direct object is by attaching the suffix morpheme *ha* to the noun. Another way is to attach the prefix morpheme *lä* to the proper noun, or to any noun serving as direct object. (For more details see Dillmann p. 317ff.) Now, in Ge'ez when the direct object is marked by the prefix *lä* then in the overwhelming majority of cases the direct object is also recalled by a suffix pronoun attached to the verb which governs the direct object. In the two pairs of sentence below

- (26:a) niḡbär säb?a bä?ariyanä Gen. 1:26
 "Let us make man in our image".

- (b) wägäbäro ?igzi?abiher läsāb? Gen. 2:7
 “and God created man”.
 (27:a) wäfaressinni wälädä ?esromha Mt. 1:3
 “and Perez begat Hezron”
 (b) wayishak’inni wälädo läya?ik’ob Mt. 1:2
 “and Isaac begat Jacob”

we note that when the direct object is indicated by the morpheme *ha* it is not recalled by a suffix pronoun, and when it is indicated by *lä* it is recalled by the corresponding object suffix pronoun. This is a general grammatical fact in Ge’ez grammar. It is, therefore, easy to see that in

- (28) wäzässä yafäk’k’ira länäfsu yigäddifa Jn. 12:25
 “He who loves his life loses it”
 (29) wäzässä ?afk’äro lä?aläm ?ihallo ?ik’rä I Jn. 2:15
 ?igzi?abiher habehu
 “If anyone loves the world, love for the Father is not in him”.

The presence of the object markers *-a* and *-o* attached to the relative verbs *yafäk’k’ir* and */afk’ärä* respectively is due to *lä* which is affixed to *näfsu* and *?aläm* respectively. In constructions where the object of the relative verb is not indicated by *lä*, the object, in the overwhelming number of cases, is not recalled by the corresponding object suffix as the following examples illustrate.

- (30) kullu zäyihaddig bi?isito Mt. 5:32
 “every one who divorces his wife”
 (31) wäkullu zäs’äwwi?a sima ?igzi?abiher yidihin Acts 2:21
 “whoever calls on the name of the Lord shall be saved”.

In Amharic and the other Ethio-semitic languages the corresponding relative clause structure is parallel to the examples cited in (30) and (31) rather than those in (28) and (29). That is, the relative verbs do not take direct object suffixes. For instance, in Chaha, a west Guraghe language, the equivalents of (28) and (29) are,

- (32) ?ariwäta yirämid yibähurin
 (33) ?aram yirämd säb yigzär nimajä bähwat ?eräbärä

And in Amharic the equivalents of (28) and (29) are

- (34) näfsun yämmiwädd yat’äfatall
 (35) ?alämin yämmiwädd yä?igzi?abiher ?ik’ir bärsu zänd yälläm

It should be noted that (28) and (29) (and, of course, their equivalents in the other Ethio-semitic languages) express universal statements. This observation is important because in present-day Ethio-semitic languages if a sentence of the form of, e.g. (34) *näfsun yämmiwädd yat'äfatall*, expresses a particular state of affairs, then the relative verb takes a direct object suffix or the whole noun phrase is made definite, with the definite marker attached to the modifier, i.e., the verb of the relative clause. Thus, if the relative clause mentions implicitly a particular person as loving his soul then the relative verb may take the object suffix referring to soul as in (36a) or the definite marker -u (-w after vowels as in (36b)). Hence sentences

(36a) *näfsun yämmiwäddät (säwiyye) yat'äfatall*

(b) *näfsun yämmiwäddäw (säwiyye) yat'äfatall*

can only mean "the man (Mr. so and so) who loves his soul (is bound to or will lose it)"; the sentences in (36) can never mean the universal statement "he who loves his soul will lose it". The same constraint applies in the modern Ethiop-semitic languages.

Conclusion

This short note has demonstrated that in terms of some grammatical conditions that have to be satisfied in order to derive grammatical relative clauses, Ge'ez shows well specified divergences from modern Ethio-semitic languages. From this fact one may draw the tentative conclusion that any work in Ge'ez that systematically "fails" to show these divergences is a relatively recent work influenced by Tigriñña and/or Amharic.

A deeper and more detailed comparative syntactic analysis may exhibit other divergences between Ge'ez and its "sister" Ethio-semitic languages. Whether such divergences are of mere typological interest or whether they imply evolutionary divergence and genetic grouping should be investigated, since it could throw light on the origin of Ethio-semitic in general.

* The following are abbreviations and conventions used in this paper: D = Dillmann (all citations and quotations from Dillmann refer to Dillmann 1907); IO = indirect object; O = Direct object. (*) placed initially before a phrase or sentence indicates that the phrase or sentence is ungrammatical or at least unacceptable.

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE PHONOLOGY OF ULTIMATE VOWELS IN SAHO-ƐAFAR

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This paper broaches three problems. The first concerns itself with an explanation of the substantive difference in the inventories of final unaccented vowels in Saho and Ɛafar; the second considers whether there is an underlying distinction of length in the final vowels of Ɛafar; the third tackles the irregularity of length alternations in the vowels preceding final consonants in Ɛafar. Resolution of the last problem requires the introduction of a new hypothesis about long vowels and accent for the languages of this group. Although my title does delimit the topic accurately enough, there is a need to distinguish two types of ultimate vowel. This distinction separates elements which, in addition to being the last vowels in words, are also the final segments of those words from elements which, although being the ultimate vowels in words, are followed by consonants. The first type of vowel will be referred to as 'terminal' (T vowel), and the second type as 'non-terminal' (NT vowel). The analyses advanced here have as their primary data my own field-notes on Southern Ɛafar and Irob Saho. As will appear other works on the languages have been taken extensively into account. As far as Ɛafar is concerned the privilege of access to the first draft of the forthcoming Ɛafar—English Dictionary has been of enormous value¹.

I

Examination of surface contrasts between T vowels shows the number of possible oppositions as less when the vowel is unaccented. Though this is true both for Saho and Ɛafar, the systems are different. viz:

¹ This is an acknowledgement of indebtedness to Dr. E. M. Parker, upon whose unflagging labours the compilation has depended. Gratitude is also expressed to the British Academy for the financial grant which is enabling us to bring this project to completion.

accented T vowels			unaccented T vowels			
both			Saho		ʕafar	
<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>	<i>i</i>		<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>		
<i>a</i>			<i>a</i>		<i>a</i>	

Comparison of cognates having unaccented T vowels reveals regular correspondence between low vowels. In the case of front vowels, however, it appears that Saho has retained a distinction which was lost in ʕafar. But it must be added that Saho words which contain an unaccented terminal *i* are rare, and most of these that occur are obviously loanwords, e.g.: *ʒéyti* 'oil', *káyʃi* 'priest', *kohábi* 'metal cup', *kórsi* 'breakfast', *sánti* 'knife', *ʃúkkei* 'suspicion'. However, in addition to a few words which are not obvious loans, but for which I have not been able to find sure ʕafar cognates², there is a set of nouns which originated as compounds with the affirmative and negative forms of the verb *li-* 'have'. Such nouns are clearly indigenous and occur widely. The important point here is that both in Saho and ʕafar the masculine forms have unaccented terminal *i*. Apart from these, however, the situation is that where ʕafar has unaccented terminal *i* Saho has *e*. e.g.: S. & ʕ. *naeabtóoli* m. 'enemy (male)'; S. & ʕ *dirábli* m. 'liar (male)'; S. & ʕ. *afmáli* m. 'dumb man'; but S. *éáre*: ʕ. *éári* m. 'house'; S. *gíle*: ʕ *gíli* m. 'thumb'; S. *dúrre* m. 'disease': ʕ. *dúrri* m. 'trouble'. As there are no instances of unaccented terminal *e* in ʕafar it is concluded that a sound shift must have occurred during the development of the language, raising Proto-Saho-ʕafar (PSE) **e*, and merging it with **i*³.

In the case of unaccented rounded T vowels there is simply no evidence that a high: mid distinction ever existed in PSE. Now we find only a straight correspondence of Saho *o* to ʕafar *u*. e.g.: S. *agábo*: ʕ. *agábu* m. 'women'; S. *ifo*: ʕ. *ifu* m. 'light'; S. *irro*: ʕ. *úrru* m. 'children'; S. *fúgo*: ʕ. *fígu* m. 'God'; S. *sído*: ʕ. *sídu* m. 'pelt'. It seems almost certain that in the proto-language the back rounded vowel was a mid one. There are at least two pieces of evidence for this. All Saho and ʕafar varieties exhibit interesting processes of

² E.g.: *hági* 'faeces', *éáddi* 'friend', *éawáani* 'locusts'. The last word here is probably to be connected with ʕafar *éánay* 'locusts', but the two forms cannot be related in terms of regular correspondences. Concerning the transcription used here *ɖ* and *ɗ* represent retroflex stop and lateral phonemes respectively, *k* represents an ejective velar stop, and *h* represents a voiceless pharyngeal spirant.

³ Bliese also concludes that final unaccented *i* and *u* in ʕafar result from a raising process, though for him the process is seen as a synchronic rule of the phonology; see Bliese 1981: 230.

dissimilation in nouns⁴. Of course here is the fact that in the singulative suffix *-yta* (*-ta* with C-final stems) the low vowel must be replaced by *o* when the final root vowel is low. e.g.:

	class noun	singulative	
Saho:	<i>ɛiidó</i> f.	<i>ɛiidoytá</i> f.	sheep
	<i>dummú</i> f.	<i>dummuytá</i> f.	cat
	<i>dilaalé</i> f.	<i>dilaaleytá</i> f.	bee
	<i>ɛimboohá</i> f.	<i>ɛimboohaytó</i> f.	flower
Ɛ afar:	<i>ɛawí</i> f.	<i>ɛawiytá</i> f.	kite
	<i>ɖuuné</i> f.	<i>ɖuuneytá</i> f.	ants
	<i>darsá</i> f.	<i>darsaytó</i> f.	pupil, disciple (female)

It is important to note that all the immediately preceding singulative forms are feminines, and, as such have ultimate accent. In masculine nouns, however, the accent (in vowel-final words) is never ultimate. Thus, when the final root vowel is low the vowel of the suffix will be an unaccented back rounded vowel; and here the qualitative difference emerges, e.g.:

	class noun	singulative	
Saho:	<i>baḵlǐ</i> f.	<i>baḵliyta</i> m.	mule
	<i>síyye</i> m.	<i>siyyéyta</i> m.	palm-tree
	<i>ɛalló</i> f.	<i>ɛallóyta</i> m.	inner bark
	<i>sáɛa</i> m.	<i>saeáyto</i> m.	livestock
Ɛ afar:	<i>kullúm</i> m.	<i>kullúnta</i> m.	fish
	<i>bohó</i> f.	<i>bohóyta</i> m.	word, stick
	<i>ɛánay</i> m.	<i>ɛanáytu</i> m.	locust
	<i>islám</i> m. Islam	<i>islántu</i> m.	Muslim

Since there is no obvious morphological explanation for why it is that in **Ɛ**afar only masculine singulatives should appear with *-(y)tu*, we conclude that the explanation is an historical one, namely that unaccented terminal **o* in PSE became *u* in **Ɛ**afar. This first argument is nicely buttressed by a second, which takes account of certain lexicalized singulatives in **Ɛ**afar, in which the earlier stem-final mid vowel has been “fossilized” word-internally. In the cognate class nouns the stem-final vowel is now high. e.g.: **Ɛ**afar: *daboytá* f. ‘transportable house used by **Ɛ**afar nomads’, cf. *dáhu* m. ‘house made of unhewn stone’; *andóyta* m. ‘foreskin’, cf. *ándu* m. ‘pieces of (camel)

⁴ Attention was first drawn to these fascinating processes in Bliese 1967, and subsequently developed in Bliese 1975.

skin undergoing curing'; *ifóyta* m. 'lamp', cf. *ifu* m. 'light'. This shift of articulation can perhaps be seen to be coupled with that which brought about the merger of unaccented **e* with **i* in *ʕafar*. The asymmetry of the proto-language has undergone repair.

II

In view of the existence of two independently made proposals for the hypothesis that final single vowels of Proto-East-Cushitic had undergone elision by the time *PSʕ* emerged, I do not intend to embark upon another; I shall assume it here⁵. All Saho and *ʕafar* varieties exhibit systematic contrasts based upon vowel length, though not in all contexts. One case where vowel length is non-contrastive is in T vowels. The explanation for this, of course, is provided by the hypothesis just cited, from which it may further be inferred that T vowels in Saho and *ʕafar* are the reflexes of earlier long vowels. The phonetic observation is that except in monosyllables (see below) the T vowels of words uttered in isolation are durationally more or less the same as short vowels elsewhere. The matter comes to be of interest on account of the claim that synchronically in *ʕafar* a particular set of T vowels has to be regarded as underlyingly long; see Bliese 1981:209. The vowels in question are the accented T vowels of feminine nouns. Indeed the very fact of their attracting accent is on account of their underlying length, for Bliese's "root stress rule" operates wholly with phonological factors. "The root stress rule has word-final long vowels stressed, roots with final short vowels taking penultimate stress, and consonant-final roots taking stress in the last syllable" (op. cit. 209). Other linguists engaged in *ʕafar* studies have regarded noun accent as lexically governed (cf. Morin 1977:356), so that a rule which could predict accent placement solely in terms of phonological determinants would be highly desirable. "This rule avoids marking stress on nouns in the lexicon by listing the stressed final vowel as long in the feminine class. Under this analysis, final long forms (feminine) and consonant-final (masculine) nouns have the last syllable stressed, while masculine nouns with short final vowels have penultimate stress" (op. cit. 209). Since diachronically all the T vowels of *ʕafar* reflect earlier long vowels, and phonetically all T vowels are durationally pretty similar, marking some vowels (i.e. those in feminine nouns) as long in the lexicon requires justification, if it is not to be regarded merely as a diacritic

⁵ The reader is referred to Black 1974: 117, 133 ff. and Sasse forthcoming.

device. The support which Bliese offers takes account of the length alternations which appear in a type of reduplicative plural formation commonly found with feminine nouns. e.g.: 1. *amó* f.: *amoomá* f. 'head(s)', 2. *gilé* f.: *gileelá* f. 'knife/knives', 3. *angú* f.: *anguugá* f. 'breast(s)', 4. *abeesá* f.: *abeesaasi* f. 'viper(s)', 5. *boodá* f.: *boodaadi* f. 'meadow(s)', 6. *ḍalá* f.: *ḍalooli* f. 'gourd(s)', 7. *lafá* f.: *lafoofi* f. 'bone(s)' (Selection of *-i*, rather than *-a* (egs. 4-7), as the final suffix is governed by the dissimilatory principle that the suffix occurs when the terminal vowel of the singular is low. The occurrence of *oo* (egs. 6 & 7) is governed by another dissimilatory principle that this must occur when the preceding vowel of the stem is low). Bliese accounts for the shortness of the vowel in the singulars by an extension of a rule which shortens long vowels in closed syllables—the "closed syllable vowel shortening rule" (op. cit. 225) (hereafter referred to as the CSVS rule).

Although this evidence looks quite convincing there are, in fact, many snags. Firstly, not all feminine nouns form plurals in this way, and many have no plural at all; which means that we could assign underlying long vowels to these words only in virtue of the fact that they were feminines, or that they were accented on the T vowel, which would, of course, entail a certain circularity in the argument. But even granting them underlying long vowels *by analogy* with the feminines that do show alternation, there are still problems. There is no guarantee that length in this type of plural form has not been morphologized, i.e. become a part of the plural formation process—like the reduplication of the stem-final consonant. There is some indication that this might be the case. In considering the somewhat similar case of the plurals of C-final masculine nouns it is claimed that "*-a* alone is the normal plural when the last stem vowel is underlying long. The underlying long vowel surfaces when the *-a* suffix puts it in an open syllable. If the last two stem vowels are *a*, the last one will dissimilate to *oo*" (op. cit. 178). E.g.: *ḥutúk* m.: *ḥutuuká* f. 'star(s)'; *lifíe* m.: *lifíeá* f. 'claw(s)'; *alíb* m.: *aliibá* f. 'tendon(s)'; *magáe* m.: *magooeá* f. 'grave(s)'; *daeár* m.: *daeoorá* f. 'wadi(s)'. There are, however, other completely regular processes in Ēafar, and these do not bear out the claim that C-final nouns of this type invariably have underlying long last stem vowels. One such regular process operates in nominal predicates (NPd) in affirmative present tense equative sentences. Here the copula *kinn-* does not usually appear unless it is in contrastive focus, so that the NPd comes sentence-final. If the final (= head) element of the predicate is a C-final noun a vowel of predictable quality is added. Since this suffixation creates an open syllable for the last stem vowel, the CSVS rule does not apply, with the result that an underlying long vowel will surface. E.g.: *ah lifíiei* 'this is a claw', cf. *lifíe* m. 'claw'; *woh daeáara* 'that is a wadi',

cf. *daəár* m. 'wadi'. It is emphasized that this is an absolutely regular process, and so furnishes a better test for revealing underlying length contrasts than the plural process, which probably belongs more in the realm of derivational morphology⁶. The significance of this here is that comparison of the two processes shows frequent disagreement. E.g.:

absolute singular	nominal predicate	plural	
<i>alib</i>	<i>alibi</i>	<i>aliibá</i>	tendon(s)
<i>magáε</i>	<i>magáεa</i>	<i>magooεá</i>	grave(s)
<i>ramád</i>	<i>ramáda</i>	<i>ramoodá</i>	vein(s)
<i>εafúr</i>	<i>εafúra</i>	<i>εafuurá</i>	gecko(s)
<i>aráh</i>	<i>aráha</i>	<i>aroohá</i>	place(s)

Since the unfailing appearance of long vowels is confined to these plurals perhaps the feature should simply be regarded as part of the plural formation process. Furthermore, if plural forms cannot be fully relied upon to reveal underlying length here, perhaps they should also be viewed with suspicion in the case of feminine nouns. For these, however, the nominal predicate "test" is not available. There is another process, however, which might be applied. Before the coordinating conjunction *kee* T vowels lengthen. It is plausible to suggest that the marked rising pitch on *kee* is a prosodic marker of non-finality⁷, rather than of word accent as such; so that it may be possible to account for this lengthening as being due to the fact that *kee* is enclitic in *ɛafar*—as it certainly is in Irob Saho. Lengthening of T vowels is observed, however, not only in feminine, but also in masculine nouns. E.g.: *gabáa-keē* 'a hand and ...', cf. *gabá* f. 'hand'; *baadóo-keē* 'land and ...', cf. *baadó* f. 'land'; *gítaa-keē* 'a road and ...', cf. *gíta* m. 'road'; *daaguu-keē* 'news and ...', cf. *daagu* m. 'news'. If this lengthening is indicative of underlying long vowels, so well and good, but surely it also seems to indicate that phonetic duration is predictable and therefore redundant in the T vowels of nouns; ergo it cannot be utilized in the prediction of accent placement⁸.

6 For further discussion of the category of number in East Cushitic and the problem of treating it as part of the inflectional morphology see Hayward 1981.

7 A convincing demonstration that rising pitch at the end of non-final phrases in *ɛafar* is not necessarily associated with accent (stress) is provided by the suffix *-y*. Topicalized (non-verb) phrases are fronted in *ɛafar* and commonly take the clitic *-y* phrase-finally as a topic marker. Rising pitch occurs on the syllable closed by the *-y*, even when the word is accented on another syllable. E.g.: *awkáday tet máadiga* '(as for the) girl, I don't know her', cf. *awká* 'girl'; *áwkáday kaa máadiga* '(as for the) boy, I don't know him', cf. *áwka* 'boy'. The point is, even if *kee* is not enclitic in *ɛafar*, *-y* certainly is. It should be noted, moreover, that the T vowels of both *awká* and *áwka* are equally long.

8 A similar conclusion would have to be reached for (at least) Irob Saho. In Irob when

III

In all Saho and Ēafar varieties we find innumerable instances of morphological alternations involving long vowels in open syllables and short vowels in closed syllables. We have already had occasion to note such alternations between the absolutive (citation) forms and NPd forms of Ēafar words such as *lifíē* ~ *lifíēi*, *daēár* ~ *daēáara*, etc.⁹. The absolutive form cannot tell us whether or not a long vowel will appear in the NPd form, so that lexical entries will need to be marked in some way. Morin (1977) indicates this by means of a parenthesized vowel following the absolutive form. Thus, 'wadi' would be represented as *daēar(a)*, while the non-alternating word for 'vein' would be simply *ramad*¹⁰. Since within his grammar stress will be assigned to long NT vowels, Bliese's underlying forms for the preceding would be *daēaar* and *ramad* respectively. Now how do we account for the short NT vowel alternant? Bliese's CSVS rule purports to do this. Leaving out the (angle bracket) expansion dealing with T vowels in polysyllabic words¹¹ the rule is

$$V \rightarrow [-\text{long}] / _ _ C \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \# \\ C \end{array} \right\}$$

The problem is that the rule is too powerful. Out of 427 C-final nouns with long NT vowels 162, i.e. 38%, do not contract in closed syllables. Morphophonemically then C-final nouns fall into three groups. viz.:

	absolutive	NPd form	
1. short	<i>bád</i> m.	<i>báda</i>	sea
	<i>wadár</i> m.	<i>wadára</i>	goats
2. long — noncontracting	<i>ráat</i> m.	<i>ráata</i>	track
	<i>sagáal</i> m.	<i>sagáala</i>	nine

the postposition *-ko* 'from' is suffixed to a vowel-final noun that vowel undergoes lengthening, whether it carries accent (i.e. is a feminine) or not. E.g.: *gádah gimóoko* 'from very early morning', cf. *gimó* f. 'morning'; *gúbaako* 'from below', cf. *gúba* m. 'inferior location'.

⁹ Although this alternation is by no means restricted to NT vowels, attention is restricted to these.

¹⁰ Parker 1980 follows Morin in this.

¹¹ It is not clear to me that contraction of T vowels is really the same process as the contraction of NT vowels. It seems that the latter would furnish a real argument for the recognition of the syllable in Ēafar phonology (cp. Hayward 1976:57)—an argument that is vitiated by the attempt to couple with it a process which has nothing to do with closed syllables.

3. long — contracting	<i>yáb</i> m.	<i>yáaba</i>	speech
	<i>migáε</i> m.	<i>migáaea</i>	name

There are two good reasons why the fact that a large number of the exceptions to the CSVS rule are loanwords¹² should not encourage us to give up the attempt to account for them, or to mark them in the lexicon as “[+ foreign]”. Firstly, there are plenty of equally obvious loanwords that do obey the rule¹³. Secondly, there are many exceptions that bear no signs of a borrowed origin, and for some of these cognates are found in other East Cushitic languages¹⁴.

I believe that the problem resides in the incompleteness of the analysis of long vowels in *Ǽafar*. When confronted with contrastive length in vowels a linguist usually tries to decide whether the length is an inherent feature or represents a sequence of identical vowels; that is, one decides between a one-segment analysis (long vowel = [+ syllabic, + long]) or a two-segment analysis (long vowel = [+ syllabic] [+ syllabic]). In the case of *Ǽafar* there is every reason to adopt the former—I have myself argued for this (Hayward 1974:401). With this analysis long vowels constitute single syllabic nuclei, just as short vowels do. The mistake has been to assume that in carrying the analysis this far we have all the prerequisite apparatus for accentual considerations. I shall suggest here that for the latter there is need to refer to another entity, one which enables us to divide long vowels at one level of analysis, while maintaining their segmental and syllabic integrity at another. The traditional “mora” is invoked to meet these desiderata. Long vowels are analysed as bimoraic, short vowels as monomoraic. A second suggestion is that placement of accent has to refer to morae, rather than to syllables or vowels. The immediate advantage of this is that it enables us to specify what the essential distinction is that blocks the CSVS rule. In contracting words the accent is on the first mora, in noncontracting words it is on the second, i.e. *yáab* ‘speech’, but *raát* ‘track’. The CSVS rule requires revision in order to refer to such distinctions. Viz.:

¹² For example: *seéf* ‘sword’; *tuút* ‘cotton’; *daás* ‘booth’; *buúk* ‘book’; *miidaán* ‘balance’; *muuraár* ‘bitter substance’; *saraáb* ‘juice, sock’; *safiir* ‘ambassador’, etc.

¹³ For example: *hál* (NPd *haála*) ‘behaviour’; *sandúg* (NPd *sanduúgu*) ‘box’; *sirág* (NPd *siraága*) ‘lantern’; *taswír* (NPd *taswiiri*) ‘picture’; *baabúr* (NPd *baabuúru*) ‘bus’; *barmíl* (NPd *barmiili*) ‘barrel’, etc.

¹⁴ For example: *duúl* ‘hippopotamus’, cf. Bayso *dúulo* ‘id.’; *faál* ‘omen’, cf. Somali *fáal* ‘id.’; *maár* ‘skin of calf used to induce milk in the mother cow’, cf. Arbore *maár* ‘calves’; *raát* ‘track’, cf. Somali *ráad* ‘id’, etc.

CSVS - mark II $\begin{matrix} \text{mora} \\ [-\text{accent}] \end{matrix} \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{X mora} - \text{CS}$

I.e. A second mora drops in a closed syllable unless it bears the accent. The rule will apply equally in the case of C-final nouns with accent in the ultimate or penultimate syllables, i.e. in *saábuun* 'soap' (absolute *saábun* ~ NPd *saabuúna*) as well as in *migáae* 'name' (absolute *migáe* ~ NPd *migaáea*)¹⁵.

There is further justification for this analysis. This is based on the predictions which this analysis would make about the possible surface absolute forms of polysyllabic C-final nouns; in particular it would predict the nonoccurrence of nouns having a long NT vowel but bearing accent in some pre-ultimate syllable. Empirically this proves to be the case; nouns of the form (C)VCVC and (C)VVCVC occur, as do (C)VCVC, (C)VVCVC, (C)VCVC and (C)VVCVC, but I have yet to find either (C)VCVC or (C)VVCVC. Secondly, there is some phonetic evidence from long monosyllabic nouns of the form CVVC. Since according to this analysis accent would occur on the second mora, one might expect the syllable to be pronounced with rising pitch, and this is sometimes the case, it being notably so in nouns with final sonorants, e.g.: *duúl* m. 'hippopotamus', *saár* m. 'waterskin', *boón* m. 'ironsmith', etc.¹⁶. Thirdly, there is an argument based on the advantage of this approach in explaining the strikingly different proportions of monosyllabic to polysyllabic words that are not subject to the CSVS rule. With monosyllables it is 62%, while with polysyllables it is only 35%. Referring simply to the monosyllable/polysyllable dichotomy offers no reason for this discrepancy. However, in terms of a mora-based accentuation words such as *subáh* m. 'butter' and *dírab* m. 'lie' are respectively comparable to words such as *guút* m. 'grudge' and *néef* m. 'face'. What we ought to be calculating in all cases is the proportion of words which have accent on the final mora¹⁷. Once seen in these terms the proportion compared cannot be CVVC:CVVC::XCVVC:XCVVC (where X is a variable representing any permitted sequence of segments), since with respect to the last two morae

15 It also accounts for contractions in verb forms such as *rubté* 'she sent': *ruuhé* 'he sent', etc., where the accent occurs to the right of the eliding mora.

16 A concomitant of this analysis for Ēafar (though not for Irob; see later) would be a rule regressively spreading the high pitch feature (the exponent of accent) when accent is located on the final mora—except perhaps when there is a word-final sonorant. Jointly the CSVS rule and this one render the more abstract distinction between CVVC and CVVC obscure in surface forms.

17 Although it is not the case that accent in nouns is restricted to the ultimate or penultimate mora, the number of cases where accent occurs farther to the left is so small as to be negligible here.

polysyllabic words, by definition, have more possibilities than monosyllables. Thus, the proportion compared should be $CVVC:CVVC::XCVVC + XVCVC:XCVVC + XVCVC$. Once this is adjusted the discrepancy disappears. Thus, the percentage of polysyllabic words accented on the final mora turns out to be 61.6%, and compares exactly with the percentage of monosyllabic words not subject to the CSVS rule *on account of being accented on the final mora*.

The concern for a mora-based account of accent did not originate in an attempt to provide an explanation for the exceptions to the CSVS rule in *ɛafar*, but in order to explain accentual alternations in long-vowelled monosyllables in *Irob*. There are certain nouns in which accentual shift occurs from the left to the right of a syllable when the noun functions as subject. This is observed as a change from falling to rising pitch. Such a phenomenon is a clear candidate for an analysis based on morae. E.g.: *boól* *yublé* 'he saw a hundred', cf. *boól* *yemeeté* 'a hundred came'; *laá* *dággegid yané* 'the cattle are in the kraals', cf. *laa* 'cattle'. It is of note that *boól* is durationally shorter than *boól*¹⁸. Another phenomenon in *Irob* posing somewhat similar problems for a syllable-based analysis are singular/plural pairs such as *faás*:*fáos* 'axe(s)', *saár*:*sáor* 'waterskin(s)', for which a statement according them structural similarity to *farás*:*fáros* 'horse(s)', *maláb*:*málob* 'beer(s)', *waéág*:*wáeog* 'monkey(s)', etc. is required. But even if here we were tempted to say that *faás* and *saár* were bisyllabic on account of their plurals, there could be no such argument in the case of *daál*:*daalá* 'house(s)', *buún* 'coffee', *maál* 'money', *koón* 'five', etc. It should be emphasized, moreover, that in the case of *Irob* in all nouns that resist the CSVS rule one hears an unmistakably clear rising pitch¹⁹. Returning to the CSVS rule there is one piece of evidence in *Irob* that shows conclusively that this rule is sensitive to accent. Plural possessive pronouns are formed by suffixing *-im* to the possessive definitive. Since the definitive always takes the accent in these words our hypothesis predicts that the extra mora of vowel length provided by the suffix would be lost unless the definitive were C-final. In the case of V-final definitives such as *yi* and *ni*, this is exactly what happens; thus *sínim* 'yours (pl.)', *ténim* 'theirs', but *yím* 'mine' and *ním* 'ours'.

¹⁸ Perhaps the reason why this word does not contract fully is because of the extremely low frequency of occurrence of *boól* as compared with *boól*, which is the form used in counting and as a noun modifier. The same behaviour is found in the case of *síih* 'thousand'.

¹⁹ In marked contrast to *Irob* the Saho variety described by Welmers (1952) would appear to have dropped considerations of accent in the CSVS rule, for even the cognates of *ɛafar* and *Irob* *faás* and *saár* contract (op. cit. 159).

While the approach to length and accent advocated here is novel as regards the Saho-Āafar group, it is not altogether novel for Cushitic, for it is implicit in Black's statements concerning Somali (Black 1974:125)²⁰, and Hudson has argued for something similar in Beja²¹. It is hoped that the proposals advanced here somewhat sketchily may be proved in a more profound treatment of accent in the Saho-Āafar group.

20 For the significance of the mora in Somali scansion, see Johnson (1979).

21 While the inclusion or exclusion of Beja from Cushitic proper is a genetic question under debate, there can be no doubt at all about the strong typological similarities of this language to languages such as Saho and Āafar.

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ZUR FUNKTION VON INFINITIV UND DEMONSTRATIVEN IM ALTSÜDARABISCHEN

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1. Infinitiv

Eine in den altsüdarabischen Inschriften sehr häufige und bekannte Erscheinung ist die Aneinanderreihung von zwei oder mehreren durch *w* verbundenen Zeitwörtern, wobei an der Spitze ein Verbum finitum steht (3. Pers. Perf. oder Impf.), während die folgenden Infinitive sind. Im Sing. sind die 3. Pers. masc. Sing. des Perfekts in der vokallosen altsüdarabischen Schrift von den Infinitiven nicht zu unterscheiden, doch wird der Unterschied augenfällig, wenn das erste Zeitwort ein Plural oder ein Imperfekt ist; die folgenden Verba haben dann weder Endungen, noch Präfixe, es sei denn fallweise eine Endung *-n* im Sabäischen. Dazu zwei Beispiele zur Verdeutlichung.

CIH 40, Z. 2: *br'w/w-hwtr/w-hqwḥ/w-hšqrn*

CIH 581, Z. 16: *fl/yšrhñ/w-šwf/w-mt'n*

Das eben Gesagte gilt sowohl für alle Dialekte, als auch für alle Verbalstämme. Der II. Stamm jedoch (im Altsüdarabischen sehr häufig von kausativer Bedeutung). nimmt insofern eine Sonderstellung ein, als hier zwei Infinitiv-Formen nebeneinander stehen, eine mit *t*-Präfix, eine ohne Präfix: *tqtl* und *qtl*, letztere wohl mit verdoppeltem zweiten Konsonanten (was aber in der Schrift nicht zum Ausdruck kommt). Und zwar findet man in den erwähnten Verbalketten die Formen *ohne* Präfix, außerhalb solcher Verbindungen die Form *tqtl*, d.h. die *qtl*-Formen haben verbalen Charakter, die anderen nominalen. Besonders deutlich wird dieser Unterschied in jenen Fällen, wo beide Formen in einer Phrase nebeneinander stehen, wie etwa in den folgenden Beispielen.

Nami 15, Z. 5 f: *bn/glt/w-tñkr/fqd/w-gll/w-nkern/lmqḥ/h'ly/bdhw*

ebda., Z. 18 ff: *bdt/hmr/šdqḥmw/ /hkl/šry/w-tbšr/w-šft/w-thwd/šry/w-šft/
w-hwdn/w-tbšrn/lmqḥ*

Im zweiten Beispiel ist *thwd-hwdn* II. Form, *tbšr-tbšrn* dagegen V.

Aber auch in anderen Fällen ergibt sich aus der Bedeutung, daß eine II. Form (kausativ) vorliegt.

RES 4766, Z. 2: *bnyw/w-ml'/qbrhmw*; hier kann *ml'* nur heißen »voll = fertig machen, vollenden«.

RES 4107, Z. 2: *br'/w-twbn*

twb I. »zurückkehren«, II. wörtlich »zurückkehren lassen«, d.h. (einen Bau) »wiederherstellen«

Angesichts der zwei verschiedenen Infinitivformen des II. Stammes erhebt sich die Frage, ob in den übrigen Stämmen der »nominale« und der »verbale« Infinitiv ebenfalls unterschieden wurden. Der Unterschied könnte hier nur in der Vokalisation liegen, eventuell noch in einer vokalischen Endung; das konsonantische Schriftbild ist ja, wie schon bemerkt, in beiden Fällen gleich.

Was die Funktion des »verbalen« Infinitivs betrifft, so bieten sich zum Vergleich vor allem die äthiopischen Sprachen Ge'ez, Tigriña und Amharisch an, die ja auch eine infinitivische Form in ähnlicher Verwendung kennen, das sogenannte Gerundium¹, das ja nichts anderes ist als ein Infinitiv der Form *qatil*, verbunden mit den Pronominal-Suffixen. Die Suffixe fehlen zwar bei den in Frage stehenden Infinitiven des Altsüdarabischen, aber auch sie versehen, wie im Ge'ez, »nicht die Stelle eines Nomens, sondern die eines Verbums und sind eigentlich nichts anderes als das der Zeitsphäre beraubte Verbum«², und kommen ebenso wie dort nur in Verbindung mit einem Verbum finitum vor, das Tempus und Numerus bestimmt. Man kann also diese Infinitive des Altsüdarabischen sehr wohl zu dem Gerundium der äthiopischen Sprachen in Parallele setzen. Ob man daraus schließen darf, daß der »verbale« Infinitiv auch im Altsüdarabischen *qatil* (und entsprechend in den abgeleiteten Stämmen) lautete, ist zwar nicht zu beweisen, doch läge eine solche Annahme nicht allzu fern³.

¹ A. Dillmann, *Grammatik der äthiopischen Sprache* (2. Aufl., 1899), S. 235 unterscheidet im Ge'ez den »nennwörtlichen« und den »tatwörtlichen« Infinitiv und nennt letzteren Gerundium. — Im Tigriña heißt die entsprechende Form bei L. de Vito, *Grammatica elementare della lingua Tigrigna* (Roma 1892) »zusammengesetztes Perfekt«, bei M. da Leonessa, *Grammatica analitica della lingua Tigray* (Roma 1928) »Permansiv«, bei W. Leslau, *Documents Tigrigna* (Paris 1941) »Gérondif«. — Das Tigrē kennt zwar eine ganze Anzahl von Infinitiv-Formen, vor allem auch *qatil*, aber nicht die Bildung des Gerundiums.

² So beschreibt Dillmann, *a.a.O.* (s. Anm. 1) die Funktion des Gerundiums.

³ Ebenso ist es eine offene Frage, wie der »nominale« Infinitiv tatsächlich gelautet hat; die Formen *qatāl* etc. in Höfner, *Altsüdarabische Grammatik*, S. 60f, sind eine mögliche Annahme, aber nicht mehr.

2. *Demonstrativa*

Das Altsüdarabische kennt zwei Gruppen von Demonstrativen, eine gebildet von einem Stamm *h*- im Sabäischen, *s*- im Qatabanischen, und eine von einem Stamm *d*- in allen Dialekten, zu dem ein Plural *'* gehört. Während Beeston⁴ die beiden Gruppen nebeneinander anführt, ohne einen Bedeutungsunterschied zu vermerken, werden in meiner Grammatik⁵ die Bildungen mit *d*, bzw. die Formen *h'*, *hw'* etc. als Demonstrativa für das Nähere angenommen und dementsprechend mit »dieser« übersetzt, während *hwt* etc. »jener«, das Entferntere bezeichnen sollte. Ferner entsteht aus der dortigen Darstellung der Eindruck, als wären die *h*- Demonstrativa seltenere (und ältere) Formen im Vergleich mit *d*-.

Hier sind einige Richtigstellungen vonnöten. Die *h*-Formen sind weder seltener, noch älter als die anderen, wie die Untersuchung einer großen Anzahl von Texten klar erwiesen hat. Vielmehr ergibt sich daraus ein anderer Unterschied. *d*-Demonstrativa bezeichnen das Nähere, das, was vor Augen steht, worauf man sozusagen den Finger legen und damit hindeuten kann, während *alle* Formen vom *h*-Stamm dann gebraucht werden, wenn von etwas die Rede ist, das zeitlich oder räumlich fernliegt; kurz, der Unterschied von *d*- und *h*-Demonstrativen ist der von Gegenwart und Nicht-Gegenwart, von sichtbar und unsichtbar. Wie gesagt, gilt dies für alle Ableitungen vom *h*-Stamm, sowohl für *h(w)'*, als auch für *hwt*. Der Unterschied zwischen *diesen* Formen ist vielmehr ein anderer: wie J. Ryckmans erkannt hat⁶, werden die Formen mit *t*-Endungen im casus obliquus gebraucht, die anderen im Nominativ. Diese Tatsache ist besonders bei der Übersetzung eines Textes im Auge zu behalten. So kann z.B. in Ja 577, Z. 15 *st'wln/hw'* nicht heißen »in bringing back *him*«, sondern »daß *er* (jener) zurückkehrte« (was sich übrigens schon daraus versteht, daß *'w/* X. nicht Kausativ ist). Ebenso kann in Ja 644, Z. 10 *hw'/'ysn* nicht Objekt der Verba sein, sondern ist deren Subjekt⁷.

Zur Veranschaulichung des Unterschiedes zwischen *d*- und *h*-Demonstrativen mögen noch einige Beispiele dienen.

Zunächst zum *d*-Stamm⁸. Am Beginn der zahllosen Votivinschriften wird die Widmungsformel niemals lauten *hqny/hwt/slmn*, sondern immer

⁴ A. F. L. Beeston, *A Descriptive Grammar of Epigraphic South Arabian* (London 1962), S. 47f.

⁵ M. Höfner, *Altsüdarabische Grammatik* (Leipzig 1943), S. 36ff.

⁶ *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 34 (1977), S. 301.

⁷ So richtig bei A. F. L. Beeston, *Qahtan* 3, S. 56.

⁸ Zu den einzelnen Formen (masc., fem., Dual., Plural) der *d*- und *h*-Demonstrativa s. *a.a.O.* (Anm. 4 und 5).

hqny/dn/slmn. Die Statue (*slmn*) steht ja vor den Augen des Empfängers (des Gottes), ist gegenwärtig und sichtbar. Oder CIH 601, Z. 17: *w-kwnt/dt/mṭbṭn* »und es fand statt diese Anordnung«, womit eben die Inschrift gemeint ist, die da, jedermann sichtbar, auf einem Pfeiler vor dem großen Tempel in Širwāh steht.

Demonstrativa vom *h*-Stamm dagegen bezeichnen Ferneres, wie folgende Beispiele zeigen.

Ja 649, Z. 13: *w-ṭw/h'/w-š'bhṭw* »und es kehrte zurück *jener* und sein Stamm«. *h'* ist Nominativ und bezeichnet den Stifter der Inschrift, der am Anfang bereits genannt wurde und dessen Rückkehr aus einem Kampf in der Vergangenheit liegt. Ganz Analoges gilt für Ja 631, Z. 14: *hw'/w-kl/šw'hmw* »jener und alle, die sie begleitet hatten«, auf einem Kreigszug nämlich, der vorher geschildert und bereits vergangen ist. Oder Ja 635, Z. 38: *bn/hwt/brṭn* »von jenem Feldzug«, der im Text vorher beschrieben wurde und zeitlich zurückliegt; ein Beispiel für den casus obliquus.

Ein besonders instruktives Beispiel für den Gebrauch des *d*-, bzw. *h*-Demonstrativs bietet Ja 633, eine Widmung, dargebracht für die Errettung aus einer Krankheit, die in Z. 5 erwähnt wird. Z. 8f und 14f kommen darauf zurück und hier steht beidemale *hwt/hlzn*; Z. 10f und 15 dagegen erwähnen »diese Weihgabe« mit den Worten *dt/hqnytn*, das ist *slmn/d-dhbn*, die Statue, die zusammen mit der Inschrift dargebracht wurde, die zwar schon einmal erwähnt wurde (Z. 3), die jedoch sichtbar und gegenwärtig ist, während die Krankheit nun vorbei und vergangen ist.

Es ließen sich noch zahlreiche Beispiele beibringen, doch dürften die angeführten genügen, um den unterschiedlichen Gebrauch der *d*- und *h*-Demonstrativa aufzuzeigen.

Die beiden Stämme *d* und *h* sind in den meisten semitischen Sprachen zur Bildung von Demonstrativen verbreitet, doch wird der Unterschied von Nähe und Ferne im allgemeinen nicht durch sie, sondern in anderer, in den einzelnen Sprachen verschiedener Weise ausgedrückt. Bildungen mit *h* für die Bezeichnung von Entferntem sind im Tigrē anzutreffen: *lahay*, *lohay*. Für die Nähe wird hier zwar nicht der Stamm *d* gebraucht, sondern *ʾ*, jener Stamm, der im Altsüdarabischen als Plural zu den *d*-Demonstrativen fungiert.

EVIDENCE OF THE NOMINAL ORIGIN OF THE PERFECT IN AMHARIC

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This paper discusses some of the noun-like characteristics of the perfect verb in Amharic, which are evidence of the nominal origin of this conjugation. The opinion appears to remain somewhat controversial within Semitic linguistics that the West and South Semitic perfect conjugation has nominal origins as seen, in general, in the Akkadian stative. The theory that Akkadian shows an archaic state of the Semitic verbal system in this regard was first proposed by Paul Haupt (1878), and has received qualified support since then. A recent synopsis of the Semitic verbal system (Janssens 1975: 80-1), however, rejects it, and accepts the common alternative hypothesis, that the ancient West Semitic already verbal perfect is a better model for Proto-Semitic, Akkadian being divergent. Thus the hypothesis seems still worthy of argumentation.

The claim that modern Amharic illustrates a Proto-Semitic feature seen more clearly in the ancient language Akkadian reinforces the claim of Haupt (1889, p. cclv, regarding Ge'ez) of the relative archaicism of Ethiopian Semitic, and the repeated urgings of Wolf Leslau for greater consideration of Ethiopian Semitic languages in the reconstruction of Proto-Semitic.

Recently Carleton Hodge (1975) presented evidence for a general universal in the evolution of languages: that new verb conjugations have derived from nominal sentences. This paper offers a further proof of this tendency. Finally, the explanation of several peculiarities of the Amharic verb system as owed to the origin of perfect as a nominal conjugation may contribute to the realization of the importance of the evolution of languages in understanding issues in synchronic descriptive and theoretical linguistics (cf. Givón 1979, Ch. 7; Sampson 1980, Ch. 6).

Before the evidence is presented one other point is necessary regarding the place of the hypothesis in Semitic linguistics. Amharic has another verb form, the so-called gerundive, which is transparently nominal in origin. Some, for example Moscati et al (1965: 133), would offer the Amharic gerundive as a parallel to the Akkadian stative, a quite inappropriate comparison for the purposes of reconstruction. The Amharic gerundive is first of all very recent in origin, as shown by its non-reconstructability for Ethiopian or even South Ethiopian Semitic, and its transparent nominal basis and origin (it conjugates

with the present-day Amharic possessive pronoun suffixes). Furthermore, its non-stative character is quite unlike the Akkadian stative. The “defectiveness” of the Akkadian stative—its limitation to certain verbal roots (Goetze 1942)—seems to me to be often ignored in the comparative Semitic literature; the Amharic gerundive by contrast is formed freely from every verb, not just the statives.

The following facts about Amharic will be discussed here as evidence of the nominal origins of the perfect: (1) the element *-l-* of the negative of the perfect; (2) the use of the prefix *yä-* to express both the genitive of nouns and the relative of the perfect; (3) the element *mm-* of the relative imperfect; (4) the use of some clause subordinators only with the imperfect; (5) the use of some clause subordinators only with the perfect; (6) the variable use of *mm-* and the imperfect with certain clause subordinators; and (7) the form of the 2nd plural suffix of the perfect.

1. *The form of the negative perfect*

Negation of the Amharic perfect, as commonly in southern Ethiopian Semitic, is by a prefixed *a-l-*; *-m(m)* is suffixed: *al-säbbärä-m* “he did not break” vs. *a-y-säbr-əm* “he does not break”. In Amharic the negative of the infinitive is by *al-ä*: *alämäsbär* “not to break”, and a prefix *yalä-*, presumably *yä-al-ä*; it is used to express the negative of nouns in the expression “without”: *yalä-bet* “without a house”. Various speculations are possible on the etymology of this negative *-l-*. My point is just that it constitutes a connection between the noun and the perfect which does not exist between the noun and the imperfect.

2. *The genitive and relative functions of yä*

The use of a single or cognate morphemes to express the genitive of nouns and to subordinate a relative clause is not uncommon in the world’s languages, it seems, but perhaps these cases are always the result of developments such as argued here: nominal origin of a verb. In Amharic this is illustrated by examples like *yä-mäṭṭa-w säw* “the man who came”. The dual use of this morpheme would naturally result from the stage of Amharic in which the verb was nominal. The pre-perfect, like many other nouns, would have functioned as an attribute of nouns when genitive. The phrase above would at that stage have the gloss “the man of (his) coming”, “the coming man”, hence today’s “the man who came”, upon the nominal’s reanalysis as verbal-aspectual.

It can be immediately objected that this interpretation as an argument for the nominal origin of the perfect fails since *yä-* is seen as well with the verb in the imperfect: *yä-mm-i-mäṭa-w säw* "the man who is coming". The interesting thing here is that the additional element *mm-* is necessary with the relative imperfect.

3. *The element mm- of the relative imperfect*

The use with the relativizer-genitive of this element with the imperfect and not with the perfect requires an explanation, and one consistent with the present argument immediately suggests itself: *mm-* was a nominalizing prefix, cognate with the *m-* prefix nominalizers common in Semitic, including for example the infinitive formative of Amharic: *mämṭat* "to come", *mäshär* "to break". As nominal the pre-perfect would have accepted genitive *yä-* directly, but as a verb the imperfect would have required nominalizing affix. Alternatively, *mm-* of the relative imperfect could be descended from a relative indefinite pronoun cognate with the Semitic interrogative pronouns, for example Amharic *man* "who?", *man* "what?". The pre-Amharic relative clause would then have been of the type seen in English and other European languages, formed by use of relative pronouns, *who*, *which*, etc. In the former possibility the pre-Amharic relative clause in the perfect would have been more of the approximate type seen in the current Amharic quasi-noun clause of *mähed-u-n al-sämma-hu-m* "I didn't hear of his going"; *mähed* is an infinitive, but provided with the possessive pronoun suffix this can function as a clause, "I didn't hear that he went". In either case the predecessor of *yä-* would not have been at first employed with the imperfect, but was extended to use there with the rise of the perfect as a model for verbs.

There is some evidence that the suggestion that *mm-* derives from a relative indefinite pronoun may be right: older Amharic texts have relative clauses in the imperfect in which *yä-* is absent and the imperfect verb is prefixed by *mm-* alone. This seems rare at most nowadays, and its frequency in the past suggests that *yä-* has been extended to relative imperfects with *mm-*, by analogy with the perfect.

Further evidence that the relative verb of Amharic was nominal, and hence, since the simpler relative verb is that of the perfect, that the perfect has nominal origins, is the reported use in Gojjam and Wällo dialects of the usual plural suffix of nouns with the relative verb (Armbruster 71; Cohen 117): *yä-hed-očč* "those who went", *yä-mm-i-hed-očč* "those who go".

It seems likely, owing to evidence presented by Hetzron (1973), that the prefix *mm-* of the relative is cognate with the *-mm* suffix of the Amharic

negative main verb (*a-y-säbr-amm* “he doesn’t break”), itself cognate with the *-mm* “topicalizer” (*ane-mm al-hed-ku(-mm)* “I didn’t go either”). However, these connections are completely compatible with the possibility that *-mm* of the relative imperfect goes back to an indefinite pronoun, itself a reasonable source—if rather removed in time—for all three functions (for reconstruction and possible cognates see Gelb 138ff and Blejer).

4. *Clause subordinators used with only the imperfect*

Three clause subordinators are used only with the imperfect: *s(ə)-* “when”, *s-i-mäṭa ayyä-hu-t* “when he came, I saw him”; *b(ə)-* “if”, *b-i-mäṭa la-ngär-äw?* “if he comes, shall I tell him?”; *l(ə)-* “in order that/to”, *l-i-hed kot läbbäsä* “he put on a coat in order to go”. These three prefixes cannot be attached to verbs in the perfect; all other clause subordinators combine with both. As seen in the first example, with *s(ə)-*, the imperfect with these subordinators expresses the past if the main verb so requires, and perhaps more could be made of this fact in the argument for the nominal origins of the perfect.

That these three morphemes are archaic is suggested by the facts that their origins as prepositions (vs. *bä-* “at, when”, *kä-* “from, since”) or their use as separate words (vs. *sälä* “because”, *andä* “that, like”) is not attested nor apparent. These morphemes must predate the perfect conjugation, which when it appeared was not extended to use with these pre-eminently verb-combining morphemes. An explanation of this would be the origin of the perfect outside the verb system.

5. *Clause subordinators used with only the perfect*

Unlike the subordinators used only with the imperfect, which are of obscure and presumably archaic origin, those used only with the perfect are largely of prepositional origin, and transparently so (see Dawkins 102-5 for the associations of subordinators and verb forms). They are homophonous with prepositions, and often construct as clause subordinators with the help of noun complements. A couple of examples are *bä-...gize* (*bä* “at, in”, *gize* “time”): *bä-mäṭṭa gize* “when he came”; and *kä-...gämmaro* (*kä-* “from”, *gämmaro* 3 m. sg. gerund of *gmr* “begin”): *kä-mäṭṭa (gämmaro)* “since he came”. Such clauses are traditionally understood to be constructed with historical or hypothetical “underlying” synchronic relative clauses, i.e., *bä-yä-mäṭṭa gize* “at the time (at) which he came”, *kä-yä-mäṭṭa* “from which he came”(?) ; *yä-* after

prepositions is assumed to be elided as a phonological process (Praetorius 452).

The details of use and interpretation of such constructions as these are innumerable. My emphasis is on just the fact of their occurrence with the perfect and not the imperfect. That these subordinators are prepositional and the verbs perfect cannot be accidental, and again the hypothesis of the nominal origins of the perfect is explanatory: we suppose the clauses to have come from prepositional phrases constructed with participial heads: respectively: "at the time of his coming", and "from his coming". Notice that "from his coming" is a better paraphrase of *kä-mäṭṭa* "since he came" than is "from which he came".

6. Variable use of *mm-* with certain subordinators

The quasi-verbal stage of the perfect would have encouraged some variation in the use of a nominalizer *mm-* with imperfects, since prefixes whose use as subordinators is earlier with nominal verbs would tend to lose the necessity for nominal verbs as the perfect became fully verbal and, being more frequent (and earlier learned), encouraged a tendency for uses of the perfect to be extended to the bare imperfect. In such a case there would result some use of the imperfect with and without *mm-* with certain, perhaps quasi-prepositional, subordinators such as *and(ə)-* and *ask(ə)-*, and this is exactly what we find. These two may or may not employ *mm-* when constructed with the imperfect.

Interestingly, however, *ask(ə)-* may not construct with the negative imperfect without *mm-*. That is, we find *ask-i-mäṭa* "until he comes" alongside *askä-mm-i-mäṭa*, but only negative *askä-mm-a-y-ččal-äññ* "until I could not" (Dawkins 104). The persistence of archaic forms of negative rather than affirmative verbs is well known.

Modern Amharic appears to be in the process of bifurcating the variable use of *and(ə)-* with and without *mm-* with the imperfect (Goldenberg 1965: 11, Dawkins 104-5). The former, *and(ə) + mm-* comes to be used in contexts where contrasts of tense/aspect are useful; for example, *andə-mm-i-l* "as he says" replaces earlier *and-i-l* (Goldberg 11), where a contrast with *andä alä* "as he said" is useful. Without *mm-*, *and(ə)-* persists in use in the "purposive" meaning: *and-i-mäṭa azṣäzu* "they ordered him to come" ("... that he come"). That is, the *mm-*-prefixed imperfects are more and more seen as in contrast with perfects, which is what we would expect if both these forms were formerly not seen as verbal, but now are—that is, if the perfect had non-verbal

origins. (For a somewhat different interpretation of these facts, see Hetzron, p. 6.).

7. *The 2nd plural suffix*

Finally, perhaps the most interesting evidence, concerning as it does a striking departure from common Semitic morphology, is the form of the Amharic 2nd plural (common) suffix of the perfect. Here Amharic differs in two ways from the more typical Semitic languages. Amharic lacks the distinction of masculine and feminine in the 2nd plural generally, and in the perfect the suffix found is *-aččahu*: *säbbär-aččahu* "you pl. broke". The suffix must certainly be analyzed into *-ačč-* and *-hu*, the latter part being cognate with the common Semitic 2nd pl. masc. suffixes, in southern Ethiopian Semitic with *hu* < **kamu* (Leslau 1956: 98). But what of *-ačč-*? This must be seen as a relic of the noun plural, **-ati* > *-ačč*, and on this hypothesis, of course, the stem of the perfect must have been a noun.

Several other particulars of Amharic grammar might be raised as part of the argument, but not without much abstract and probably unhelpful discussion. One such fact is the archaic use of *yä-* with relative imperfect verbs, but only negative forms (and all of these 3 m. sg. forms: Praetorius 1879: 126; Goldenberg 1977: 487-8; Getatchew 1978: 121). This fact as well as all those discussed above plus some others were discussed at length in Hudson 1973. The Amharic perfect shares with the other Semitic languages those fundamental characteristics that suggests the origins of this verb as a sort of participle conjugated with pronoun suffixes, presumably earlier a nominal sentence, for example the use of suffixes vs. the prefixes of the older verbs, and the similarities of these suffixes with the endings of the independent pronouns. The seven pieces of evidence discussed here are new support for an old hypothesis, which perhaps ought not be particularly controversial.

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AN UNPUBLISHED GEEZ-AMHARIC MAGIC MANUSCRIPT

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The manuscript which is the subject of this paper was purchased by the writer in Addis Ababa in 1977. It is written on ledger paper which has been stapled together to form a booklet 11 × 18 cm. containing 94 leaves. Unlike most mss. of this kind, it is carefully written in black ink probably with a traditional reed pen. There are 22 lines to a page. Not all pages have text: ff. 36B, 37B, 38-45 and 46A are blank as are ff. 71, 76-93 and 94A. Folio 72 contains a computus entitled 'Hassabä fənot' and ff. 74-75 contain a computus entitled 'Hassabä Noh' which are written in purple pencil in a hand different from the rest of the text. These two entries appear to be later entries which were entered by another person on the blank pages of the manuscript.

The uniformity of the handwriting and the color of ink suggest that this ms. is a careful copy of an older text. In his *Le livre des recettes d'un dabtara abyssin*, Marcel Griaule states that such mss. as this represent an accretion of 'recipes' collected over the years by *däbtäras*¹. The condition of other such mss. in the writer's possession indicates this is indeed the case: the variations in the ductus, the kind of writing instrument, the color of the ink and even the kinds and sizes of paper in a given ms. indicate clearly that they are anything but unified compositions. The age of this ms. is difficult to determine. The discoloration of the paper shows that it is not recent. A 'recipe' for changing paper into paper money (f. 17A) indicates that this ms. could not have been written before paper currency became accepted as a medium of exchange. Although Haile Selassie introduced paper currency in the 1930's, it was neither widely known nor accepted until the Italian occupation of 1936-1941. This ms. could have been written anytime between 1938 and 1960.

The 'recipes' in this (or in any other such ms.) are not arranged in any kind of order. The user of such a ms. undoubtedly relies on his memory to locate a given 'recipe' and in this ms. has apparently used symbols, usually an eight-pointed linear star written in red pencil, to indicate the most reliable ones. The writer has therefore grouped the 'recipes' into five categories:

¹ Griaule, Marcel, *Le livre des recettes d'un dabtara abyssin*, Paris, 1930, p. 4.

physical ailments, mental ailments, personal (for 'recipes' designed to protect the practican from harm or to enhance certain of his skills or characteristics), interpersonal ('recipes' designed to influence the actions of others or to vitiate 'recipes' used by enemies to harm the practican), those concerned with property and a miscellaneous category for a few which do not fit into the foregoing.

The effective power of these 'recipes' derives from the following:

1) natural substances, mainly plants and seeds but frequently animal substances such as skin, hair, blood, feces, vomit, butter, eggs and occasionally animal limbs or whole animals (if small). Noxious substances are rarely ingested but are encapsulated in a piece of sewn leather and worn next to the body.

2) magic names. Such names betray origins of the most diverse sort: Greek, Hebrew and Arabic being the most common. Others are clearly mumbo-jumbo, names formed by the combination of speech sounds which are outside the normal phonetic patterns of Amharic. In this ms., transcriptions into Ethiopic characters of several suras of the Quran, e.g. the Fatiḥa and suras 113 and 114, have taken the place of these magic names². Each invocation of magic names must be followed by a *gäbir* or effectuation in order to produce the desired effect. These *gäbirs* direct that the names or the charm be written in a special ink on a special substance such as parchment made from the skin of a rock hyrax or be recited while standing on a special substance, often a large rock protruding from the earth. By changing the *gäbir*, the charm may be made to serve an entirely different purpose³. Without a *gäbir*, the invocation lacks force. Older magic mss. the writer has seen are without *gäbirs*, probably because the possessor wished to protect his stock of 'recipes' against theft.

3) designs. These are of two kinds: *säntäräṣ* and *ṭälsäm*. The first kind comprises rectangles which are divided into cells by parallel lines intersecting at right angles and are so named for their resemblance to a chessboard (*säntäräṣ*). Usually the cells contain symbols, usually words or syllables,

² Lists of these magic names are given in Strelcyn, S., *Prières magiques éthiopiennes pour délier les charmes*, Warsaw, 1955, Index I (p. 327ff.) and Index V, (p. 411ff.); Griaule, M. op. cit., p. 166ff., and Lifchitz, D., *Textes éthiopiens magico-religieux*, Paris, 1940, p. 250ff.

³ The *mäshabä näway* (charm for attracting money) on f. 29B can be used for selling *ṭägg*-mead by omitting the *gäbir* which calls for the slaughter of a white chicken and a white goat, the burning of white incense and the scattering of fragment substances around the dwelling and instead writing the charm around a *ṭälsäm*-design (which design is not specified) and placing the drawing underneath a crock of mead.

generally the latter. The well-known palindrome square SATOR AREPO is probably the archetype of this kind of design⁴. This type of design is very common in Arabic magic and several of the designs in this manuscript are clearly derived from this source.

The *ṭälsäm* (from Greek *telesma* via Arabic *ṭilsim*) designs follow no definite pattern. Some are letter-like symbols with lunettes, others are geometrical figures inscribed with magic names or drawings such as the star-eye so common to magic scrolls⁵. Designs are considered to have such magic powers that they are usually without *gäbirs*.

Despite the fact that the *säntäräṣ* is probably meant to provide magic words or names by being read in various directions in keeping with its presumed derivation from the SATOR AREPO palindrome, there is no indication given in the recipes as to how they are to be read. The *säntäräṣ* on f. 4A, a *ma'särä säräqt* or 'binder of thieves' which consists of a simple pair of doubled parallel lines intersecting another such pair at right angles (reminiscent of the square used in thickettoe), has directions which state that the design is to be drawn on a piece of paper after which the name of the stolen item, the names of the owner and the owner's mother are to be written around the design while reciting Sura 2, verses 7 and 19.

The second *säntäräṣ* (f. 9A), a rectangle of 12 columns divided into 9 rows, contains symbols, mostly one to a cell, which when read as a normal text give the magic names *haruruel* and *həfrəriwael* some meaningless syllables (but possibly magic words) and the magic words *Adonay*, *Ḥbnodi*, *Ṣäba'ot* and the magic phrase *ahya šarahya alsaday*. *Adonay* is the well-known Hebrew term for Jehovah, *Ḥbnodi* has been identified by Strelcyn as the Coptic *fnout* 'God', *Ṣäba'ot* is Geez for 'Lord of Hosts' and the phrase is a reasonably accurate transcription of Exodus 3:14 in Hebrew⁶. The purpose of the design appears to be for countering refractory oxen and sorcerers.

The third such design (f. 24A) contains Arabic words in transcription, each word in a separate cell, written from left to right across the top and vertically down the sides, the remaining cells being filled by repeating the words in such a way that the repeated words form diagonal lines across the design. The words are from Sura 9, verses 128-129. This should be enough to indicate that most such designs cannot be read like their prototype or as in Arabic magic probably because neither Geez nor Amharic lend themselves to such a procedure.

⁴ For an interesting note on the origin of this palindrome, see Strelcyn, op. cit., p. 80.

⁵ Strelcyn, op. cit., p. XXXII. A number of these designs are reproduced in: Strelcyn, S., *Médecine et plantes d'Éthiopie* (I), Warsaw, 1968.

⁶ See the entry *amnodī*, Strelcyn, *Prières*, p. 448.

*The Recipes**Recipes dealing with physical manifestations*

'afterbirth' *yāngədih ləğ* (for afterbirth) 57B, *lāngədəh* 59A, *səng lāqərrābbat* (for a woman whose *səng*⁷ has failed to come out) 59A, *lāsəng* 49A.

'alopecia' *lašāt lālasāw* (for one whom a *lašāt* 'lizard'⁸ licked) 4B, *lālašit ġoro* (for an ear [licked by] a *lašit* 'lizard') 10A, *lārasā šallata* (for a bare scalp) 55B.

'appetite' *yāwəsfat* (for the intestinal worm) 59A.

'back' *ġərbawn lātammāmā* (for one whose back aches) 55B, *yāğərba* (for the back) 57B, *ġərbawn lāmmiqātāqqatāw* (for one whose back is afflicted by a chronic illness) 56B.

'bleeding' *lāset* (for menstrual bleeding) 4A, *argəza salləčč dām lāmmimātāt* (for a woman who is afflicted by [an effusion of] blood even though she is pregnant) 5A, *ṭālsām*-design for menstrual bleeding or nosebleed 54A, *yādām* (for blood) 57A, *əyyämälalläsä əndä məraq həəfu dām lāmmiṭāfa* (for one who repeatedly spits blood from his mouth like sputum) 56A.

'broken-windedness' (an equine disease) *lənəddəft* 60B, *yāmändəf* (for becoming broken-winded) 46B.

'chapping' *yāğər nəqaqat* (for cracks in the skin of the feet) 2B, *yāğğ fərqəq labbātā nəğər hullu* (for cracks in the hands and for all swellings) 57B.

'colic' *māğāñña* 4B, *ganen hədəm əndaytaləh* [for *əndayəntalləh*?] (so that a demon may not cause your blood to pour?) 48B.

'cough' *lāsal* 47B, *yāsal mādhanit* (medicine for a cough) 60A.

'crying child' *lāzəybhəkkei həšan* (for a child who cries) 8B.

'deafness' *ğoro lādənāqq"ərāw* (for one whose ear has become deaf) 7B, 59A.

'diarrhea' *təqmaṭ* 4B, 10B.

'ear' *kəğoro qənqan ləğəbbabbāt* (for one who has a chicken louse in his ear) 56B

'ear inflammation' *ğoro yāmmimāğal* (one whose ear suppurates) 55B.

'eye ailment' *lā'ayn həməm* (for eye illness) 7A, 7B; *yāfəra*⁹ 7A.

'epilepsy', see 'mental ailments'.

'eye rheum' *yā'ayn mād* 12A.

'fetus' *lā'aynə ṭəla ləšəns lāmmizəawwār dām lāmmihon* (for Shadow Eye¹⁰, for a newly-conceived fetus which moves about and becomes blood) 51A.

7 Armbruster, C. H., *Initia Amharica*, Part III, p. 683. The entry reads: 'part of the placenta adhering to the uterus (if this fails to come away, it causes death)'.

8 Armbruster, C. H., *ibid.*, p. 37.

9 So identified by my informant but Strelcyn, *Prières*, p. 336 has 'a serious contagious illness'.

10 See Griaule, P., *op. cit.*, p. 142 and Strelcyn, *Prières*, p. 45.

'fever' *länədad, ləmənšo*¹¹ 56A.

'fright' *ṣälotä dängaṣe* (prayer for fright)¹² 49A.

'genitalia' *q"älaw labbätä* (for one whose genitals are swollen) 4B, 51A.

'gonorrhea' *čäbṭ* 4B, 27A, 47B.

'headache' *yäfəṣät* 4B, 56B; *läras fəṭṭät* (for splitting of the head) 7A, 59B; *läras həməṃ* (for sickness of the head) 6A.

'heart trouble' *ləbbən lätammämä* (for one whose heart is sick) 56A, 56B, 57A.

'hydrophobia' *wəṣṣa länäkkəsaw* (for one whom a [mad] dog bit) 5A, 5B; *yäəbd wuṣṣa* (for a mad dog) 57A, *əhd wuṣṣa länäkkəsaw* (for one whom a mad dog bit) 59A.

'hymen' *həgg mägsäs laššännäfaw* (for one who is unable to deflower his virgin bride) 26B, *yähəgg mäftəhe* (breaking of the hymen) 54B.

'illness' *ləhəṃam* 47B, *ləbəšṣata* 18B, 48A, 54A; *läsaray* 4B, 6A, 7B; *lələkkəft* 47B¹³

'illness—congenital' *ləṭəddaqi* 8B, 17B, *läšəga ṣəddaqi* 56B¹⁴.

'illness—diagnosis' *həṃam ləməläyyät* (for identifying a disease) 53A¹⁵.

'illness—prevention of' *yəbəšṣata yəmmayasnäkeka* (which does not allow a disease to affect one) 6B.

'impotence' *ballatu ləmotəbbät* (for one whose genitalia have died to his detriment) 4B, 5B; *q"älaw ləmotəbbät* (for one whose genitalia have died to his detriment) 6B, *ləxəmotä 'əskit* (for a dead penis) 54B, 60B; *mäftəhe 'əskit* (breaking of [a spell on] the penis) 55B, *akalatum ləmotä saw* (for a man whose male member is dead) 56B, *ləxənomä 'əskit* (for a penis which is asleep) 60A.

'inebriation' *läsəkar* 9B.

'insanity' *həmədhanit labbädä saw* (for a person made insane by poison) 50B¹⁶.

'itch' *ləəkək* 4B, 17B.

¹¹ *Nədad* is malarial fever, *mənšo* an intermittent fever.

¹² Presumably the purpose of this recipe is to overcome the effects of fright.

¹³ *Həṃam* is the Geez term for illness, the same as the Amharic *bəšṣata*. *Saray* means 'charm, evil spell' while *ləkkəft* is indicated by the two native dictionaries (AYMQ and KBT) as being the initial symptom of disease. The KBT adds that it is also an 'infection by a subtle spirit, lethargy of body and mind'.

¹⁴ Identified as an unspecified congenital illness by the informant. This disease is cited in Griaule, M, op. cit., p. 90 but is not translated nor explained.

¹⁵ This charm also reveals *zar*-demons.

¹⁶ Despite the many references to the use of poison in Ethiopian literature and in books written by Westerners on Ethiopia, there are no recipes for the preparation of poison known to the writer.

'jaundice' *lä'of* (for the bird [disease]) 5A, *šälotä bä'antä hāmāmä 'aynä wärq* (prayer for the gold-eye disease) 11B¹⁷.

'labor pains' *yāmät* 7A, 25B.

'leprosy' *śaga dāwe* 4B, 6A; *lädäwe śaga* 5A.

'malaria' *yāwāba mādhanit* (medicine for malaria) 60A.

'miscarriage' *läwərga* 54B.

'pain' *läwəgat* 56B.

'puerperal fever' *läšotälay* 5A, 12A; *'anqāš xäšotälay* (chapter on puerperal fever) 27A; *lähāmām dāhar läm"atāta* (for the illness of an abraded back?) 47B¹⁸.

'relapse' *lägərša* 4B.

'rheumatism' *läq"əršamat* 17B, 54A.

'scrofula' *lämāššaro* 3B, 6A, *bämāššaro goro lämmimägal* (for one whose ear suppurates on account of scrofula) 6A, *yämāššaro* 57A, *länäqärsa* 6A, *māqqāmāčaw yämāššaro laq"ässäläw* (for one whose posterior has been wounded by scrofula) 5A.

'snakebite' *läəbab* 56A, *yäəbab mādhanit* (medicine for snake [bite]) 60B.

'sterility' *yämäkan set yämmyiaswälləd* (for causing a barren woman to give birth) 9A, untitled charm included with a *māštəbe sərəy*, 30B, *lämäkan* 54A, 60B, 61B.

'stomach ailment' *lähod näqärsa* (for scrofula of the stomach) 6A, *lähod* 47B, *hodun lätammämä* (for one whose stomach is ill) 56A, 57A, 59B.

'stomach pains' *yäq"əršät* 50B, 56B.

'swelling' (*ə*)*bät* 4B, *läəbät hullu yämmyiamägal mādhanit* (a medicine which makes all swellings suppurate) 58A; *yägussay mādhanit* (medicine for *gussay*) 61B.

'syphilis' *wurde* (a mild form) 4B, 6A, 7B, *läqittin* 5B, *qəččən lawättat ləgwa andaywäta* (so that a woman who has syphilis may not transmit it to her child) 17B, *yäqittən mādhanit* (medicine for syphilis) 58A, untitled remedy for preventing transmission of a disease by touch, sweat or sleeping [together] 26B.

'tapeworm' *koso lämälalläsäbbät biggänñ* (if one is found to have tapeworm repeatedly) 58A.

'typhus' *tässəbo* or *wärräršənñ* 18B.

17 *Yäwäf bäššata* is Amharic for 'the bird sickness'. This is jaundice or viral hepatitis. *'Aynä wärq* more commonly denotes a psychic affliction similar to *'aynä təla* or Shadow Eye, but AYMQ, p. 925, confirms that *'aynä wärq* is also used for jaundice.

18 Identified by my informant as *šotälay*. For information on this illness, see Griaule, M., op. cit., pp. 144-145.

'urinary ailment' *lämmatəšan* (for a woman who urinates) 10B, 19A, 49B; *yäšənt maṭ* (painful urination due to inflammation of the urethra caused by gonorrhea and other ailments) 57B.

'uterus, prolapse of' *mahəšanwa läwätṭabbat* (for one whose uterus has gone up) 5A.

'uterine ailment' *ṣäyarättə* 'aṣmä bə'əsit *ṣämahəšan* ([charm] which straightens the bone in the uterus of a woman)¹⁹ 7B; *aṭənt lähonäbbat hodwan länäffat set* (for a woman who has a bone in her uterus and whose abdomen is swollen) 25B.

'uvula' *läənṭəl* 18B, 57A.

'vomiting' *läṭəfat* 4B, 5B, 11A, 19A, 32A, *ṣälot bə'əntä həmamä təfat wäfəhaq wätəqmaṭ* (prayer concerning the illness of vomiting, hiccoughs and diarrhea) 60B, *yänəṣṣaṣi* (food expelled through the nose or mouth due to illness) 56B [a prayer on 11A entitled *ṣälotä nəgär ṣäasfəraqaw* has the notation *yätəfat* 'for vomiting' pencilled over it but this notation is apparently erroneous. See the entry 'enemy' under 'interpersonal relations' below].

'warts' *läahəyya kəntarot* 49B.

'yaws' *läq"əsəl* 47B, 56A, *yäq"əslä səga* 57A, 59B; *läg"ərmiṭ biggäññ* (when the *g"ərmiṭ* sore is found) 58B.

An unclassifiable recipe is: *bäsəwnātu ṭälsəm ṣäwäg'at 'adi bəwəraqät* (one who has tattooed a *ṭälsəm*-design on his body or on paper) 60A.

Recipes dealing with property

'batter utensils' *läbuho əqa* 26A.

'beverage' *ṭägg lämäsät* (for selling *ṭägg*-mead) 30A, *ṭägg ṭälla andayəbbəlašš* (so that *ṭägg*-mead and *ṭälla*-beer do not spoil) 30B.

'bloodstains' *däm länäkkaw šamma* (for a *šamma*-garment which has come in contact with blood) 56A.

'hail' *ṣäbäräd* (to protect crops against hail) 4B.

'household' *yäbetəhan ṣuriya* (for the area [around] your house) 11B.

'livestock' *awre yämmiyälämd* (one who domesticates animals—the text indicates that it is used for wild birds such as the francolin and the partridge) 5A, *läbota kəbärät kəbt lämmyawärd* (for one taking cattle down from the pen?) 6B²⁰, *lam läg"an sətəṭäla* (when a cow rejects its calf) 12B, *lägärgari*

¹⁹ Strelcyn, S., *Médecine et plantes d'Éthiopie*, p. 525.

²⁰ The informant identifies this as a 'recipe' for inducing cattle to abort. In fact, a pencilled 's' has been written above the word 'yämmyawärd' 'who brings down' which would provide

färasanna bäqlo labäyya häre (for bolting horses and mules and for refractory oxen) 11A.

'locusts' *māṣḥafä 'anbäta* (charm for locusts) 3A, *ṣälot bä'antä 'anbäta ṣäṣälläyā 'elyas häwästä bä'at* (prayer for locusts which Elijah prayed while in the cave) 14B.

'milk vessels' *yäwätät äqa ätan* (fumigating milk vessels) 10B.

'money' *käṣäl gänzäb ändigäba ṭaru wärq* (so that fractional currency will turn to pure gold) 26A, *wäräqätun berr yämmiyadärg* (which turns paper into paper currency) 17A, *māṣḥabä näway* (for attracting money) 32A, *ṣälot bä'antä māṣḥabä näway, māṣḥabä 'elyas wämāṣḥabä särägälla 'elyas* (prayer for attracting money, Elijah's [money] attracter and the [money] attracter of Elijah's chariot) 28A, *läwähibä näway* (for being given money) 3A, *läṣätäṣ'a näway* (for lost money) 8B.

'property' *käsate habt* (revealer of property) 33B, *lähabt* 12B, 51B, *lämäṣṭäḥe habt* (for breaking a spell [cast on] property) 50A²¹, *ṣälot bä'antä mäṣṭäḥe habt ṣätä'asrä bä'aynä ṭäla wä'äggä säb'*²² *wäbä'aynä nas* (prayer for breaking a spell cast on property by Shadow Eye, 'Äggä Säb' and Eye of Copper) 31A, *ṣälot bä'antä mäḳästä habt wämäṣṭäḥe ṣäray ṣäsäb' wäṣäaganänt* (prayer for revealing property and breaking spells of man or demon) 22B, *lämändäg* (charm which enables its owner to get anything he wants from others) 47B, 53A, 61B, *yätäqäbbärä yämmiyawäta* (which unearths anything buried) 8B.

'rutting' *lämmätäṣaffäd bäqlo* (for a rutting mule) 11A.

'selling' *ṣälot bä'antä ṣet wätäṣayät* (prayer for selling and trading) 28A, *ṣälot bä'antä mäṣyaṭ* (prayer for selling) 33B.

'theft' *yäleba* (for a thief) 5B, 18B; *yäleba yätäṣäṭtänä* (for a thief. Tested)²³ 9B, *läsällabi* (for one who takes property by stealth) 2B, 10B, 26A, 34B; *läsällabi läawdamma* (for one who takes by stealth, for a threshing floor) 10A, *läbetäsäb* (lit. for the family—the text indicates that it is to keep servants from stealing) 58B, *ma'särä säräqt* (binder of thieves) 4A.

Recipes which are designed to protect the practicant from harm or to improve himself in some way

'burns' *ṣälot ṣäṣälläyā Rāwqä'el mälakä baḥeru läkoreb* (prayer which Rawqiel, the angel of the land of Horeb, prayed—protects against burns) 8A.

'*yämmiyaswärräd*' 'which causes abortions' but this may have been done because the text is not entirely intelligible.

²¹ This charm consists of Suras 113 and 114 in transliteration.

²² 'Äggä säb' is defined by Strelcyn as an *être maléfique*. He suggests the term may be derived from Geez *ädä säb* 'magic hand'. See Strelcyn, *Prières*, note 6, p. 41.

²³ Tested to the efficacy of the recipe. Ordinarily this is expressed by the Geez *ṣätun* 'tested'.

'combat' untitled prayer for protection from bullets, sword blows, stoning, beatings and wars 24B, *'aqqabi zätäyyät* (protector from bullets) 24B.

'handwriting' *yäşəfät* (for improving handwriting) 9A.

'imprisonment' *şälotä moqəb* (prayer for fetters) 18B.

'insect bites' *lätək'an* (for bedbugs) 4A.

'intelligence' *məkəstä zä'yo'el* (discloser of the secrets of Joel—for improving the intelligence) 19A, *läləbb balhat* (for acuity of the mind) 56B.

'invisibility' *läməsäwwär* 48A, *läsäwware* (for being invisible) 50B.

'life' *lä'amä konä lämot aḥəşəro wälä'amä konä läḥəywät arəmo* (if it is [a matter of] death, make it short and if [a matter of] life, lengthen it—an untitled charm for easing the agony of death or for prolonging life) 35B.

'memory' *nəgruni zəḥäläyā ləbbunayä* (tell me what my mind has thought) 52B, *zä'iyagäddəf* (which does not let one omit [something]) 9B, 19A.

'mien' *lägərma mogäs* (for dignity and esteem) 31B, 47A, 53A; an untitled *gərma mogäs* 14A, *şälot bə'əntä gərma mogäs* (prayer for dignity and esteem) 13A.

'panther' *yänəbər* 60B.

'protection' *'aqqabe rə'əs* (guardian of the head i.e. the self) 10B, 26A, 32B, 48A, *şälotä nəbabi* (prayer of the speaker—a prayer for protection against insults and blows) 51B.

'wild animals' *läawṭ läawre hullu* (for the orycteropus²⁴ and for all wild animals).

Interpersonal relations

The recipes in this category fall into two groups: those designed to harm one's enemies and those designed to win the favor or affection of other persons. It will be observed that the former has the greater variety.

'court case' *lämuggət* 55A.

'enemy' *läşərr* 5A, 13B, 46B, 47B; *mädəfənä şərr* (closing up of the enemy) 24A, 34A, 61B; *yämästäḥaməm* (charm for making someone ill) 5B, 24A, 53A (the same prayer with a *mändəg* charm) 60B, untitled prayer for making people fight each other 51B, *mästəşabi* (charm for creating enmity between two persons) 52A, *lädənqara* (charm for casting a spell on someone) 50A, *ṭälat agär ṭəlo əndihed* (so that an enemy will leave the district and go away) 51B, *yəthatäm məsob wəqəst yägəle* (may the table and bow of so-and-so be sealed—

24 An animal which is believed to dig up and eat human corpses. It is also called *resa awṭ* 'uncarther of corpses'. A photograph of this animal published in the Ethiopian newspaper *Addis Zämän* in the early 1960's shows a powerfully built animal with shaggy fur and large, sharp digging claws.

a charm to deprive an enemy's household and property of any blessing) 37A, untitled recipe for casting fear into those who look at the practican 34B, *ṣālotä mägräre ṣärr makaməz mädängəz*²⁵ (prayer for controlling the enemy, poisoning? [him] and stupefying [him]) 34A, *ṣālotä bä'əntä mäləṣär [mädfən ləṣərr?]* (prayer for closing up an enemy) 32B, an untitled *mädfənä ṣärr* 10B, *ṣālotä nägär zä'asfärratəw* (prayer for a thing which frightened them—this prayer bears a pencilled notation 'for vomiting' but as the prayer refers to the Biblical incidents in which Moses dealt with Pharaoh, Hezekiah with Sennacherib and David with Nabal, this is clearly erroneous) 10A, *läbalängara* (for an opponent) 11A, *läḥasən* (Arabic?—identified as a *mästāhaməm* by the informant) 13B, *yəḥayyu* (Geez 'who gives life' but identified as a *mädfənä ṣärr* by the informant) 13B, 34B, untitled charm for hurting an enemy by causing his genitalia to be twisted by magic 55A, *'aləm zäṣərak* (the phrase is distorted Arabic, the charm has been identified as a *mädfənä ṣärr* by the informant) 7B²⁶.

'friend' *läfəqər* (for love) 26B, 60B, 61B, an untitled *mästəfaqər* (love-philtre) 2A, 34A, 60B, *mästəfaqər* 46B, *läset mästəfaqər* (philtre for a woman's love) 53A, *lämästəfaqər läbetä mängəst* (for gaining someone's affections, for [becoming popular] at court) 53A, *mästəwadəd* (for gaining someone's affection) 27B, *lämäyaz set* (for capturing [the favor of] a woman) 50B, *ṣālot bä'əntä məṣḥabä səb' wənəway* (prayer for attracting people and money) 28B.

'illness' *yəmmayasnəkka* (which does not let [illness] touch [one]—a charm which counters the *mästāhaməm* charm by turning the sickness against the person using that charm) 5B.

'sorcerer' *läabayam läquməññam* (a *səntərəz*-design to counter refractory oxen and sorcerers) 9A.

'wife' *'aqqabe həgg* (protector of sexual virtue) 60A, *həggä təbbəq* (protect sexual virtue) 49B, *bə'əsə wəbə'əsit 'iyətfälṭu* (may husband and wife not separate) 37A, *wəyagəbə'a ḥabä zətəkət mänbära* (and cause her to come back to her place of residence of old) 13B.

Mental ailments

A considerable number of recipes deal with malign spirits or beings and the physical or mental manifestations induced by them. It seems appropriate to

25 This word is not attested in the dictionaries. The informant identified it as a 'name of God' i.e. a word having magical powers. Most charms of this kind have the word *məfzəz* 'stunner' at this point. See Strelcyn, S., *Prières*, p. 57.

26 The Arabic is Sura 94.

place them under the same heading, including *bariya* (epilepsy) given the association this disease has with demons which is apparent from the fact that it is generally linked with the demon Legewon—the Legion of Mark 5:9 and Luke 8:30—in the recipes.

‘dream’ *lähalm* (occurs with a *mändag* and *mästāhaməm* recipe. It can be used to induce dreams merely by changing the *gäbir*) 53A, *halm lämäläyyät* (for identifying dreams—this recipe also reveals the names of *zar*-demons) 53A.

‘epilepsy’ *zäbarya* 4B, 7A, 56B; *barya lämmiṭälaw säw* (for a person who has had an epileptic fit) 51A, *mädhanit zäbarya wäzäbuda* (medicine for epilepsy and the *buda*-spirit) 10A; *ṣälot bä’antä barya wälegewon* (prayer for epilepsy and the *Legewon*-demon) 48A.

‘evil eye’ *jaynät* (shares a recipe with ‘*aynä ṭäla*’) 11B, ‘*aynu lätäṭaläbbät*’ (for one on whom the evil eye has been cast—shares an incantation with a small-pox remedy) 7A.

‘evil spirit’ *landärräbi* 2B²⁷, *läbuda* (incantation shared with *səray*, *wärde*, *ṭäla wägi* and *mäṭṭähe wallag*) 7A, *läbuda* 7B, *läbuda* (incantation shared with one for *qumäñña*) 18B, *mädhanit zäbarya wäzäbuda* (medicine for epilepsy and for the *buda*-spirit) 10A, *yäbuda yäganen* (for the *buda*-spirit, for demons) 54B, *läganen* (for demons) 11A, 47A, 51B, *läganen mäṭäbbäqiya* (for protection against demons) 48A, *yälegewon yäganen* (for the *Legewon*-demon, for demons) 54B, *yälegewon mädhanit* (medicine for the *Legewon*-demon) 56B, *legewon ändä barya lämmiṭälaw* (for one who had an epileptic-like fit caused by the *Legewon*-demon) 58B, *mägṣə’a ’aganant* (binder of demons) 31B, *mäṭṭähe wallag* (breaker of [spells cast by] lesser *zar*-spirits—shares a recipe against *səray*, *wärde*, *buda* and *ṭäla wägi*) 7B, *yätäyazä yämmyasläfälləf* (which makes a possessed person talk) 48B²⁸, 49B, *ṣälot bä’antä mäsgärtä mäsäriyan buda wäqummäñña wäzar wallag ’əm tayazi wä’əmṭämṣaxi fəls* (prayer for [rescuing someone] from the snares of sorcerers, *buda*-spirits, sorcerers, lesser *zar*-spirits, from chronic illness and crippling illness) 1A.

‘insanity’ *labbädä säw* (for a crazy person) 5A, *läzar bäṣṣata* (for the *zar*-disease) 5A.

‘spells’ *lämäṭṭähe* (for breaking spells—shares incantation with *qumäñña* and *ṭäla wägi*) 6B, 8A, 9B, 12A, 13A, 48A, 49A; *lämäṭṭähe səray* (for breaking spells) 4B, 30A, 50B, 54B; *səray* (spells—shares incantation with one for

27 The KBT explains *andärräbi* as a malicious action brought against a person by *ṭānq* ay-sorcerers or wicked *däbtära*-cantors who cause rain, hail or stones to fall on a person, sand to be sprinkled on the bread he is eating or for his house to catch fire. The AYMQ explains it as stones hurled during darkness by an unseen being or the dumping of excrement (human or animal) on the table.

28 See footnote 10.

wärde, buda, tala wägi, mäftähe wallag) 7B, *šälot bä'antä mäftähe saray* (prayer for the breaking of spells) 25A, 50A; *šälot bä'antä mäkästä habt wämäftähe saray zäsäb' wäzä'aganant* (prayer for revealing [lost] property and for breaking spells of man and demons) 22B, *šälot bä'antä mäftähe saray wämäftähe habt wä'aynä tala wä'aynä wärq* (prayer for breaking spells, breaking [spells] on property, Shadow Eye and Gold Eye) 25A, *lätädäggämäbbät* (for one who has had a spell cast on him) 5A, *lä'äggä säb'* (for necromancy) 26A; *yätäla* (for Shadow Eye) 18B; *tala wägi* (shadow piercer—shares an incantation with *saray, värde, buda* and *mäftähe wallag*) 7B; *läšäla wägi* (for the shadow piercer) 60B; *šäla wägi lämästähamäm lädäggämt* (shadow piercer, incantation for causing illness, spell-casting) 2A; *'aynä tala* (Shadow Eye—shares an incantation with *yaynät*) 9A; *'aynä tala läfärräkä 'äggä säb'* (Shadow Eye, for one on whom necromancy has become strong) 6A; *šälot bä'antä 'aynä tala* (prayer for Shadow Eye) 27B; *lä'aynä tala läšäns lämmizxawwär däm lämmihon* (for Shadow Eye, for a newly-conceived fetus which moves about and becomes blood) 51A; *šälot bä'antä 'aynä tala abro addäg wämäftähe habt* (prayer for Shadow Eye, companion from childhood and for breaking spells on property) 30B.

Miscellaneous

A few 'recipes' cannot easily be fitted into the foregoing categories. They are: *b(ə)rät yämmibäla* (for eating [through] iron) 50B which might apply either to etching iron e.g. the name of the owner or a motto to be inscribed on a sword blade, or to eating through iron fetters in order to achieve escape from imprisonment; an untitled incantation appearing on 51A for keeping demons away from someone's grace; *mäl'ak lämmisäb* (for attracting angels) 53B; and the Fatiha (initial Sura of the Quran) as a charm for preventing rain while on a journey, 14A.

This ms. contains several incantations for ascertaining the future. Since dreams are considered to presage the future (for which the prototype is the Biblical account of Joseph's dream²⁹ as is proved by the title of one of these incantations 'The dream which You made Joseph dream in the land of Egypt'), several 'recipes' are for inducing dreams. They bear the following titles; *mäkästä məstirä zämän* (revealer of the secrets of the age) 2A; *yära'ay* (for a vision—apparently to induce visions or trance-like states in which the future is presaged) 10B, 22A, 48A; an untitled prayer to St. Mary to reveal the future 18B; an untitled prayer for finding out the future 22A; *lähəlmä yosef*

²⁹ Genesis 41, v. 11-32.

(for Joseph's dream) 53B; *ḥəlm zä'ahlämkä läyosef bābāherä gəbš* (the dream which You made Joseph dream in the land of Egypt) 22B.

In this ms. there are also several passages having the word '*ḥassab*' (computus) in the title. These computuses appear to provide means for the practican to surmount many of the uncertainties of daily life. They appear to be derived from the zodiac and from the system of assigning values to the letters of the alphabet which are then computed on a base of varying value. For instance, the name Haylu is computed as follows: H has the value of 20, Y the value of 90 and L the value of 2. Computed on a base of 12, H has a remainder of 8 and Y a remainder of 6. These are added to make 14 which is again reduced by a factor of 12. This value is added to the value of L which gives a total value of 4 to the name Haylu³⁰.

There are eight computuses in this text: *ḥassabä mänazəl* (computus of the zodiac) 18A; *ḥassabä räwadi* (computus of the victor) 35A; *ḥassabä ḥabt* (computus of wealth) 35B; *ḥassabä käwakəbt* (computus of the stars) 62A; *ḥassabä bā'antä nägärä wärḥ* (computus on telling the months) 69B; *ḥassabä fanot* (computus for a journey) 72A; *ḥassabä nob zätäfännäwät rəgb* (computus of Noah which was sent [with] the dove) 74A; and *ḥassab bəzäyətammär mawuq wəqorir* (computus by which heat and cold may be known) 94B. Only the *ḥassabä mänazəl*, the *ḥassabä käwakəbt* and the *ḥassabä räwadi* appear to be complete.

Comparison with the computuses of like nature appearing in a printed version of the 'Awdä nägäst³¹ shows that there are a great many of these computuses (53 in this work alone) and taken together provide against almost any conceivable contingency. These computuses require further study but apart from a brief article by Conti Rossini, there is no information³².

There are practically no peculiarities in the grammar or the lexicon of this text. *Tənnəs'a* for *tənnəs'a* ('small' + fem. def. art.) occurs several times, *tubat* 'morning' instead of *t'at* and *qəṭṭin* 'syphilis' for *qəṭṭin* are to be noted. They are nothing unusual and may be due to the fact that the 'recipe' in which they appear originated outside the area of the Shoan dialect in which most of these recipes appear to be written.

30 An illustration of how these work is provided by the *ḥassabä beta nəgus* 'computus of the palace' given here in its entirety: Compute [the practican's] name and [his] mother's name on a factor of 3 plus [the numbers of] the day and the month. [A remainder of] one is good. It will turn out well for you, you will enter joyfully. [If it is] 2, you will lose money. [If] 3, straits and hunger await you' (p. 209, *Ḥatäta mänafäst wä'awdä nägäst*).

31 'Awdä-nägäst wäfakkare käwakəbt and *Ḥatäta mänafäst wä'awdä nägäst*.

32 Conti Rossini, C. "Lo 'auda nagast'", RSE, 1941.

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LES VERBES «REDONDANTS» EN AMHARIQUE

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Introduction

Il y a en amharique, de même que dans les autres langues néo-éthiopiennes de la famille sémitique, un petit groupe de verbes, dont la présence dans certaines constructions semble inexplicable. L'exemple suivant, tiré d'un texte de Kābbādā Mikael, dont le style est justement caractérisé par ce genre de constructions, est représentatif de cette tendance:

1. *yāHəndən mǎngəst ǧərrəsəččəhu yalagǎññaččəhu honaččəhu bəttəqǎru təwǎddal-laččəhunə wǎyǎss dəgmo yannantä yǎhonǎwn Šäkspirən fǎššəmo yalagǎññaččəhu bəttəhonu təwǎddallaččəhu? təblün bənnəttäyyäq noro mən ənnəmǎlləs noroall? bǎwnätu yeh təyyaqe kǎbbad hono bätägǎññä nəbbär. yǎmǎngəst səwočč yǎhonut ofisiyal bǎhonä nəgəggər yǎmmimǎllesu mǎhonaččǎw ayəttärättä-rəmm.* (KMRJ 14/1-9)¹

«Si on nous avait demandé (étant dit) 'Auriez vous préféré rester (étant) ceux qui n'ont jamais possédé l'empire de l'Inde ou bien auriez vous préféré d'être ceux qui n'ont jamais eu votre Shakespeare' qu'aurions nous répondu? Vraiment cette question aurait été considérée (étant) difficile. Il n'y a pas de doute que ceux qui sont les hommes du gouvernement auraient répondu par un discours (qui est) officiel».

On peut distinguer dans cet extrait trois constructions différentes comportant la copule: *yalagǎññaččəhu bəttəhonu* et *yǎmmimǎllesu mǎhonaččǎw* où un verbe relatif précède directement la copule qui a la forme exigée par la structure de la proposition, se comportant en quelque sorte comme un auxiliaire; *yalagǎññaččəhu honaččəhu bəttəqǎru*, *kǎbbad hono bätägǎññä* et *təblün bənnəttäyyäq*, où le gérondif de la copule et de la forme passive du verbe «dire» sont placés entre un verbe et son complément et *yannantä yǎhonǎwn*

¹ Voir la liste des abréviations à la fin de cet article. Dans la traduction des exemples j'écris entre parenthèses les mots qui sont dans le texte amharique mais doivent être omis dans le texte français et entre crochets les mots qui ne se trouvent pas en amharique et sont ajoutés dans la traduction.

Šäkspirän, ofisiyal bähonä nägaggär et yämängäst säwotč yähonut, où une forme relative de la copule intervient entre un qualifiant et son qualifié (sous-entendu dans le dernier exemple). J'ai décrit ailleurs la première construction². La forme relative de la copule sera examinée ultérieurement, et c'est le gérondif de la copule et de quelques autres verbes qui fera l'objet de cet article.

Les constructions dont il sera question comportent le gérondif de la copule et des verbes *mässälä* «sembler, paraître», *adärrägä* «faire», *alä* «dire» et son passif *täbalä* et, occasionnellement, le parfait précédé de la conjonction *əyyä* ou, dans le cas de *alä*, l'imparfait précédé de la conjonction *sə*, donc toutes des formes indiquant la concomitance. Dans certains cas ces verbes ne possèdent pas leur sens plein et paraissent «redondants». C'est d'ailleurs le terme qu'emploie M. Cohen à propos du gérondif de *adärrägä* et de *honä* dans certaines constructions³, tandis que L. Fusella s'élève contre l'emploi excessif des formes subordonnées de la copule dans l'amharique contemporain: «Che necessità c'è... in periodi già appesantiti e complicati da una serie di proposizioni subordinate ed incise, de dire *bämängäd sälam bämmyafäras akk"ak"an huno yämmiggänn* per tradurre quello che, con minor numero di parole, potrebbe tradursi *bämängäd sälam siyafäras yämmiggänn* ... Che necessità di dire ... *ṭəfatännä huno tātäyyaqi näw* (sarà ritenuto responsabile) invece di *ändäṭəfatännä yəqq"ättärall?*»⁴.

En fait les verbes cités constituent une catégorie spéciale en amharique même en dehors des constructions dans lesquelles ils paraissent de trop. Ils sont beaucoup plus «grammaticaux» que les autres verbes dans la langue et ont tendance à perdre leur contenu lexical au profit de leur fonction purement grammaticale. La copule *näw/honä* est vide de sens et ne sert qu'à fournir un auxiliaire ou à créer le lien de prédication entre le sujet et son attribut, *mässälä*, de par son comportement syntaxique et son contenu lexical, représente souvent un équivalent incertain de la copule⁵, comme le montre l'exemple suivant:

² Voir mon article «L'évolution de la phrase amharique: la nominalisation du verbe», *Comptes Rendus du Cinquième Congrès International des Études Éthiopiennes*, Nice, 19-22 décembre 1977, Rotterdam, 1980, p. 97-105.

³ Voir M. Cohen, *Traité de langue amharique*, Paris, 1936 p. 329 et id. *Nouvelles études d'éthiopien méridional*, Paris, 1939, p. 173; voir aussi G. Goldenberg, *Ma'areket haẓmanim ha'amharit*, Jérusalem, 1966, § 109-110.

⁴ Voir L. Fusella, «Osservazioni linguistiche sull'amarico moderno», *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Etiopici*, Roma 2-4 aprile 1959, Rome, 1960, p. 85.

⁵ Voir mon article «Il semble que ou il semble qui — un problème de syntaxe amharique», *Studies Presented to H. J. Polotsky*, éd. D. W. Young, Gloucester MA, 1981, p. 53.

2. *balassasat käzzih bäfit yagäbbabaččäw bullu fättočč yämasluññall? --naččäw.*
(HIFK 112/1-2).

«Si je ne me trompe pas toutes celles que tu as épousées auparavant me semblent des divorcées?» — «Elles [le] sont».

Les verbes *alä* et *adärrägä* perdent souvent complètement leur contenu lexical pour servir comme un outil grammatical pur dans la création et la dérivation de verbes à partir d'éléments non-verbaux. Les deux verbes se trouvent alors normalement en distribution complémentaire *alä* permettant de former des verbes intransitifs et *adärrägä* des verbes transitifs ou causatifs, par exemple *šättä alä* «se taire», *šättä adärrägä* «pacifier», *wäṭṭa alä* «sortir un peu (intr)» et *wäṭṭa adärrägä* «sortir un peu (tr.)». Parfois *honä* remplace *alä* dans la création de verbes intransitifs et se trouve en distribution complémentaire avec *adärrägä*, par exemple: *däl honä* «subir une défaite» et *däl adärrägä* «vaincre, infliger une défaite»⁶.

Cette capacité des quatre verbes mentionnés à se débarrasser de leur contenu lexical au profit de l'expression de relations grammaticales pures facilitera l'explication des constructions à verbes «redondants» en position adverbale.

2. Les verbes «redondants» en position adverbale

Seront considérés comme étant en position adverbale les verbes *honä*, *mässälä*, *adärrägä* et *alä* (*täbalä*) au gérondif ou à une forme équivalente devant un autre verbe régissant. Il faut, bien sûr, distinguer entre les verbes appartenant à ce groupe qui ont leur sens plein et ceux qui sont employés de façon superfétatoire. Dans l'exemple suivant le premier gérondif de la copule a un sens plein et le deuxième est «redondant»:

3. *sädbunna mäddäfaru läbsu hono lähulgize mässädäbiyawanna mäddäfäriyaw hono yänorall* (HAFM 103/15-17)

«L'injure et l'offense étant devenus son vêtement, il vit tout le temps (étant) [comme] l'objet d'injures et d'offenses».

Lorsqu'ils n'exercent pas leur fonction pleine, ces verbes en position adverbale lient au verbe régissant certains compléments prouvant ainsi que

6 Outre sa fonction de composante dans des verbes composés *adärrägä* tend en amharique parlé d'aujourd'hui à devenir un véritable *empty verb* comme *do* en anglais, par exemple: *mähedaččahu näw qurs sätčälu?* — *argänall* (Mängästu Lämna, *Yaläčča gabačča*, Addis Abäba, 1957 c.é. p. 108/19-20) «Vous devez partir sans avoir déjeuné?» — «Nous avons fait (= déjeuné)».

l'amharique conçoit en termes de subordination prédicative la relation entre un verbe et certains de ses compléments. Cette conception est illustrée le plus clairement dans l'emploi de la copule, qui est d'ailleurs le plus fréquent.

3. *honä*

En position adverbale on trouve occasionnellement à la place du gérondif de la copule, dans un entourage distributif, le «gerundio presente»⁷ *əyyähonä*, par exemple:

4. *lämängastumm sara yätor ministratčän fitawrari Habtä Giyorgis wanna honäw, ministročču hullu läyyäkäflaččäw sara alafi əyyähonu əndisäru* (HSHI 63/4-7).

«Pour qu'ils travaillent, notre ministre de guerre le *fitawrari* H.G. (étant) [en tant que] principal [responsable] pour le travail du gouvernement, et tous les ministres (étant) [en tant que] responsables du travail de leurs départements respectifs».

Les deux formes verbales permettent de lier à un verbe un complément d'état ou de qualité (le *ḥal* des grammairiens arabes), ou un complément prédicatif (= attribut). Le complément d'état et de qualité se distingue du complément prédicatif par le fait que sa présence n'est pas indispensable sur le plan syntaxique et il ne fait qu'ajouter un supplément à un verbe plein. Sans le complément prédicatif, par contre, un verbe qui le demande reste incomplet; dans l'exemple suivant le premier gérondif accompagne un complément de qualité et le deuxième un complément prédicatif:

5. *məšt yagäbba, bet nəbrät yabäggämm, qes däbtära hono yagäläggälall. anči gən yämmattəyaw dängal hono yaqar näw* (HAFM 35/18-20).

«Celui qui épouse une femme et fonde une maison et une famille sert Dieu (étant) [comme] un prêtre ou un *däbtära*. Mais ce que tu dis c'est 'qu'il reste (étant) vierge'».

a. Dans le cas d'un complément désignant l'état ou la qualité le gérondif de *honä* permet de joindre à n'importe quel verbe un substantif ou un adjectif (y compris le verbe relatif et le participe) qui sans cela seraient incapables de s'attacher au verbe, sauf au moyen d'une préposition. Or, l'amharique préfère d'indiquer la relation entre un verbe et son complément d'état ou de qualité à l'aide d'un moyen verbal, le gérondif de *honä* en l'occurrence, au lieu

⁷ Pour ce terme voir AWGr p. 110.

de recourir à la subordination du nom à l'aide d'une préposition, par exemple :

6. *Bäzzabbäh Tori yäbärät hawält hono yəṭäbbəqatall* (MLTB 13/20).
«B.T. l'attend (étant) [comme] une statue de fer».
7. *əhtəhənənna wändəmməhən abbat honäh astaməraččäw* (AMYB 76/9-10).
«Enseigne ta sœur et ton frère (étant) [comme] un père».
8. *mälku q^uərṭ ayatun⁸ hono wätətoall* (BZBF 34/8).
«Son visage est sorti (étant) exactement [comme] son grand père».
9. *mərkoññoččə ərräññoččə əyyähonu yagäləggəlu gämmär* (Prog. Dic. 27/8).
«Les prisonniers de guerre ont commencé à servir (étant) [comme] des bergers».
10. *ändä raswa ləsləs huno yätəwällädä ləgwa* (AGRA 22/7-8).
«Son enfant qui est né (étant) délicat comme elle-même».
11. *säw ... kəənsəsət yələq yätəg^uädda hono yəwwällädall* (KMIM 14/12).
«L'homme est né (étant) plus désavantagé que les animaux».
12. *läSäblä albašənna təkättay hona təsättäččə* (HAFM 204/20-21).
«Elle a été donnée à S. (étant) [comme] habilleuse et suivante».
13. *əzxiḥ Addis Abäba dägğə tənīwoččə honaččəhu təqämmätu* (HSHI 12/4-5).
«Établissez-vous ici, à Addis Abäba, (étant) [comme] des solliciteurs».

b. Dans les exemples 4-13 le gérondif de la copule fournit la seule expression sur la surface de la relation d'état ou de qualité entre un verbe et un de ses compléments. Il arrive toutefois que cette relation est déjà exprimée par une préposition et pourtant le gérondif de la copule fait son apparition, ici apparemment de façon tout-à-fait «redondante», par exemple :

14. *qäññazmač Akalu səläne hono yənnägagär ... qäññazmač Akalu səläne yəhun* (HAFM 104/22-24).
«Que le *qäññazmač* A. parle (étant) de ma part ... que le *qäññazmač* A. soit de ma part».
15. *gərmawī nəgus Fuad baṣəgəgğullən ləyyu babur honän wädä Iyərusalem təg^uazn* (HSHI 63/32-33).
«Nous sommes partis à Jérusalem (étant) dans un train spécial que le roi Fuad nous a préparé».
16. *bäñña səm honäw əndifärrəmu* (HSHI 56/9).
«Pour qu'il signe (étant) en mon nom».

8 Sur l'accusatif avec le complément de la copule voir mon article «Quelques remarques sur l'emploi de l'accusatif en sémitique éthiopien et en arabe classique», *Studia Orientalia Memoriae D. H. Baneth Dedicata*, Jérusalem, 1979, p. 234-235.

17. *tallaqwa Britanyamm qal kidan kätägabbattäw mängastot gara hona ... yämmattattaggäl mähonwan tärädattäbut* (HSFK 185/19-21).

«Et vous avez constaté que la Grande Bretagne combat (étant) ensemble avec les pays avec lesquels elle a conclu une alliance».

18. *lafärsataw yätäsäbässäbäw haxb häg"add häg"add äyyähonä kand tälläq xaf sar tākämaçto salänäbbär* (HIFK 146/12-14).

«Puisque les gens qui s'étaient réunis pour l'*afärsata* étaient rassemblés (étant) par groupes sous un grand arbre».

c. Il est encore plus extraordinaire que des adverbes, aussi bien ceux qui comportent une préposition (surtout *ändä*) que d'autres, s'attachent parfois, eux aussi, à un verbe au moyen du gérondif de *honä*, malgré que leur place naturelle soit directement auprès du verbe. Dans ces constructions le gérondif reste parfois invariable et le verbe est intransitif ou passif, par exemple:

19. *män aynät fätäna bigätmäh näw ändäzzih honäh mäqno yaṭṭahäw* (MGLG 34/6-7).

«Quelle épreuve as tu subie que tu as (étant) tellement changé?».

20. *ändäzziya hoññe bänorkubbat kätäma ändäzzih hoññe alənorəmm* (PÑM 11/10).

«Je ne vivrai pas (étant) comme ça dans une ville où j'ai vécu (étant) ainsi».

21. *ändaggaṭami hono andande wädä wəṭṭə səttəwəṭ* (MGLG 9/4-5).

«Si par hasard (littéralement 'comme le concours des circonstances étant') tu sors parfois dehors».

22. *ändä ədəl hono bəməsa səat təgənaññu* (DAŠS 109/12-13).

«Par hasard (litt. 'comme la chance étant') ils se sont rencontrés à l'heure du déjeuner».

23. *bəzziya yätäsäbässäbäw hullu band qal hono ... tənaggärä* (HSHI 32/5-6).

«Tous ceux qui étaient rassemblés là-bas ont parlé (étant) d'une seule voix».

24. *kəzare gəmməro kəbetä krəstiyān wəṭṭi hoññe aṭəbbəqalləhu* (AMYB 11/1-2).

«À partir d'aujourd'hui j'attendrai (étant) à l'extérieur de l'église».

25. *təzzih huno yaw yettayyall* (AWGui 90/8).

traduit par l'auteur «Voilà on l'aperçoit d'ici» (litt. «étant d'ici»).

26. *yand g"add fəllagot əndiyarəka bəṭṭa hono təmərrəṭä* (DAŠS 49/4-5).

«Il a été élu (étant) uniquement pour satisfaire la volonté d'un camarade».

Le gérondif de *honä* permet aussi de créer des adverbes à partir d'un adjectif et d'un pronom interrogatif auprès de verbes intransitifs et passifs, par exemple :

27. *gəls huno yaltänäggäräw yännatunna yabbatu yämägämmäriya huneta* (AGRA 18/15-16).

«L'état d'origine de ses parents qui n'a pas été indiqué (étant) d'une façon claire».

28. *mən hunäs tatäkkəžalläs te?*

«(Étant) [pour]quoi tu te soucies ma sœur?».

d. Lorsque les verbes intransitifs *norä* «vivre, rester», *qärrä* «rester», *q"äyyä* «attendre, rester», les verbes transitifs *ayyä* «voir» et *agäññä* «trouver» et les verbes passifs *tägäññä* «être trouvé», *täsärra* «être fait», *täq"äññä* «être considéré», *tayyä* «être vu, paraître», *täsämma* «être ressenti», demandent un complément prédicatif, celui-ci doit être introduit normalement par un gérondif d'un verbe «grammatical», surtout de la copule, qui crée un lien entre ce verbe et un substantif, un adjectif (y compris le participe et la forme relative)⁹ ou une construction prépositionnelle qui lui sert de complément. Ce n'est que très rarement et avec le seul verbe *täq"äññä*, que l'on trouve une préposition seule, l'amharique préférant normalement la subordination à caractère verbal, par exemple :

29. *yägetännät wäg mähonu qärto kənäwr täq"äññä* (HAFM 113/18-19).

«Ayant cessé d'être une coutume de seigneurs ceci a été considéré comme une disgrâce».

30. *yäne dämwäx magñät kämagñät yəqq"äññä*! (HIFK 76/19-20).

«Comme si gagner mon salaire était considéré comme gagner?».

Les autres exemples comportent un gérondif de la copule :

31. *yəh hagganna sərət yämmayalläwwät xälälämawi hono ändinor azəžžəallähu* (HAFM 26/2-3).

«J'ai ordonné que cette loi et règle demeure (étant) inchangeable et éternelle».

⁹ Il faut pourtant signaler qu'à l'encontre du complément d'état et de qualité, le complément prédicatif peut être rendu par un verbe relatif sans l'intermédiaire d'un gérondif «redondant», par exemple *landafta ənke"an yämänätta altägäññäm* (BGQK 19/19-20). «Il ne s'est trouvé hésiter un seul instant»; d'autre part l'emploi des verbes demandant un complément prédicatif avec un verbe subordonnée est normal: *räžmo tayyalläw* (HAFM 50/8-9). «Il lui a paru long».

32. *ändä mäke"anənt hono mänorən yämməttəmərɕ məsloññ* (HSHI 13/1).
«Comme il m'a semblé que tu choisirais de vivre (étant) comme les princes».
33. *bəčča yəwəllad məkanotč honən əndannəqär* (HAFM 37/31-32).
«Seulement que nous ne restions pas (étant) stériles».
34. *kinä təbabatčən dəha hono yəq"əyyäw* (BGQK 82/28).
«Ce que notre art est resté (étant) pauvre».

Avec les verbes transitifs *hono* est employé lorsque le complément prédicatif indique une caractéristique inhérente à l'objet et non pas le résultat de l'action du verbe régissant, dans quel cas on utilise le gérondif *adrəgo* (voir §5b ci-dessous), par exemple:

36. *kəhullumm yätəšalə hono yagəññəhut kəsəwəyyew g"add məhonən nəw* (PND 69/12-13).
«C'est d'être le compagnon de l'homme que j'ai trouvé (étant) le mieux de tout».
37. *səlantə mənənnət ləməwəq gən kəmmiffəlləgəw bəlay hono agñəččalləhu* (DAŠS 186/23-24).
«Je l'ai trouvé (étant) au-delà du nécessaire pour connaître ta valeur».
38. *biyayəw məke"ənnən hono ayyäw* (PNM 12/2).
«S'il le voyait il le voyait (étant) [comme] un prince».

Avec les verbes passifs c'est le gérondif de la copule qui est le plus fréquemment employé, par exemple:

39. *təfatəññawa təqəwa əne bəčča hoññe təgəññəhu* (HAFM 49/25-26).
«Moi seule j'ai été trouvée (étant) fautive et digne de punition».
40. *kəleločču dərasyan yätäləyyä sətotanna muya yalləw hono yəggəññall* (KMRJ 17/6-7).
«Il se trouve être celui qui a un don et une qualification différente des autres auteurs».
41. *ändä wanna moya hono yəmmiqq"əttərəllət təbay* (KMRJ 15/15-16).
«La caractéristique qui est considérée [comme] étant sa qualification principale».
42. *dərəğa bədərəğa hono yätəsərre yamarəñña məšhaf* (Tub. 74/10-11).
«Le livre d'amharique qui a été fait (étant) par degrés».
43. *məsərrätawi təyyaqe hono səlā təsəmmanñ* (BGQK 33/7-8).
«Parce que [cela] a été ressenti par moi [comme] étant une question fondamentale».

44. *asfallagi hono tayyaččäw* (HIFK 143/28).

«Il lui parut (étant) nécessaire».

45. *bulätt əyyähonä yəttayyaččäw gämmär* (HAFM 496/4).

«Il a commencé à lui paraître (étant) double».

Avec les deux derniers verbes *honä* peut être remplacé par *mässälä*.

4. *mässälä*

Le gérondif du verbe *mässälä* «sembler, paraître» est employé à la place du gérondif de la copule pour lier le verbe *tayyä* et occasionnellement les verbes *täsämma-w* et *qärrä* à leur complément prédicatif (qui a souvent la forme relative du verbe)¹⁰, par exemple:

46. *asfallagi mäslo tayyaččäw* (HIFK 105/17-18).

«Il Lui parut (semblant) nécessaire».

47. *fəṣṣum and mäslo yəttayyall. mänəṣəren awṭəčče bəmmäläkkät gan təqit təqit sost mäslo yəttayyall ... and gize sost and gize and əyyähonä tayyänñ* (HWSW 8/22-9/3).

«Il paraît (semblant) tout-à-fait un, mais lorsque je regarde ayant sorti mes lunettes petit à petit il paraît (semblant) trois ... Il m'a paru (étant) une fois trois et une fois un».

48. *kämäčemm gize yələq wädäne yəqärrähäčč mäslo täsämmaññ* (BZBF 12/17-18).

«J'ai ressenti qu'elle était (semblant) plus proche de moi que jamais».

Dans cet exemple le verbe est impersonnel et c'est la raison pour laquelle le gérondif reste invariable.

49. *hažän lay yätəqämmätä säw mäslo nəbbär yəqärräw* (BGQK 79/4).

«C'est (semblant) [comme] un homme en deuil qu'il est resté».

5. *adärrägä*

Le gérondif du verbe *adärrägä* est employé systématiquement comme l'équivalent transitif du gérondif de *honä* dans les constructions comportant un complément d'état ou de qualité et un complément prédicatif. Il est en outre fréquemment employé auprès des adverbes de manière.

¹⁰ Voir mon article «Il semble que».

a. Les exemples d'un complément d'état et de qualité attaché au verbe au moyen de *adrägo* ne sont pas fréquents, par exemple:

- § 0. *addis ṭəyyaqe adrägäw mamtatwo* (HAFM 115/24-25).
«Le fait que vous avez posé ceci (faisant) [comme] une nouvelle question».
- § 1. *mabbärün barya adrägo andigäzaw* (HAFM 122/16-17).
«Pour gouverner la société (faisant) [comme] des esclaves».

La présence d'une préposition n'exclut pas l'emploi du gérondif «grammatical», par exemple:

- § 2. *säwən ... käleloččəmm fətrətočč bäləy adrägəb səttašomäw* (HSHI (II)/14-15).
«Lorsque tu nommes l'homme (faisant) au dessus des autres créatures».

b. Par contre la présence du gérondif de *adärrägä* auprès d'un verbe transitif, demandant un complément prédicatif, est de rigueur, par exemple:

- § 3. *däba adrägo yäfättäränñən amlak amäsäggəmalləhu* (HAFM 88/17-18).
«Je remercie le Seigneur qui m'a créé (faisant) pauvre».
- § 4. *säwənnätwan yäwəndočč massəqaya mäsariya adrəga nəbbär yəmməttəmmäləkkätəw* (BGQK 54/27-28).
«C'est (faisant) [comme] un outil de torture pour les hommes qu'elle considérait son corps».
- § 5. *yəmot mot adrägäw q"äfrəwət* (HAFM 100/9-10).
«Le considérant (faisant) pire que la mort».
- § 6. *ənglizən lämətfat aččər nəgär adrägo yəgəmməttəw nəbbär* (KMIM 124/2).
«Il considérait la victoire sur les Anglais (faisant) [comme] une affaire courte».

Avec le verbe *ayyä* que nous avons déjà rencontré avec le gérondif de la copule (cf. § 3d ci-dessus), le gérondif *adrägo* est employé lorsque le complément prédicatif indique un état résultant de l'action du verbe régissant, par exemple:

- § 7. *käato Təzärra əkekul adrägäw ayayuwəččəwmm nəbbär* (AGRA 27/6-7).
«Elle ne les voyait pas (faisant) [comme] des égaux de *ato* T.».

Quant au verbe *agänñä* que nous avons examiné sous *hono*, il semble que c'est son causatif qui s'attire le gérondif de *adärrägä*, par exemple:

- § 8. *wägänun bädday adrägo yəmmiyasgänñäw yəhonall* (HSFK 176/25).
«Il peut le rendre (faisant) l'offenseur de ses proches».

c. Mais le gérondif *adrəgo* peut apparaître même si le complément est déjà lié au verbe par une préposition, surtout la préposition *ändä* «comme», dont la caractère adverbial semble particulièrement faible, par exemple :

59. *ännäzzihənəmm tāmariwočč ändä setänña adariwočč adrəgo yägämmataččäw näbbär* (MGLG 25/1-2).

«Et il considérait ces élèves (faisant) comme des prostituées».

60. *ändäwändəmmwa adrəga təwäddäw näbbär* (*Traité* 329).

«Elle l'aimait (faisant) comme son frère».

Il semble que *ändä* tend à s'attirer le gérondif *adrəgo* même lorsqu'elle fonctionne comme une conjonction devant le verbe d'une proposition de contenu, dont le caractère adverbial est, pourtant, incontestable, par exemple :

61. *yan mäsənəkəl liyalfut ändəmmayčəlu adrəgäw asayyuwaččäw* (HAFM 139/21-22).

«Ils Lui ont montré (faisant) qu'il ne pourra pas traverser cet obstacle».

d. *ändä* attire le gérondif *adrəgo* aussi lorsqu'elle sert à créer des adverbes auprès de verbes transitifs. Mais des adverbes de manière même sans *ändä* s'accompagnent souvent de *adrəgo*, par exemple :

62. *abbate yasaddägäññ ändih adrəgo näbbär* (BZBF 40/10).

«C'est (faisant) ainsi que mon père m'avait élevé».

63. *läbäčča adrəgo band bätäläyyä mäṣṣaf wəst masattäm asfällagi honä* (KMQA 5/8-9).

«Il est devenu nécessaire d'imprimer (faisant) séparément dans un livre spécial».

64. *əggəg adrəgo yəwäddattall* (AWR 55/23-24).

«Il l'aime (faisant) beaucoup».

65. *bäṭam adrəgo asaṣṣənəw yänäbbäräw* (HFIK 163/11-12).

«Ce qui l'avait (faisant) beaucoup attristé».

66. *dähna adrəgäh səmanñ* (AMYB 75/21).

«Écoute-moi (faisant) bien».

adrəgo sert aussi à créer des adverbes à partir d'adjectifs dans le voisinage de verbes transitifs (pour l'équivalent avec *hono* et un verbe passif voir exemple no. 27), par exemple :

67. *gələṣṣ adrəgäh nəgäraččäw* (HAFM 137/23).

«Dis leur (faisant) clairement».

5. *alä*

L'emploi, dans les langues sémitiques éthiopiennes et dans certaines langues couchitiques, du verbe «dire» comme un moyen pour la création et la dérivation de verbes, de préférence intransitifs, à partir d'un élément non-verbal, a été traité de manière exhaustive dans plusieurs travaux¹¹. Dans des constructions de ce genre le verbe «dire» perd presque toujours son contenu lexical pour devenir un outil dans la création et la dérivation de verbes. En amharique cette capacité du verbe *alä* à se débarrasser de son sens premier se manifeste également dans certaines constructions syntaxiques dans lesquelles il participe. Il est superflu de tenter d'expliquer le chemin parcouru par le verbe «dire» pour arriver à sa fonction d'outil abstrait, comme l'explique G. Guillaume: «Il faut se garder de vouloir à tout force ... retrouver dans un mot outil, quel qu'il soit, son sens initial de sémantème. Les filiations qu'on croit pouvoir établir de la sorte ne sont à l'ordinaire qu'une image sans vérité de la filiation plus subtile qui a eu lieu réellement dans la pensée»¹².

Pour ce qui est du verbe *alä* l'on peut dire que dans certaines constructions il ne se distingue pas des autres verbes «grammaticaux» que nous venons d'examiner. Ainsi dans la proposition suivante le verbe *qäna alä* est transformé en *qäna mässälä* pour se conformer à la construction habituelle avec *tayyä*:

68. *änen qäna mäslö kätayyänñ* (HIFK 107/12).

«Puisque cela m'a paru (semble) juste».

tandis que dans l'exemple suivant le gérondif de *alä* occupe la place réservée normalement au gérondif de *mässälä*:

69. *angätu ändä sibago sil bala tattayyalläčč* (BGQK 81/16-17).

¹¹ Voir pour l'amharique notamment M. Cohen, *Traité* p. 262-275 et *Nouvelles études* p. 286-300, J. Hartmann, *Amharische Grammatik*, Wiesbaden, 1980, p. 141-143, Afevork Ghevre Jesus, *Il verbo amarico*, Rome, 1911, p. 96-103; pour les autres langues sémitiques de l'Éthiopie voir W. Leslau, *Documents tigrigna*, Paris, 1941, p. 124, F. R. Palmer, «Some remarks on the grammar and phonology of the 'compound verbs' in Cushitic and Ethiopian Semitic», *Quattro Congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici, Roma aprile 10-15*, Rome, 1974, tome II, p. 71-77; W. Leslau, *The Verb in Harari*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1958 p. 70-73; W. Leslau, *Étude descriptive et comparative du Gafat*, Paris, 1956, p. 70; pour une bibliographie sur ce phénomène dans les langues couchitiques voir A. Waley et C. H. Armbruster, «The verb 'to say' as an auxiliary in Africa and China», *BSOAS* tome VII no 3 (1934), p. 573-576.

¹² Dans «Théorie des auxiliaires et examen de faits annexes», *BSL*, tome XXXIX (1938), p. 10.

«Son cou paraît tendu (distant) comme une ficelle» (voir § 5c ci-dessous).

En fait une forme subordonnée de *alä*, que ce soit le gérondif, le «gerundio presente» ou l'imparfait précédé de la conjonction *sə*, peut servir à exprimer des relations syntaxiques pures, de la même manière qu'une forme subordonnée de *honä*, *mässälä* ou *adärrägä*. La principale différence entre les constructions avec ces trois derniers verbes et celles comportant *alä* réside dans le caractère du complément qu'ils introduisent. *honä*, *mässälä* et *adärrägä* joignent au verbe régissant des compléments (à l'exception des adverbes de manière introduits par *adrəgo*), dont le caractère prédicatif nous est encore clair, même si dans les langues qui nous sont familières il n'est pas exprimé sur la surface¹³. *alä*, par contre, introduit des compléments dans lesquels il est plus difficile de discerner le caractère prédicatif, comme le complément de but, d'instrument, d'objet direct et quelques adverbes.

a. Dans l'indication du but et de l'intention la construction comporte la préposition *lä* et soit le gérondif soit l'imparfait précédé de *sə* de *alä*, par exemple:

70. *yəhənnən fätäna bäräse lay yamätṭahut lähagäre səl bəčča aydällämm. lärase läsäb'awinnäte səl näw* (BZBF 55/18-20).

«Ce n'est pas seulement (lorsque je dis) pour mon pays que j'ai fait venir cette épreuve sur moi-même. C'est (lorsque je dis) pour moi-même et pour ma personne humaine».

Cette construction est également courante avec un infinitif ou avec un verbe à l'imparfait, dans quel cas *alä* fonctionne comme un auxiliaire¹⁴, par exemple:

71. *əndiyaw wändənnät yəxənn mässariya läləmmäläyät bəyye näw əngi lälela aydällämm* (BGQK 129/4-5).

«Si je me suis conduit comme un fanfaron c'est (disant) pour ne pas me séparer des armes et non pas pour autre chose».

13 Mais comparer en français: «La politique de X s'est révélée être dangereuse» ou «La politique de X est considérée comme étant dangereuse».

14 Un autre cas où *alä* fonctionne comme un auxiliaire est celui de l'infinitif précédé de la préposition *əndä* et suivi du verbe «dire». La construction exprime une action qui se fait un peu, par exemple: *yädäkkəmaṭṭaw dəkam tənnaš əndəmaləf kalələṭṭaw bəh'ala* (HAFM 47/20-21) «Après que Sa fatigue a passé un peu». L'équivalent transitif de cette construction est obtenu à l'aide de *adärrägä*: *məkinaww əndä məqom adärrägä* (AGRA 16/19-20) «Il a arrêté un peu sa voiture».

72. *yačči ləǵ ləttawädq näw alu haša Zəmam ləttawädq səttal tāmälkətäw* (DAŠS 70/27-29).

«Cette enfant va tomber» a dit *haša Z.* en constatant qu'elle [allait] (lorsqu'elle dit) tomber».

b. Le complément d'instrument ou de moyen introduit par la préposition *bä* peut s'accompagner du gérondif *halo*. Etant donné que ce complément indique souvent l'instrument d'un acte violent certains amharisants attribuent au verbe *alä* le sens de «frapper». C'est ainsi, que Dässəta Täklä Wäld donne à *alä* et *balä* (?) aussi le sens de *mätta*, *bäbättər* *ṭəzṣälä* et *däbäddäbä* et cite l'exemple *bädulla bälät*¹⁵, tandis que M. Cohen écrit: «*alä* a aussi le sens de 'y aller' — *bäläw* 'vas-y (contre lui)', 'tape-le' ... *bäbättər aläw* 'il lui a donné du bâton'»¹⁶. Certains exemples semblent confirmer cette interprétation:

73. *bärəǵəččanna bätəffī halo kəbetu aswättaw* (ŠMMY 58/8-9).

«Il l'a fait sortir de sa maison (disant [ou le] frappant) par des coups de pied et des gifles».

74. *balagär bäsärrew dulla anatəhən halo bigälhəss?* (HAFM 303/17).

«Et si les paysans te tuent (disant [ou] frappant) [sur] ta tête avec un gourdin?».

Mais d'autres exemples prouvent que *halo* ne fait qu'accompagner, en tant que moyen abstrait exprimant la subordination, un complément de verbe, par exemple:

75. *babbatəh bäləh attəčäkkənəhbən* (ŠMMY 46/10).

«(Disant) par ton père, ne sois pas cruel avec nous».

76. *ənña bafär bəqəṭälu əyyaln yäəsəṭun hayl ənabärd gəmmärn* (PŊM 56/10-11).

«Nous avons commencé à refroidir le feu (disant) avec de la poussière et des feuilles».

c. Avec un adverbe *halo* semble très proche de *hono*, par exemple:

77. *wädetəss bəyye əfälləgatalləhu* (ŠMMY 76/19).

«Et (disant) où la chercherai-je?».

78. *həzbu and and əyyalä kəbetä-krəstiyan əyyäwättä* (DAŠS 62/13-14).

«Lorsque les gens sortaient (disant) l'un après l'autre de l'église».

¹⁵ Dässəta Täklä Wäld, *Addis yamarənna məzṣabä qalat*, Addis Abäba, 1970, p. 102, 173.

¹⁶ *Traité*, p. 263.

La ressemblance avec *hono* se manifeste aussi dans les constructions avec *andä* «comme» (voir exemple no 69).

d. Le seul exemple d'un complément d'objet direct introduit par *balo* que j'ai trouvé peut également avoir la signification «frapper»:

79. *abbate attäkä'akos salastännaññ ganbarun bayye atäläwallähu* (LMND 14/4-5).

«Puisque mon père m'a appris le tir je tirerai (disant [ou] frappant) dans son front».

Toutefois certains grammairiens considèrent aussi le discours direct accompagnant le verbe *alä* comme le complément d'objet direct¹⁷. Il est également bien connu que les verbes exprimant la parole, la pensée et le sentiment peuvent s'adjoindre le contenu de la parole, de la pensée etc. sous la forme du discours direct (correspondant à une proposition de contenu dans le discours indirect). Dans ces constructions le gérondif ou l'imparfait accompagné de la conjonction *sə* du verbe *alä* (ou *täbalä*) sert de lien entre le discours direct et le verbe régissant, par exemple:

80. *yäbärbärre çänät mähon alläbbät balo yänäbbäräwn hassab läwwəto ... lela nägär mähon alläbbät sil assäbä* (AGRA 14/7-11).

«Ayant changé l'idée (disant) [que] cela devait être une charge de *bärbärre* ... il a pensé (lorsqu'il dit) 'cela devait être autre chose'».

81. *šähay yäfəträt aläm əmbərt näčč täblo yəttammänall* (KMIM 117/16).

«On croit (étant dit) [que] le soleil est le centre de l'univers».

Il n'y a pas de doute que dans ces constructions l'amharique, en tant que langue à structure très stricte de la proposition, se sert du gérondif du verbe *alä* (ou *täbalä*) pour ne pas laisser une partie de la proposition — le discours direct — dans le vide, sans indiquer sur la surface la relation qui existe entre lui et le verbe. Malgré que son sens soit vivant, *balo* est ici très proche des autres verbes «grammaticaux» et sa présence est dictée seulement par la nature du complément. Dans l'exemple suivant sans le discours direct on aurait *adrəgo* à la place de *balo* (comparer exemple no 56):

82. *šärmuṭa näčč balo yägämmätäññ yəhonall* (BGQK 91/30-31).

«Peut-être me considère-t-il (disant elle est) [comme] une putain».

Le gérondif *balo* fournit donc à la partie constituée par le discours direct un moyen formel, à caractère adverbial, pour se joindre à un verbe en tant que

17 F. Praetorius, *Die amharische Sprache*, Halle, 1878, p. 434 et J. Hartmann *op. cit.*, p. 454.

complément de la même manière que *hono*, *mäslo* et *adrägo* permettent à d'autres compléments de s'attacher à un verbe.

6. *Systemzwang*

La question qui se pose est de savoir pourquoi l'amharique (et les autres langues néo-éthiopiennes) exprime par des moyens verbaux la relation entre un verbe et certains de ses compléments, relation qui dans les autres langues sémitiques ou dans les langues indo-européennes reste soit inexprimée sur la surface, soit rendue par les moyens ordinaires de rection verbale à savoir les cas ou les prépositions. Même le guèze emploie régulièrement ces deux derniers moyens tandis que l'amharique les remplace par la subordination verbale, par exemple:

83. guèze: *na'ammər kämä amhabä agxi'abher mäsa'äkä mämharä* (Jean 3/2) ¹⁸.
«Nous savons que tu es venu de chez le Seigneur en tant que professeur».

amharique: *annawqallän kä'agxiabher zänd ändä mätṭah mämhar hunäh* ¹⁹

84. guèze: *räkəbomu lāsāb'a yə'əti hagär kämä 'ənsasa* (Gädlä Täklä Haymanot 29/4) ²⁰.

«Il a trouvé les gens de ce pays comme des animaux».

amharique: *ändä ənsasa honäw agäññäččäw*.

En fait l'amharique ne se contente pas de remplacer l'accusatif et la préposition du guèze par un verbe «grammatical» subordonné. Il s'en sert de façon tout-à-fait «redondante» lorsque les éléments de rection verbale sont déjà présents et même auprès de certains adverbes. Cette tendance générale à concevoir en termes de subordination verbale, donc prédicatifs, la relation entre un verbe et ces compléments peut s'expliquer de deux façons:

a. Si l'on accepte la définition de Hermann Paul que «Das Verhältnis von Subjekt mit Prädikat ... ist das Verhältnis, aus dem die übrigen syntaktischen Verhältnisse entspringen mit einer einzigen Ausnahme, nämlich der kopulativen Verbindung mehrerer Elemente zu einem Satzgliede» ²¹, on dira que l'amharique exprime sur la surface une relation prédicative fondamentale, qui dans les autres langues reste enfouie dans la structure profonde.

¹⁸ *Ethiopic New Testament*, The Bible Society, London, 1899.

¹⁹ *New Testament in Amharic*, The British and Foreign Bible Society, Addis Abäba, 1951.

²⁰ Edition en guèze, Addis Abäba, 1946 c.é.

²¹ H. Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*, Halle, 1937, p. 138.

b. L'autre explication tient compte de la structure générale de la proposition amharique. La tendance bien connue des langues néo-éthiopiennes à l'hypotaxe, qui se manifeste surtout par la multiplication de propositions subordonnées comportant un gérondif (ou une forme équivalente), donc adverbales, représente l'une des caractéristiques les plus frappantes de la phrase amharique, au point que ces constructions y constituent l'un des modèles syntaxiques les plus courants. Mais le gérondif n'est pas seulement utilisé pour transformer une proposition en proposition adverbale. Il sert souvent lui-même d'adverbe au verbe qui le suit et le modèle structural d'un verbe précédé d'un gérondif le déterminant ou complétant est très habituel dans la langue. Vu cette forme verbale de nombreuses déterminations jointes à un verbe, il n'est pas surprenant que sous l'effet du *Systemzwang* d'autres déterminations, dépourvues au départ d'un verbe, s'en attirent un, vide de son sens et tout-à-fait «grammatical», rien que pour se conformer au système.

Il est très significatif qu'une autre langue exhibant un penchant extrême pour l'hypotaxe — le turc — emploie des constructions avec des formes adverbales des verbes «être» et «dire» qui sont presque identiques à celles de l'amharique, par exemple²²:

Muallim olarak geldiğim şehir.

«La ville où je suis venu (étant) [en qualité de] professeur».

Ben de bu Şakir Beyi pek edepsiz biri olarak tanıyordum.

«Moi aussi je connais ce Ş. Bey (étant) [comme] quelqu'un de très mal élevé».

Ömründe ilk defa olarak üzere bir araba düşündü.

«(Étant) pour la première fois dans sa vie il a pensé à une voiture».

Bugün de dahil olduğu halde önümüzdeki üç gün zarfında.

«Au au cours des trois prochains jours, y compris (étant) aujourd'hui».

Yadigâr diye sütannem satmıyor.

«Ma nourrice ne laisse pas vendre (disant) [parce que] c'est un souvenir».

Mesut bir aile babası diye düşündüm.

«J'ai pensé (disant) 'un père de famille heureux'».

Bir sınıflamaya temel diye alınabilir.

«Il peut être pris (disant) [comme] une base de classification».

²² Les exemples sont tirés de A. N. Kononov, *Grammatika sovremennogo tureckogo literaturnogo yazıka*, Moscou, 1956, § 594, 595, 858, 1083, 1087.

Karagayı bülbüül diye sater.

«Il vend le corbeau (disant) [comme] un rossignol».

Il semble que nous pouvons définir les constructions qui ont été traitées dans cet article comme une expression de la tendance générale de l'amharique, en tant que langue à structure hypotactique, à rendre par la subordination verbale des relations existant entre un verbe et ses déterminants.

Abréviations

AGRA	Abe Gubäñña, <i>Yäräggäfu abähoññ</i> , Addis Abäba, 1964 calendrier éthiopien.
AMyb	Amarä Mammo, <i>Yäwñät balläñta</i> , Addis Abäba, 1967 c.é.
AWGr	Afevork Ghevre Jesus, <i>Grammatica della lingua amarica</i> , Rome, 1905.
AWGui	Afevork Ghevre Jesus, <i>Guide du voyageur en Abyssinie</i> , Rome, 1908.
AWR	Afä Wärq Gäbrä Iyäsus, <i>Läbb wälläd tarik</i> , Rome, 1908.
BGQK	Bäalu Gärma, <i>Yäqäyy kokäb tarri</i> , Addis Abäba, 1980.
BZBF	Bärhanu Zäryähun, <i>Yäbädäl fässame</i> , Addis Abäba, 1956 c.é.
DAŠŠ	Dännäqäw Asaye, <i>Šäffänu säwännät</i> , 1969 c.é.
HAfM	Haddis Alämayyähü, <i>Fäqar askä mäqabär²</i> , Addis Abäba, 1962 c.é.
HIFK	Haylä Iyäsus Fäqadu, <i>Kängädih wädih adära andayäddäggäm</i> , Addis Abäba, 1953 c.é.
HSFK	Haylä Sällase, <i>Färe kəñafər</i> , t. II, Addis Abäba, 1944 c.é.
HSHI	Haylä Sällase, <i>Häywätəñña yälyopya ərməggə</i> , Addis Abäba, 1965 c.é.
HWŠW	Həruy Wäldä Sällase, <i>Wädäge läbbə⁴</i> , Addis Abäba, 1949 c.é.
KMIM	Käbbädä Mikael, <i>Ityopyanna mərrabawi sələttane</i> , Addis Abäba, 1941 c.é.
KMQA	Käbbädä Mikael, <i>Yäqəne azməra</i> , Addis Abäba, 1956 c.é.
KMRJ	Käbbädä Mikael, <i>Romewonna Juliet</i> , Addis Abäba, 1956 c.é.
LMND	Lämma Mängäša, <i>Yänəšəññät dāwāl</i> , Addis Abäba, 1968 c.é.
MGLG	Mängəstu Gädamu, <i>Ləgəgəräditwa</i> , Addis Abäba, 1960 c.é.
MLTB	Mängəstu Lämma, <i>Tälfo bəkise</i> , Addis Abäba, 1961 c.é.
PND	Pawlos Noñño, <i>Dəbləqləq</i> , Addis Abäba, 1957 c.é.
PNM	Pawlos Noñño, <i>Məsəqləq</i> , Addis Abäba.
Prog. Dic.	<i>Təraməg məzgəbə qalat</i> , Addis Abäba, 1969 c.é.
ŠMMY	Šəfəraw Məhrəte, <i>Məkər yalməlləsəw məkəra dərrəsəw</i> , Addis Abäba, 1960 c.é.
Traité	Voir note 3.
Tub.	J. Tubiana, <i>Recueil de versions amhariques</i> , Paris, 1966.

ÄTHIOPISCHE MARGINALGLOSSEN ZUM SABÄISCHEN WÖRTERBUCH

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Wolf Leslau hat in seinen bahnbrechenden lexikographischen Arbeiten, die mit dem *Lexique soqotri* (Paris 1938) begannen und als deren vorläufig letzte Frucht er das dreibändige *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage* (Wiesbaden 1979) vorgelegt hat, über die jeweilige semitische Einzelsprache hinaus nie den gesamtsemitischen Hintergrund aus dem Auge verloren. Davon legen die sprachvergleichenden Partien in den beiden genannten Werken sowie etwa in der *Étude descriptive et comparative du gafat* (Paris 1956) und im *Etymological Dictionary of Harari* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1963) beredtes Zeugnis ab. Einige seiner Veröffentlichungen, wie z.B. *Ethiopic and South Arabic Contributions to the Hebrew Lexicon* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1958) und *Hebrew Cognates in Amharic* (Wiesbaden 1969), sind ausschließlich etymologischen Fragen gewidmet. Da von Wolf Leslau als nächstes größeres Unternehmen ein vergleichendes Wörterbuch des Altäthiopischen zu erwarten ist, mag es vielleicht angebracht sein, einige Randglossen zum Wortschatz der Ge'ez-Sprache anzubringen.

Bei den etymologischen Glossen soll vom Altsüdarabischen lediglich das Sabäische (abgekürzt: Sab.) in Betracht gezogen werden; das Qatabānische, Minäische und Ḥaḍramitische (abgekürzt: Qat., Min., Ḥaḍr.) werden nur gelegentlich erwähnt, wenn ein Wort auch in den Inschriften jener Dialekte belegt ist. Ebenfalls ausgeklammert bleiben die altsüdarabischen epigraphischen Dokumente, welche auf äthiopischem Boden gefunden wurden. Der Verfasser erkennt dankbar an, daß er neben seinen eigenen Sammlungen zum Altsüdarabischen auch das in Gemeinschaftsarbeit mit A. F. L. Beeston, M. A. al-Ghul und J. Ryckmans entstandene Manuskript eines *Sabaic Dictionary* benutzen konnte, das nunmehr zum Druck gegeben wurde. Dieses Wörterbuch berücksichtigt jedoch keine Etymologien, sondern vermerkt nur diejenigen Fälle, in welchen eindeutig Entlehnungen aus anderen Sprachen im Sabäischen vorliegen. Zu äthiopischen Wörtern, die sich in altsüdarabischen Inschriften finden, vergleiche man W. W. Müller, Abessinier und ihre Namen und Titel in vorislamischen südarabischen Texten, in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Ethiopian Studies, Session B, April 13-16, 1978, Chicago, USA*, Chicago 1979, S. 309-314. Auf etymologische Vergleiche des Sabäischen mit anderen semitischen Sprachen Äthiopiens, etwa mit dem Tigre und

Tigrinya, wurde verzichtet, für einige bislang unbeachtet gebliebene alt-südarabische Parallelen zu den südäthiopischen Sprachen sei verwiesen auf die Rezension von W. W. Müller von Wolf Leslaus *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage*, in *ZDMG* 131 (1981), S. 396-404.

Eine Auflistung aller sabäischen Wörter bzw. Wurzeln, für welche sich auch im Altäthiopischen Parallelen nachweisen lassen, würde einige hundert Nummern erbringen. In der anschließend gegebenen Liste wurden daher, von vereinzelt Ausnahmen abgesehen, nur solche sabäische Wörter berücksichtigt, die entweder überhaupt keine Entsprechungen im Arabischen besitzen oder bei welchen die arabischen Wurzel nur in einer völlig anderen Bedeutung belegt ist. Gelegentlich wurde jedoch auch eine auffallende Übereinstimmung in der Nominal- bzw. Verbalform als genügend erachtet, um ein solches Wort aufzunehmen. Neben längst bekannten Entsprechungen stehen zahlreiche Beispiele, die noch nirgends registriert wurden oder die wieder in Vergessenheit geraten sind. Fragwürdige Gleichungen auf Grund veralteter oder unzulänglicher Interpretationen sabäischer Inschriften wurden nicht wiederholt. Am Schluß der einzelnen Abschnitte wurde öfters auf Werke verwiesen, in denen auch die etymologischen Entsprechungen in anderen semitischen und in weiteren äthiopischen Sprachen zu finden sind, besonders auf W. Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage* (abgekürzt: *EDG*) und auf L. Koehler und W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*. Dritte Auflage. Leiden 1967 ff. (abgekürzt: *KBL*³).

Es erübrigt sich wohl, Inschriftensiglen wie CIH, RES und manche andere, die seit Jahrzehnten eingebürgert sind, aufzuschlüsseln und mit den dazu gehörigen Literaturangaben zu versehen. Für neuere Inschriftenpublikationen und darin verwendete Sigeln sei verwiesen auf Alessandra Avanzini, *Glossaire des inscriptions de l'Arabie du Sud* 1950-1973, Vol. I, Firenze 1977 (*Quaderni di Semitistica* 3), S. 1-18: A. Bibliographie, S. 19-185: B. Les inscriptions. Um den Ort der Veröffentlichung von Inschriften der Sammlung Eduard Glaser aufzufinden, konsultiere man Maria Höfner, *Sabäische Inschriften (Letzte Folge)* Wien 1981 (*Sammlung Eduard Glaser XIV*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 378. Band), S. 49-59: Verzeichnis der seit 1944 publizierten Gl-Inschriften. Außerdem wird das oben erwähnte *Sabaic Dictionary* eine Bibliographie und ein Siglenverzeichnis zur Literatur über die sabäischen Inschriften enthalten. [*Korrekturzusatz*: Das Werk ist Ende 1982 bei den Editions Peeters in Louvain-la-Neuve erschienen; S. XX-XXV: Sigla of the Inscriptions Cited, S. XXXIV-XLI: Bibliography.]

Sab. 'bn »Stein«, und zwar der zum Bau verwendete Bruchstein (CIH 448 + Hakir 1,2; CIH 540,30), pl. 'bn (CIH 540,74); auch im Qat., Min. und Haḍr.

belegt. — Ge'ez 'āban »Stein«, pl. 'a'bān; s. für weitere Entsprechungen W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 49b unter *aman*.

Sab. 'fy-m »eine Sorte Lebensmittel«, vielleicht »Gebackenes« (CIH 562,7). — Ge'ez 'āfūy »gebacken«; zu dem bei Dillmann, *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae*, Sp. 810, angeführten einzigen Beleg ist ein weiterer aus der Kirchenordnung des Hippolyt nachzutragen, s. E. Hammerschmidt, *Stellung und Bedeutung des Sabbats in Äthiopien*, Stuttgart 1963, S. 43; s. auch *KBL*³, S. 75b.

Sab. 'kel »Getreide« (Gl 1537,7), »Nahrung, Speise« (Gl 1773b, 4; CIH 563 + 956,2). — Ge'ez 'akal »Getreide, Speise«; s. auch W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 33b.

Sab. 'mt »Elle« (CIH 570,2), pl. 'mm (CIH 540,75; u.ö.); auch im Min. belegt. — Ge'ez 'ammat »Elle«; s. auch *KBL*³, S. 59b.

Sab. coll. 'nm »Weber« (RES 3945, 11.13); s. N. Rhodokanakis, *Altsabäische Texte I*, Wien 1927 (Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 206. Band, 2. Abh.), S. 74; jedenfalls Bezeichnung einer niederen sozialen Klasse. — Äth. 'anāmī »Weber«.

Sab. 'rft in 'rfthw (RES 4922,4) »seine Mauer« oder »seine Grenze«, kaum jedoch »seine Oberfläche«, wie G. Ryckmans im RES übersetzt hat, s. G. Garbini in *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 33 (1973), S. 436. — Ge'ez 'araft »Wand, Mauer«, falls nicht arab. 'urfa »Grenze« zur Erklärung herangezogen wird.

Sab. 'bt (Ja 567,27; u.ö.), 'bt (Ja 635,45), bezeichnet etwas Böses, wovor die Gottheit behüten möge, vielleicht »Frondienst« oder »Verleumdung«. — Ge'ez 'abaṭa »nötigen, zwingen«, oder aber arab. 'abaṭa »verleumden«.

Sab. 'd »Holz« (Ja 557) als Baumaterial, dann übertragen auf Bauelemente aus Stein, welche die Funktion des Holzes übernahmen; auch im Qat., Min. und Ḥadr. belegt. — Ge'ez 'ad »Holz«; s. für weitere Entsprechungen W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 12b unter *āṭā*, wo jedoch altsüdarab. 'd (statt 's) zu lesen ist.

Sab. coll. m'qbt »Wachen, Wächter« (RES 5085,10), und vielleicht auch m'qb (CIH 45 + 44,4), beide Belege spätsabäisch. — Ge'ez mā'qāb, pl. ma'āqābt »Wachen, Wächter«.

Sab. 'sy »opfern« (RES 2740,8; haramisch), daneben häufig in der Bedeutung »machen, erwerben, kaufen«, auch im Qat. und Min. belegt. — Ge'ez 'asaya »vergelt, Dank abstaten«; s. auch F. Rundgren, *Zur arabischen Wortkunde. 1. Die Wurzel 'šw und ihre Verwandten*, in *Studia Orientalia in memoriam Caroli Brockelmann*, Halle 1968, S. 161f.

Sab. 'šq »Anlage« (z. B. von Weingärten, RES 4194,3); h'šq »bauen, anlegen« (z. B. einen Brunnen, YM 544,1, oder einen Paßweg, YMN 8,4); auch im Qat. und Min. belegt. — Ge'ez 'ašq (neben 'asq, s. Dillmann, *Lexicon*, Sp. 972) »Wirkware, kunstvolles Gewebe«.

Sab. 'šd »Dörfer« (Ja 574,5; Ja 575,3.4); s. Y. Shitomi, Une note sur 'šd, in *Raydān* 4 (1981), S. 127-129. — Ge'ez 'ašad »Dorf«.

Sab. 'tb »weihen, bestimmen (zur Vernichtung)« (RES 3945,5.6; CIH 516,8-9; u.ö.; sämtliche Belege altsabäisch). — Ge'ez 'ataba »bezeichnen, kennzeichnen, besiegeln«.

Sab. coll. b'r »Rinder, Vieh« (RES 3945,18; CIH 535,10; u.ö.). — Ge'ez ba'rāwī »Rind, Ochs«; s. für weitere Entsprechungen W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 150b unter *hora*.

Sab. brr »durchbrechen, ausbrechen (Vulkan)« (CIH 323,2; s. W. W. Müller und H. v. Wissmann, Über die von einem Lavastrom bedrohten Tempel der Stadt Damhān ..., in *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 113. Jg. 1976, S. 117); »einen Ausbruch (zum Kampf) machen, sich (zum Kampf) stellen« (Ry 614,6; Ja 631,28.31); qat. brr »(einen Bergweg) durchstechen, durchbrechen« (RES 3550,3; RES 4328,5). — Ge'ez barara »durchdringen«.

Sab. d' (CIH 540,66; CIH 541,12.50; Ry 507,7; sämtlich spätsabäisch), Bedeutung entweder »schon« oder »nicht«. — Zur Bedeutung »schon« wurde Ge'ez wad'a »vollenden« verglichen, vor einem Perfekt »schon«; zur Bedeutung »nicht« vergleiche man jetzt die Belege in der altäthiopischen, im altsüdarabischen Alphabet abgefaßten Inschrift des W'zb, etwa ldd'lymt »dem, der unsterblich ist«, s. R. Schneider, Quelques remarques linguistiques sur l'inscription de W'zb, fils de Kaleb, in *Comptes rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques* 18/23 (1973-1979), S. 93-95, wo nicht nur sämtliche Beispiele aus jener Inschrift gebracht werden, sondern auch die Literatur über die Erörterung der Bedeutung von sab. d' vollständig angeführt ist.

Sab. dglmt-m »Schmuckringe, Armspangen (aus Gold und Silber, als Beutestücke von den Äthiopiern)« (in Z. 13 einer der großen, noch unveröffentlichten Felsinschriften von Mi'sāl). — Ge'ez dag'al mā, dalg'amā »Schmuckring, Armspange«, das nach Th. Nöldeke, Lehnwörter in und aus dem Äthiopischen, in *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Straßburg 1910, S. 53, im Anschluß an S. Fraenkel der Prototyp von arab. dumluḡ »Armreif« sein soll.

Sab. mdlṭ »Gewicht, Wert, Preis« (RES 4191,6; Ja 609,5; u.ö.), ḥaḍr. mdlw-t »dessen Gewicht« (RES 2693,2-3). — Ge'ez madlōt, pl. madālāw »Gewicht, Wert«.

Sab. dmr »eine Entscheidung treffen« (Gl 1574,7; Ja 669,20-21; u.ö.). — Ge'ez tazam(m)ara »sich als Autorität berufen auf, als Zeugnis anführen« (*Qērellos*, ed. B. M. Weischer, 1973 ff., III, S. 44,15; IV 2, S. 28,19-30,1).

Sab. dnm »regnen« (Ja 651,17; Ja 735,12), dnm »Regen« (CIH 28,7; Ja 651,17; u.ö.). — Ge'ez zanma, zanama »regnen«, zanām »Regen«; s. für weitere Entsprechungen W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 710a unter zanābā.

Sab. *ḏb'* »einen Kriegszug unternehmen, Krieg führen« (CIH 516,6; RES 3884,9; u.ö.), *ḏb't* »Kriegszug« (YM 349,9; u.ö.), auch pl. (Ja 636,6-7). — Ge'ez *ḏab'a* »Krieg führen« (Dillmann, *Lexicon*, Sp. 1281 unter *ṣab'a*), *ḏabə'*, pl. *ḏab'āt* »Krieg«; s. W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 610a unter *ṭābāññä*.

Sab. *ḏbh* »Abgabe leisten« (Gl A 744,4; s. Maria Höfner, *Sabäische Inschriften* (Letzte Folge), S. 30f.). — Ge'ez *ḏabhəḥa* »Tribut entrichten, Abgabe leisten« (Dillmann, *Lexicon*, Sp. 1278 unter *ṣabhəḥa*).

Sab. *ḏr* »Feind« (CIH 314,22; CIH 573,5; u.ö.); im Sab. und Min. *ḏr* auch »Krieg«. — Ge'ez *ḏar(r)* »Feind«; s. W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 629b unter *ṭārä*.

Sab. *fdfdt-m* »reichlich tragend, fruchtbar (von Palmgärten)« (RES 4781,2). — Ge'ez *fədfəd* »reichlich, zahlreich«.

Sab. *fls* »in die Flucht schlagen, verjagen« (CIH 334,11; Nāmī NAG 13 + 14,3). — Ge'ez *'aflasa* »vertreiben«.

Sab. *flṭ* »(Land) zuweisen, übereignen« (Gl 1444,1), auch im Qat. belegt. — Ge'ez *falaṭa* »absondern, trennen«.

Sab. *fnwt* »Wasserweg, (Haupt)kanal« (CIH 611,3; CIH 657,3; u.ö.), pl. *fnw'* (CIH 329,2.4; CIH 380,4). — Ge'ez *fənōt*, pl. *fənāw* »Weg«.

Sab. *hfṭḥ* »mit Freude erfüllen« (Šarafaddīn, *Tārīḥ* III, Nr. 31,12; s. W. W. Müller, Eine sabäische Gesandtschaft in Ktesiphon und Seleukeia, in *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik* 2, 1974, S. 163). — Ge'ez *astafaṣṣəḥa* »erfreuen, mit Freude erfüllen«.

Sab. *tg'r* »(zusammen)gerufen werden, einberufen werden« (Ja 577,13; Ja 665,14; Iryānī 32,18; s. W. W. Müller, Das Ende des antiken Königreichs Ḥadramaut. Die sabäische Inschrift Schreyer-Geukens = Iryānī 32, in *Al-Hudhud. Festschrift Maria Höfner zum 80. Geburtstag*. Hrsg. von Roswitha G. Stiegner, Graz 1981, S. 237). — Ge'ez *gə'ara*, *ga'ara* »rufen«; s. für weitere Entsprechungen W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 288b unter *(a)g'arra*.

Sab. *gb'* »zurückkehren« (CIH 541,50.80; CIH 621,8), »zurückbringen« (Ja 670,28); *hgh'* »zurückgeben« (RES 3910,4; Gl 1574,10.12), »übergeben« (Ja 576,2), »wiederherstellen« (CIH 365,9; RES 4775,2). — Ge'ez *gab'a* »zurückkehren«, *aghə'a* »zurückgeben, zurückbringen«; s. für andere äthiopische Sprachen W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 255 unter *gäha*.

Sab. *hgr* »Stadt«, d.h. eine von Mauern umgebene Siedlung; bis zum heutigen Tag wird Haḡar in manchen Gegenden Südarabiens für die Ruinen antiker Städte gebraucht; pl. *'hgr* (CIH 363,1; RES 3945,5; u.ö.). — Ge'ez *hagar*, pl. *'ahgur* »Stadt«; bei Dillmann, *Lexicon*, Sp. 20, bereits mit dem Hinweis auf arabisch *haḡar*, das als ḥimyarisches Wort überliefert ist; s. für andere äthiopische Sprachen W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 26b unter *agär*.

Sab. *mhrk-m* »Beute« (Fa 119,8 = YM 358,8), falls nicht doch statt dessen *mhrgm* »Tötungen« zu lesen sein sollte (s. A. F. L. Beeston in *Corpus des*

inscriptions et antiquités sud-arabes, Tome I, Section 1, S. 50). — Ge'ez *mahrakā* »Beute«; s. für andere äthiopische Sprachen W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 421a unter *marākā*.

Sab. *ḥdg* »lassen, verlassen« (Ja 643,29; Ja 644,9), »zurücklassen« (Gl 1369,2), »ablassen« (CIH 99,9; CIH 380,5), »unterlassen« (Ja 2834,4), wobei in den drei zuletzt angeführten Belegen *ḥdg* statt *ḥdl* gelesen wurde. — Ge'ez *ḥadaga* »lassen, verlassen, zurücklassen, hinterlassen, ablassen, weglassen, unterlassen«; s. für andere äthiopische Sprachen W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 15f. unter *adägä*.

Sab. *mḥdr* »Wohnplatz, Residenz« (Ja 547,3-4; spätsabäisch). — Ge'ez *māḥdar* »Wohnung, Niederlassung«; s. zur Wurzel *ḥdr* Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 17b unter *addärä*.

Sab. *ḥrf* (häufig belegt) »Spätsommer, Herbst« (neben *dt'* »Frühjahr«), »Jahr«. — Ge'ez *ḥarīf* »(laufendes) Jahr«.

Sab. *ḥry* »erretten, bewahren« (CIH 343,9; RES 3992,12; u.ö.). — Ge'ez *ḥaraya*, *ḥarya* »(aus)wählen, vorziehen«.

Sab. *ḥḥ* in der Dualform *ḥḥnhn* »die beiden Durchgänge« (Ja 552,3). — Ge'ez *ḥōḥt* »Tür, Tor, Eingang«; s. für weitere Entsprechungen *KBL*³, S. 284b.

Sab. *ḥyl* »Macht, Kraft« (CIH 541,1; Gl 1177,6; u.ö.). — Ge'ez *ḥayl* »Macht, Kraft«; s. *KBL*³, S. 298b.

Sab. *mḥfd* »Turm, Bastion, Vorbau (einer Mauer)« (CIH 448 + Hakim 1,1; RES 4943,4; u.ö.), pl. *mḥfdt*; auch im Qat., Min. und Ḥadr. belegt. — Ge'ez *māḥfad* (im Hinblick auf das Altsüdarab. besser so statt *māḥfad* wie bei Dillmann, *Lexicon*, Sp. 628) »Turm«, pl. *māḥfadāt*.

Sab. *ḥg* »Gesetz, Recht« (RES 3945,2; Gl 1143,3; u.ö.); auch im Min. belegt. — Ge'ez *ḥagg* »Gesetz, Recht«.

Sab. *ḥqw* in den Dualformen *ḥqwnhn* »die Hüften, Lenden« (Ja 711,5), *ḥqwyhw* »seine Hüften, Lenden« (Ja 700,13). — Ge'ez *ḥaq"ē* »Hüften, Lenden« als erstarrter Dual; s. für andere äthiopische Sprachen W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 72 unter *anq"ä*.

Sab. *ḥrd* »Mehlkuchen(?)« (CIH 562,6). — Ge'ez *ḥarīd* »Mehl, Teig«; s. für andere äthiopische Sprachen W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 93a unter *art*, wo nach K. Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia arabica meridionalis epigraphica*, Roma 1931, S. 158, altsüdarab. *ḥrṣ* »Mehl« angegeben wird, das aber höchstwahrscheinlich »Schätzung« bedeutet.

Sab. *mḥrm* »Heiligtum, Tempel« (CIH 140,8; CIH 398,12; u.ö.), pl. *mḥrmt* (CIH 323,5; Ja 629,28). — Ge'ez *māḥrām*, pl. *māḥrāmāt* »Heiligtum, Tempel«.

Sab. *ḥyqn/qn'* »der Strand von Qana', der Anlegeplatz von Qana'« (Iryānī 13§13); auch mehri *ḥayq* »Strand«. — Ge'ez *ḥayq* »Küste, Strand«.

Sab. *ḥyw* »leben, am Leben bleiben« (RES 4938,7-8, Ry 375,4; u.ö.); *ḥywt*

»Leben« (Ja 764,3). — Ge'ez *ḥayw'a* »leben«; *ḥaywat* »Leben«; s. für weitere Entsprechungen KBL³, S. 296b.

Sab. *khl* »imstande sein« (Ja 651,36); auch mehri *kəhēl* »vermögen, imstande sein«. — Ge'ez *kəhala* »vermögen, imstande sein«; aramäisch *kəhal*; s. für andere äthiopische Sprachen W. Leslau, EDG, III, S. 173 unter *ṭalä*.

Sab. *kl'y* »beide« (Ja 557) neben *kl'y* (Ja 644,24; u.ö.), *kl'ty* (Ja 672,1). — Ge'ez *kal'ē*, *kal'ētū* »zwei«; s. auch W. Leslau, EDG, III, S. 356 unter *k'ett*.

Sab. *mkrb* »Tempel, Synagoge« (Gl 1194,4; Ry 520,4; u.ö.; sämtlich spätsabäisch). — Ge'ez *mək'rāb* »Tempel, Synagoge«.

Sab. *l'l* »oberhalb, aufwärts« (Maṣna'at Māriya, 5), auch im Min. belegt; *l-l'l* »darüber hinaus« (CIH 80,11). — Ge'ez *lā'ala* »auf, über«; s. für andere äthiopische Sprachen W. Leslau, EDG, III, S. 378a unter *lalä*.

Sab. *mdr* »Boden (eines Grabes)« (RES 4231,5), pl. *'mdr* »Gebiete« (RES 3951,4). — Ge'ez *mādar*, pl. *'amdār* »Erde, Boden, Gebiet«; s. auch W. Leslau, EDG, III, S. 392a.

Sab. *mḥly-m* »Eid, Schwur« (Gl 1533,6; s. Maria Höfner, *Inschriften aus Širwāḥ, Ḥaulān (I. Teil)*. Wien 1973 (*Sammlung Eduard Glaser VIII*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 291. Band, 1. Abh., S. 31). — Ge'ez *maḥalā* »Eid, Schwur«; s. für andere äthiopische Sprachen W. Leslau, EDG, III, S. 401b unter *malä*.

Sab. *mrt-n* »Kalkstein« (Fa 90,2), auch im Qat. und Min. belegt. — Ge'ez *marēt* »Lehm, Kalk«.

Sab. *myt* »Wein?« (Robin/Kāniṭ 6,2). — Ge'ez *mēs* »Honigwein«, bereits inschriftlich belegt, s. A. J. Drewes, *Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie antique*, Leiden 1962, S. 36.

Sab. *mṣr-m/dtṣr-m* »Dattelwein« (CIH 540,50-51; spätsabäisch). — Ge'ez *māṣar* »Bier«; zu arab. *miṣr* s. Th. Nöldeke, *Lehnwörter in und aus dem Äthiopischen*, in *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, Straßburg 1910, S. 57.

Sab. *mṣ'* »(an)kommen, gelangen, erreichen« (CIH 364,1; CIH 581,7; u.ö.); *hmṣ'* »überlassen, überweisen« (Gl 1533,1; Gl 1572,1; u.ö.), »zukommen lassen, durchführen, ausführen« (Garbini AION 33, 1973, 37,6). — Ge'ez *maṣ'a* »kommen«; s. für weitere Entsprechungen KBL³, S. 585b, und W. Leslau, EDG, III, S. 437a unter *māṣa*.

Sab. *nfq-n* »Sarkophag« (s. J. Ryckmans, Rezension von Sammlung Eduard Glaser VI, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 29, 1972, S. 92) (Gl 1656/1 = AM 221/2), auch im Min. in der Sarkophaginschrift RES 3427/1 bezeugt. — Ge'ez *naṣq*, *naṣq* »Kasten, Sarg«.

Sab. *nfṣ* »aufbrechen, ausziehen, marschieren« (Iryānī 13§10; Iryānī 32,12; u.ö.; s. W. W. Müller in *Al-Hudhud. Festschrift Maria Höfner*, S. 238). — Ge'ez *naṣṣa* »fliehen, weggehen«.

Sab. *ngš* »unter Kontrolle bringen« oder »Tribut auferlegen« (Iryānī 32,37; s. W. W. Müller in *Al-Hudhud. Festschrift Maria Höfner*, S. 244); auch im Min. belegt. — Äth. *nagša* »die Herrschaft erlangen, herrschen«; s. für weitere Entsprechungen W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 454b unter *nägäsä*.

Sab. *tnhy* »(Sünden) bekennen, (öffentlich) beichten« (CIH 523,1; CIH 533,1; u.ö.). — Ge'ez *tanāhaya* (so wohl besser statt *tanāhaya*, Dillmann, *Lexicon*, Sp. 632; s. bereits Fr. Praetorius in *ZDMG* 66, 1912, S. 786f.) »(Sünden) bekennen«.

Sab. *hnsǵ* »zusammenfügen«, d.h. die einzeln gegossenen Teile einer Bronzestatue zusammenfügen und durch Querstücke miteinander befestigen; s. W. W. Müller, *The Inscriptions on the Hellenistic Bronze Statues from Nakhlāt al-Hamrā', Yemen*, in *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 9 (1979), S. 79. — Ge'ez *nasaga* (Dillmann, *Lexicon*, Sp. 639, neben *našaga*) »mit einem Bolzen befestigen, mit einem Riegel verschließen«; vgl. *mansag/manšag* »Riegel, Querstück (um etwas zu befestigen)«.

Sab. *mqdh* »Gefäß, (Opfer)schale« (CIH 972; RES 2740,7). — Ge'ez *maqdaht* »Krug, Gefäß«.

Sab. *qšmt* »Gemüsegarten, Pflanzung« (CIH 308,9); vgl. auch jemenitisch-arab. *qušm* »Gemüse« (s. E. Glaser, *Altjemenische Studien*, hrsg. von O. Weber, Leipzig 1923, S. 83, Anm.). — Ge'ez *qašama* »ernten, sammeln, lesen«.

Sab. *qṭn-m* »klein« oder »niedrig« (CIH 609,7; Gl 1547,8; u.ö.; meist zusammen mit *bht-m* »groß« oder »hoch«); vgl. auch mehri *qeṭāyn* »dünn, fein«. — Ge'ez *qaṭīn* »zart, klein«; s. für weitere Entsprechungen Gesenius-Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament*, 17. Aufl., S. 710a, und W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 508b.

Sab. pl. *rdyt* »Zinsen« (Gl 1547,2; s. Brigitte Schaffer, *Sabäische Inschriften aus verschiedenen Fundorten*. Wien 1972 (*Sammlung Eduard Glaser VII*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 282. Band, 1 Abh., S. 41). — Ge'ez *radē* »Zinsen«.

Sab. *rhq* »fern sein« (CIH 343,9-10; CIH 609,7; u.ö.), *rhq-m* »fern« (Fa 3,8; RES 3929,13; u.ö.); auch mehri *rahāq* »fern sein«. — Ge'ez *rahāqa* »fern sein«, *rahūq* »fern«; s. auch W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 526b unter *raqä*.

Sab. *rhš* »ein Libationsopfer darbringen(?)« (CIH 428,2). — Ge'ez *rahāsa* »feucht sein oder werden«, *'arhāsa* »feucht machen, eintauchen«; s. für andere äthiopische Sprachen W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 527b unter *rasä*.

Sab. *sfrt* »Ausdehnung« (CIH 570,5). — Ge'ez *sāfrat* »Maß, Ausmaß«; zur Wurzel *sfr* s. W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 538a.

Sab. *sm'* »Zeuge sein, bezeugen« (CIH 570,9); *sm'* »Zeuge(n)« (RES 4123,1), »Zeugnis, Urkunde, Dokument« (Gl 1572,4; u.ö.). — Ge'ez *sam'a* »Zeuge sein, bezeugen«, *sam'* »Zeuge, Zeugnis«.

Sab. *sslt* aus **snslt* »Kette« (Ry 508,8; Ja 1028,4.8), *sslt* (Ry 507,10), sämtliche Belege spätsabäisch; vgl. auch ḥarsusi *senselet* und sudarab. *sinsila* neben *silsila* (C. de Landberg, *Glossaire Datinois*, S. 1964). — Ge'ez *sansal* »Kette«; s. für andere äthiopische Sprachen W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 554a unter *sänsälät*.

Sab. *msty* »Trank, Getränk« (CIH 563 + 956,2). — Ge'ez *mastē* »Trinken, Trank«; zur Wurzel *sty* s. W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 534b unter *säte*.

Sab. *hsṭw* »gewähren« (Gl 1574,14 = RES 4964,12; s. J. Ryckmans, *Le sens de d' en sud-arabe*, in *Le Muséon* 67, 1954, S. 348). — Ge'ez *'asaṭṭawa*, *taṣaṭwa* »annehmen, gewähren, erhören«.

Sab. *ṣyṭ* »(Wasser)güsse, (Wasser)zuflüsse (Ja 735,14). — Ge'ez *sōṭa* »gießen, ausgießen, vergießen«.

Sab. *ṣrh* »schützen, bewahren«, auch »erfolgreich durchführen« (Ja 564,13), *ṣrh* »Erfolg, Gelingen« (BR-M. Bayḥān 3,15). — Ge'ez *ṣarraḥa* »erfolgreich sein«.

Sab. *ṣry* »heil bewahren, (er)retten« (Gl 1366,4), *ḥṣry* (CIH 313,3). — Ge'ez *ṣar(r)aya* »heilen«.

Sab. *ṣym* »errichten« (Ja 651,32), »aufstellen« (Ja 576,13), »einsetzen« (CIH 496,5), »festsetzen« (CIH 349,6), etc. — Ge'ez *ṣēma* »einsetzen«; s. für weitere Entsprechungen W. W. Müller, *Die Wurzeln mediae und tertiae y/w im Altsüd-arabischen*, Tübingen 1962, S. 71.

Sab. *mṣwr* »Bewässerungskanal« (RES 4781,1). — Ge'ez pl. *masāwār* »Gießgefäß, Spund, Schnabel (zum Eingießen)« (eher unter *swr*, Dillmann, *Lexicon*, Sp. 385, statt unter *ṣwr*, ebd., Sp. 255).

Sab. *ṣḥf* »schreiben, ein Dokument abfassen« (CIH 314 + 954,9), *ṣḥft* »Schriftstück, Dokument« (CIH 314 + 954,8.11; YM 546,2); *ṣḥft* auch im Qat. und Min. belegt. — Ge'ez *ṣaḥafa* »schreiben«, *ṣaḥfat* »Schrift, Inschrift, Aufschrift«; s. für andere äthiopische Sprachen W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 569b unter *ṣafä*.

Sab. *ṣlt* »Steinbau« oder »Steinpflasterung« (DJE 12,2.4; CIH 325,2), *ṣll* »Steinpflasterung« (CIH 40,3), auch im Qat. belegt; vgl. jemenitisch-arab. *ṣalla*, pl. *ṣalāl* »flache Pflastersteine«. — Ge'ez *ṣallē*, *ṣallā*, pl. *ṣallāt* »(steinerne) Tafel«; s. W. W. Müller in *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik* 1 (1972), S. 90.

Sab. *ṣn'* »befestigen« (Ry 508,8; Ja 1028,8, u.ö.); *tṣn'* »sich verschanzen« (CIH 353,6; CIH 541,77; u.ö.), *stṣn'* (CIH 621,8). — Ge'ez *ṣan'a* »stark, fest sein«, *taṣanna'a* »sich stärken, Kräfte sammeln«, *astaṣānā'a* »befestigen«; s. für andere äthiopische Sprachen W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 622b unter *(a)ṭänna*.

Sab. *ṣyh* »anlegen (z. B. eine Pflanzung)« (CIH 158,2; RES 4920,2; u.ö.). — Ge'ez *ṣēḥa* »ebnen«.

Sab. *tqr* »(eine Zisterne) aushauen« (Grjaznevič 1,1). — Ge'ez *saq^aara* »durchbohren, durchstechen, durchgraben«.

Sab. *studd* »übereinkommen« (Rathjens 14,5; Robin/al-Mašāmain 1,1; Umm Laylā 1,4). — Ge'ez *astawādada* »gut ineinanderfügen, passen, übereinstimmen«.

Sab. *wdq* »stürzen« (Ja 619,7), »einstürzen« (Ja 651,20), »befallen, fallen über« (YM 440,8); *dqt* »Sturz« (Ja 619,7), *wdqt* »Einsturz« (CIH 396,9; Ja 651,12). — Ge'ez *wadaqa* »fallen, einstürzen«, *dəqat*, *wədqat* »Fall, Sturz, Einsturz«; s. für andere äthiopische Sprachen W. Leslau, EDG, III, S. 644a.

Sab. *wd'* »hinausgehen« (CIH 532,5), »ausfließen« (RES 3945,2), »herauskommen, sich ergeben« (CIH 570,6); auch im Qat. belegt; *hwd'* »hinausführen, hinausleiten« (CIH 615,5), »hinaustreiben« (RES 4176,6). — Ge'ez *wad'a* »hinausgehen«, *'awda'a* »hinausführen«; s. für weitere Entsprechungen KBL³, S. 406a, und W. Leslau, EDG, III, S. 672a unter *wāta*, wo jedoch altsüdarab. *wd'* (statt *wš'*) zu lesen ist.

Sab. *mwfr* »bebautes und bewirtschaftetes Land (das zu einer Stadt gehört)« (CIH 506,3), *mfr* (CIH 546,2; Gl 1142,5); auch im Min. belegt. — Ge'ez *mūfār* »(die zu einer Stadt gehörenden) Gehöfte, Grundstücke und Fluren«.

Sab. *wft* »(nieder)brennen, verbrennen« (RES 3943,3; RES 3945,3; u.ö.; sämtlich altsabäisch). — Ge'ez *wafaṭa* »verbrennen«.

Sab. *wgr* »steinigen« (Robin/al-Mašāmain 1,10; s. W. W. Müller, Altsüdarabische Miscellen, in *Raydān* 3, 1980, S. 68f.). — Ge'ez *wagara* »steinigen«.

Sab. *wkhy-m* »Streit, Auseinandersetzung?« (ST 1,15; A. F. L. Beeston in *Corpus des inscriptions et antiquités sud-arabes*, Tome I, Section 1, S. 42: »ignominiously«). — Ge'ez *wakəḥ*, *wakḥat* (*Qērellos*, ed. B. M. Weischer, 1973ff., IV 3, S. 106,3) »Streit, Lärm«; s. KBL³, S. 391bf., und W. Leslau, EDG, III, S. 649b unter *wäkeka* III.

Sab. *wqr* »Stein, in welchen etwas eingemeißelt ist« (CIH 438,1; CIH 601,14; CIH 947,4); auch im Min. belegt. — Ge'ez *wəqrō* »behauene Steine«; s. für andere äthiopische Sprachen W. Leslau, EDG, III, S. 659a.

Sab. *wrh*, pl. *'wrh* »Monat« (zahlreiche Belege); vgl. auch mehri *wārəḥ*, *warḥ*. — Ge'ez *warḥ*, pl. *'awrāḥ* »Monat«; s. KBL³, S. 418a, und W. Leslau, EDG, III, S. 660a unter *wār* I.

Sab. *wrq* »Gold« (*bltm/wrq*, »Goldmünzen«, Garbini AION 30, 1970, 540,2-3; *tlty/wrqm*, »dreißig Gold(münzen)«, Grjaznevič 14,1); auch im Qat. belegt. — Ge'ez *wrq* »Gold, Goldmünze«; s. für andere äthiopische Sprachen W. Leslau, EDG, III, S. 664a.

Sab. *wrw* »angreifen, Feindseligkeiten begehen« (RES 3945,13; altsabäisch). — Ge'ez *warawa* »werfen«; s. W. Leslau, EDG, III, S. 666 unter *wārāwārā*.

Sab. *hwš'* »erhören, (eine Bitte) gewähren, Gunst erweisen, (im Orakel)

einen Respons verleihen« (CIH 314,6; Gl 1655,4; u.ö.; s. Maria Höfner, *Inschriften aus Širwāḥ, Ḥaulān (I. Teil)*, S. 59). — Ge'ez *awš'a* (wohl besser so statt mit Dillmann, *Lexicon*, Sp. 895 unter *ws'*) »Antwort geben, erhören«.

Sab. *wsḥ* »ankommen, erreichen« (CIH 540,7; CIH 541,24; u.ö.; sämtlich spätsabäisch). — Ge'ez *baṣḥa* »ankommen, erreichen«.

Sab. *wtṇ* »Grenzsteine setzen, Grenze ziehen« (CIH 949,4; RES 3945,17), *twṭn* (CIH 610,2-3; Ry 366,2); *wtṇ* »Grenzstein, Grenze« (CIH 389,4-5; Gl 1520,2; u.ö.). — Ge'ez *wassana*, *tawassana* »begrenzen«, *wasan* »Grenze«; s. für andere äthiopische Sprachen W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 668a.

Sab. *wyn* »Weingarten« (CIH 522,2; RES 4196,2; u.ö.), pl. *'wyn* (Nami NAG 13 + 14,3). — Ge'ez *wayn*, pl. *'awyān* »Weinstock, Weingarten«; s. *KBL*³, S. 391.

Sab. *ṣlm* »schwarz?« (neben *ḥmrt* »rot?«; RES 3945,15; altsabäisch); auch in den sabäischen Inschriften aus Äthiopien belegt in der Form *šlm* (neben *'dm* »rot«), s. A. J. Drewes, *The Lexicon of Ethiopian Sabaeen*, in *Raydān* 3 (1980), S. 39f. — Ge'ez *ṣalīm* »schwarz«; s. W. Leslau, *EDG*, III, S. 180 unter *ṣällämä*.

LA COPULE NÄW EN AMHARIQUE DANS UNE PERSPECTIVE CHAMITOSÉMITIQUE ET AFRICAINE

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La copule *näw* en amharique a été plusieurs fois étudiée dans les grammaires respectives¹ dans son aspect formel, fonctionnel et temporel. Nous connaissons encore quelques études spéciales destinées à ce thème². Dans ces travaux

- ¹ M. Cohen, *Traité de langue amharique*, Paris 1936, 1970², 148ss.; Fr. Praetorius, *Die amharische Sprache*, Halle 1879, 257-8, 414-19; C. H. Armbruster, *Initia Amharica. An Introduction to Spoken Amharic*, P. I, Grammar, Cambridge 1908, 69-70; I. Guidi, *Grammatica elementare della lingua amarica*, Napoli 1924, 12; A. Klingenhagen, *Deutsch-amharischer Sprachführer*, Wiesbaden 1966, 42; C. H. Dawkins, *Fundamentals of Amharic*, Addis Ababa, 1960; W. Leslau, *Amharic Textbook*, Wiesbaden 1967, 37; J. Hartmann, *Amharische Grammatik*, 1979; E. B. Gankin, and Kasa Gebre-Hiywot, *Amharsko-russkiy slovar*, Moskva 1969, 942-3.

² Le problème de la copule en général:

J. Lyons, *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*, Cambridge 1968, 322; H. Gipper, *Bausteine zur Sprachinhaltsforschung*, Düsseldorf 1963, 135-214 (Arabisch 184); voir aussi la série par J. W. M. Verhaar, ed., *The Verb «Be» and its Synonyms*. Philosophical and Grammatical Studies, Dordrecht, 4 (1969), 5 (1972) et toute la série (depuis 1, 1967).

La fonction présentative:

R. Hetzron, «Presentative Function and Presentative Movement», *Studies in African Linguistics*, Suppl. 2, October 1971, 79-105.

Dans les langues sémitiques:

C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, II, Berlin 1913, 102ss.; M. Cohen, *Le système verbal en sémitique et l'expression du temps*, Paris 1924, 104-6; G. Ryckmans, «L'idée d'existence en sémitique», *Tijdschrift voor filosofie* 23, no. 2, 1961, 318-322; Fadlou Shehadi, «Arabic and 'to Be'», in: J. W. M. Verhaar, ed., *The Verb «be» and its Synonyms*, IV, 1969, Dordrecht, 112-125; Wolfram von Soden, *Sprache, Denken und Begriffsbildung im Alten Orient*, Wiesbaden 1973, 21, 34 etc.; J. Barr, «The Expression of Being in the Semitic and the Related Languages», conférence pour Second Int. Congress of Hamito-Semitic Languages, Firenze 1974 (seulement dans le préprint!).

Dans les langues sémitiques éthiopiennes:

R. Hetzron, *Ethiopian Semitic. Studies in Classification*, Manchester 1972, 79-85; W. Leslau, «Supplement. Characteristics of the Ethiopic Language Group of Semitic Languages», in: A. N. Tucker, M. A. Bryan, *Linguistic Analyses. The Non-Bantu Languages of North-Eastern Africa*, London, 1966, 603; W. Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage (Ethiopic)*, III, Wiesbaden 1979, 444 s.v. *ḥn*; W. Leslau, *Étude descriptive et comparative du gafat (éthiopien méridional)*, Paris 1956, 79-80; G. Goldenberg, «The Semitic Languages of Ethiopia and their Classification», *BSOAS* XL, 1977, 461-506 (Copulas 478ss.; ici sur les copules à *n*, *t*, *u*, *ḥ*; voir aussi G. Goldenberg, «A Copula $\aleph$ in Old Amharic», *Israel Oriental Studies* VI,

nous constatons la forme spécifique de la copule *näw* consistant dans la base *na-* munie des suffixes pronominaux objectifs qui ont été en partie supprimés au cours de l'évolution et prouvent ainsi la transition de cette base vers la sphère verbale/parfait³; on met en relief l'assymétrie de sa forme du parfait et de son temps présent⁴. Parfois, on montre les formes analogues dans les autres langues sémitiques d'Éthiopie⁵ et dans le cadre du sémitique en général⁶.

L'étymologie de la base à *-N-* (*nä*) s'appuie sur les données des langues éthiopiennes et sémitiques et suppose son origine dans une particule présentative ou deïctique, alors dans la sphère non-verbale⁷.

1976, 131-137; R. Hetzron, *The Gonnän-Gurage Languages*, Napoli 1977, 106; M. L. Bender, *Amharic Verb Morphology: A Generative Approach*, New Haven 1968, 140.

Pour le sudarabique moderne:

W. Leslau, *Lexique soqotri* (sudarabique moderne), Paris 1938, 66, s.v. *'ino*; E. Wagner, *Syntax der Mehri-Sprache*, Berlin 1953, 30ss.; T. M. Johnstone, *Harsūsi Lexicon*, Oxford 1977, s.v. *'n(n)*.

En amharique:

Getatchew Haile, «The Copula ነው (*näw*) in Amharic», IV. *Congresso int. di studi etiopici*, Roma 1972, 1974, T. II., 139-154; G. Goldenberg, *The Amharic Tense System*, thèse de doctorat, Jerusalem 1966, §98-100, 101-123, 132; Ch. A. Ferguson, «Verbs of 'Being' in Bengali, with a Note on Amharic», in: J. W. M. Verhaar, ed., *The Verb «Be» and its Synonyms*. Philosophical and Grammatical Studies, Part 5, Dordrecht 1972, 74-114 (surtout 106ss.); Abraham Demoz, Hailu Fulas, «The Adjective and the *näw* Clauses in Amharic», *Proceedings of the Third Int. Conf. on Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa 1966, I, 1977, 81-87.

À propos de la copule à *t* voir G. Goldenberg, «A Copula ት in Old Amharic», *Israel Oriental Studies* VI, 1976, 131-137 et son travail cité en ann. 2 (1977); L. Bender, Hailu Fulass, *A Morphology of Amharic*, Michigan (Occasional Paper 6, Linguistics and Languages, 1), inaccessible.

- 3 Cf. surtout R. Hetzron 1972, cité en ann. 2, 79-85; G. Goldenberg 1977, *ibid.* 478ss.
- 4 L'explication structurelle de ce fait, constaté passim dans les travaux descriptifs, est donnée pour le bilin et le tigrinja par F. R. Palmer, «Bilin 'to Be' and 'to Have'», *African Language Studies* 6, 1965, 101-111: it happened (past) = it is (present). M. Cohen, *Traité de langue amharique*, 148 constate une certaine diffusion temporelle de la copule *näw* en amharique.
- 5 Surtout dans les travaux sur les langues sémitiques d'Éthiopie, cf. ann. 2: R. Hetzron 1972, 1977; W. Leslau 1956, 1966, 1979; G. Goldenberg 1977.
- 6 Cf. ann. 2: M. Cohen 1924, C. Brockelmann 1913, W. Leslau 1938, E. Wagner 1953, T. M. Johnstone 1977; sur la base *'hnn* cf. D. Cohen, *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques* ... fs. 1, 1970, 26, s.v.; J. Barth, *Die Pronominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*, Leipzig 1913, 97ss.
- 7 Pour l'origine non-verbale (particule présentative, deïctique, démonstrative etc.) cf. surtout M. Cohen, o.c. en ann. 2 (1924), 104-6; *Traité* 1936, 148, particule présentative, cf. présentatif *annäho* ch. IV, §7 *ibid.*; C. H. Armbruster, o.c. en ann. 1 (1908), 69 (particule démonstrative: look! see!); F. Praetorius, o.c. en ann. 1 (1879), 257 (allgemein hindeutend da!, siehe da!); A. Klingenberg, o.c. en ann. 1 (1966), 41 (particle); I. Guidi, o.c. en ann. 1 (1924), 12 (particella col senso originale di ecco ... *nän* — io sono — eccomi);

D'autre part, on estime⁸ que la base de la copule *nāw* soit d'origine verbale. M. Cohen qui a étudié la copule *nāw* dans la section des copules non-verbales déjà dans son *Système verbal en sémitique*⁹, a changé son opinion dans son ouvrage postérieur sur le chamitosémitique¹⁰ et trouvait que l'origine démonstrative de la copule n'était pas prouvée.

Pour une origine non-verbale semblent témoigner les particules présentatives en sémitique (arabe *'inna*, *'anna*, hébreux *hinne*, ancien araméen *hn* etc.) et dans les langues éthiopiennes du nord (guèze *na-hu*, tigrinḥa *'anniho*) et du sud (amhar. *annäho*, harari, gurage, gafat)¹¹, à côté de quelques formes parallèles en sud-arabique moderne (soqotri, ḥarsūsi)¹². Elles sont liées à l'accusatif du pronom objectif qui met le sujet en relief. En tigrinḥa, la forme *'anyehu* (*anniho*) pour la 1^e personne du sg. montre déjà le suffixe personnel subjectif (d'après M. Cohen analogue à celui-ci du parfait *-ku* et dans la forme du pronom personnel *anā-ku* en accadien)¹³.

Une fois, cette particule (*'inna* en arabe) a été interprétée comme la copule¹⁴.

L'origine verbale de la particule présentative (et par là de la copule *nāw*) est démontrée par le fait connu que son sujet (et le sujet de la copule) sont

R. Hetzron, o.c. en ann. 2 (1972), 79ss. (élément deictique d'origine non-verbale); W. Leslau, o.c. en ann. 2 (1979), 444 (comparaison avec le guèze *na-* behold); O. Rössler, cité chez Getatchew Haile, o.c. en ann. 2 (1972); pour l'opinion du dernier cf. dans le suivant. Les opinions changées de M. Cohen cf. dans le suivant.

D'après E. Cerulli, *Studi etiopici*, II^e, *La lingua caffina*, 1951, 477, il s'agit d'un emprunt des langues couchitiques d'origine démonstrative, cf. ann. 15.

- 8 L'origine verbale est supposée par Getatchew Hailu, o.c. en ann. 2 (1972), 147 (*nä* — le verbe «to make one something»), «to be»; le morphème *-w* etc. représente l'objet pronominal; il s'agit d'un verbe transitif (149) complété dans le passé et dans les clauses subordonnées par *bonä*. W. Leslau, o.c. en ann. 2 (1956), 79-80 parle de deux possibilités: d'un élément présentatif ou d'un verbe (**hlw*); G. Goldenberg, o.c. en ann. 2 (1977), 480, contre R. Hetzron, souligne l'origine verbale de la copule négative; ici aussi sur la verbalisation de la copule négative ancienne (suffixes objectifs → suffixes verbaux).

Les comparaisons avec les autres langues chamitosémitiques mettent en évidence l'origine verbale; le fait est bien documenté par le changement de l'opinion de M. Cohen qui passait du terrain sémitique, dans son *Système verbal*, au terrain chamitosémitique, dans son *Essai comparatif*. Les comparaisons seront encore citées dans le suivant (pour le tchadique, le couchitique, l'égyptien et le berbère).

- 9 O.c. en ann. 2 (1924).

- 10 *Essai comparatif sur le vocabulaire et la phonétique du chamitosémitique*, Paris 1947, 185-6.

- 11 Les formes sont ramassées dans les travaux cités en ann. 2: M. Cohen 1924; R. Hetzron 1972; W. Leslau 1956, 1966, 1979; G. Goldenberg 1977.

- 12 Cf. les travaux de W. Leslau 1938, E. Wagner 1953, T. M. Johnstone 1977, cités en ann. 2 (le sudarabique moderne).

- 13 O.c. 1924, 104.

- 14 Fadlou Shehadi, o.c. en ann. 2 (1969).

marqués par un pronom objectif. E. Cerulli¹⁵ réclame pour la copule *näw* l'origine couchitique.

Dans cette situation, nous pouvons élargir le champ de comparaison et observer les autres langues de la famille chamitosémitique ainsi que d'autres langues de différentes familles en Afrique, surtout dans son nord-est, pour en tirer une interprétation nouvelle des faits dans une perspective comparative, non seulement génétique mais aussi aréale et typologique. Par là, nous espérons aboutir à certains nouveaux résultats.

On se limitera à suivre dans quelques langues l'élément -N- que nous trouvons ici dans une fonction multiplexe: du verbe, d'une particule (ou copule) de génitif et d'un pronom (suffixé ou possiblement aussi indépendant). Quelques fois, la sémantique de ce verbe d'existence (ou de cette copule) est liée au verbe «dire», mais la distribution de ce fait semble avoir un caractère universel¹⁶. En tchadique, nous connaissons la racine reconstruite **na-* avec le sens «voir»¹⁷.

La distribution de l'élément -N- dans ses fonctions différentes apparaît comme il suit:

Langue	verbe	génitif (copule génitive)	pronom	particule
le chamito-sémitique:				
égyptien	<i>wnn</i> (être)	-n-	<i>in..</i>	<i>in</i>
berbère	<i>ini</i> (dire)	-n- (préposition)		
couchitique	<i>an/na</i> (être) <i>n</i> (dire)			

15 *Studi etiopici II*, *La lingua caffèna*, Roma 1951, 477 s.v. *ne-* (in funzione di copula) qui est entré en amharique *nä-w*. On peut admettre que l'origine de cette copule couchitique est démonstrative.

16 A. Waley, C. H. Armbruster, «The Verb 'to Say' as an Auxiliary in Africa and China», *BSOAS* VII, 1933-5, 573-76. Pour le chamitosémitique cf. la grammaticalisation du verbe «dire» en bédja (*an*, *in*), en berbère (*ini*) chez D. Cohen, «L'inaccompli en -n- du Bedja et le système verbal chamitosémitique», *GLECS* XIV, 1969-70, 69-75; N. A. Tucker, M. A. Bryan, o.c. en ann. 2 (1966), 501; sur la racine **j/·l/* «dire, être» (<**[b]·l/* —) A. B. Dolgopolskiy, *Sravnitel'no-istoričeskaya fonetika kušitskich jazykov*, Moskva 1973, 184-5; sur la racine **An/n/* «être» ibid. 208-210. Sur le verbe *nəŋ* en Agaw cf. R. Hetzron, *The Verbal System of Southern Agaw*, Berkeley 1969, 59, 83, 72 sur la fluctuation des verbes «dire, être». Pour le tchadique cf. Cl. Gouffé, «Sur les emplois grammaticalisés du verbe 'dire' en haoussa», *GLECS* 15, 1970-71, 77-90; pour les langues sahariennes cf. dans le suivant, ann. 24.

17 P. Newman, «Chadic Classification and Reconstructions», *JAL* 1977, no. 111 **na* (Kk. *naa*, W. *nabau*, T. *na*, Bc. *na*).

Langue	verbe	génitif (copule génitive)	pronom	particule
sémitique	<i>kāna</i> (ar. etc.) (être) <i>nāw</i> (copule)	<i>li-?</i> (préposition)	<i>'an-a</i> , <i>'an-ta</i>	<i>'inna</i> , <i>'anna</i> <i>nā-w</i> (copule non-verbale)
tchadique	<i>nāà</i> (être?) <i>*na</i> (voir)	<i>-n-</i> (copule)	<i>su-nāa</i> , <i>su-n</i>	
le nilo-saharien:				
saharien	<i>n</i> (penser, dire) (attribuer →)			<i>n-ar</i> , <i>n-am</i> (etc. pron. dépendant possessif)
noubien		<i>-n-</i>		
fur		<i>-i/ŋ</i>		
daju		<i>-aŋ</i>		
maba		<i>-n</i>		
voir aussi:				
souahili		<i>ni</i> (copule)		
yorouba		<i>ni</i> (copule) ¹⁸		

Les langues citées appartenants à la famille chamitosémitique et à la famille nilo-saharienne de J. H. Greenberg (qui reste néanmoins assez problématique)¹⁹, forment une zone assez cohérente et ouvrent la possibilité d'une interprétation aréale, supposée déjà par A. Zaborski²⁰ qui visait l'existence de *-N-* dans les langues couchitiques (omotiques) et tchadiques et dans le souahili. La distribution des faits analogues transversants les limites des familles des langues actuelles est bien connue en Afrique du nord-est, voir les

¹⁸ La littérature respective pour les langues chamitosémitiques sera encore discutée dans le suivant. La documentation pour les autres langues est accessible aisément chez A. N. Tucker, M. A. Bryan, o.c. en ann. 2 (1966), chez W. E. Welmers, *African Language Structure*, Berkeley 1973, et chez J. H. Greenberg, *Languages of Africa*, The Hague 1966.

¹⁹ M. L. Bender, «Nilo-Saharan Overview», in: M. L. Bender, ed., *The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, East Lansing 1971, Part 4: *Nilo-Saharan* (439-483) et ses travaux en préparation; E. A. Gregersen, «Kongo-Saharan», JAL 11, 1972, 68-89; M. L. Bender, T. C. Schadeberg, ed., *Nilo-Saharan Proceedings. A Collection of Papers Presented at the First Nilo-Saharan Linguistics Colloquium*, Leiden Sept. 8-10, 1980, 1981.

²⁰ *The Verb in Cushitic*, Warszawa-Kraków 1975, passim, sur la reconstruction du verbe «être» **I'n/n/* avec la littérature respective, p. ex. 17-18 (bédja), 39 ('afar-saho), 89 (konso-reconstruction par Dolgopol'skiy **I'n/n/* et Hetzron *wnn*); 118-19 le problème des copules en couchitique, en tchadique et en souahili: «It is possible that all this parallelism is due to relationship with some secondary interference ... Nevertheless one has to be cautious since there is also *ni* as copula even in Swahili»!

travaux de M. M. Bryan²¹. Dans ce dernier cas, on peut penser à l'influence d'un substrat inconnu. Même pour notre problème, la solution aréale et l'influence d'un substrat ou adstrat n'est pas exclue. La situation en Ethiopie parle pour une telle solution²².

Mais restons dans le cadre du chamitosémitique qui admet en même temps la solution génétique ainsi qu'aréale grâce au fait que les sous-familles et les langues chamitosémitiques isolées, à côté de leur origine commune supposée, attestant des contacts dans leur développement postérieur, p. ex. les contacts entre le tchadique et le berbère, entre l'égyptien et le libyco-berbère et entre le sémitique et le couchitique, en se taisant des contacts hypothétiques entre le couchitique et l'égyptien et les autres langues chamito-sémitiques de l'Afrique du nord (le libyco-berbère) ou de l'Afrique centrale (le tchadique).

Déjà l'interprétation génétique des faits chamitosémitiques nous aidera à éclaircir notre problème. Mais il faut voir les systèmes respectifs dans leur développement et non seulement chercher la forme commune reconstruite. Le flottement des fonctions de l'élément -N- est assez clair dans le tchadique où les analyses successives de C. T. Hodge, Cl. Gouffé et P. Zima²³ faisaient possible de ramasser le -N- hypothétique dans toutes ses fonctions postérieures (c.-à-d. un prédecesseur de la copule génitive, un stabilisateur, — c.-à-d. la copule —, la copule génitive actuelle et quelques éléments dans les pronoms du sujet des formes -*su-nàa*, *su-n*). La racine **na-* «voir» n'a pas été étudiée dans ce contexte.

L'analogie saharienne est extrêmement importante pour comprendre les relations entre la copule (le verbe *nàà*) et les formes pronominales en tchadique, bien qu'il s'agisse des langues appartenant à la famille nilo-saharienne: le verbe *n* «penser, donner, ou dire» sert dans les langues sahariennes comme le verbe auxiliaire pour la troisième classe verbale et en même temps il apparaît

21 «The *N/*K Languages of Africa», *JAL* 7, 1968, 169-217; «A Closer Examination of some *N/*K Languages», in: *Second Int. Conf. «Language and Literature in the Sudan»*, 1970, accessible en preprint.

22 Cf. la riche littérature sur les contacts des langues sémitiques et couchitiques, p. ex. W. Leslau, M. M. Moreno, Ch. A. Ferguson, F. R. Palmer etc. Pour notre thème cf. la thèse de E. Cerulli, o.c. en ann. 15; les travaux de F. R. Palmer (cf. ann. 4); R. Hetzron, o.c. en ann. 2 (1972) pour le sémitique éthiopien (guraghé de l'est, *gunnän*-guraghé dans leur position limitrophe 85). Les contacts aréaux ne sont pas rares en Afrique, au contraire.

23 C. T. Hodge, «Morpheme Alternants and the Noun Phrase in Hausa», *Language* 21, 1954, 87-91; «Hausa *nàa* «to Be» or «not to Be», *African Language Review* 8, 156-62; Cl. Gouffé, «Le problème de l'aspect en haoussa II», *GLECS* 11, 1966-7, 29-67; «Une corrélation typologique dans quatre langues de l'Afrique occidentale: les fonctions de N», *ALU* 54, 1971, 286-302; P. Zima, *Problems of Categories and Word Classes in Hausa (The Paradigm of Case)*, Prague 1972, surtout 80 ss.

comme la base des pronoms possessifs (*n-ar*, *n-am* etc.)²⁴ et nous offre la possibilité de chercher aussi dans ce dernier cas le verbe «dire qch. pour, donner qch. pour, attribuer». D'ici s'ouvre, devant nous, la possibilité de joindre encore à cette notion la particule *-n-* pour le génitif (en égyptien) ou la copule génitive dans le tchadique.

L'interprétation des faits dans les langues tchadiques ramassant le verbe, la copule, le génitif et le pronom peut aussi nous guider à l'étude de l'égyptien (voir le verbe *wnn*, la particule de présentation d'origine démonstrative *in* et le pronom de la 1^e personne du pl. en moyen égyptien)²⁵ et la particule *-n-* de génitif qui joue un rôle important dans le système verbal égyptien (*sdm.n.f*)²⁶. L'introduction de la notion verbale dans l'élément *-N-* dans les formes verbales égyptiennes nous aide à transformer ces formes dans les structures avec un verbe auxiliaire, comme l'a déjà supposé I. M. Diakonoff²⁷, et fonder ainsi la comparaison entre les formes égyptiennes analytiques et entre celles

- 24 La description comparative de ces langues cf. A. N. Tucker, M. A. Bryan, o.c. en ann. 2 (1966); sur l'analogie de la structure verbale et pronominale cf. M. A. Bryan, «The Verb Classes in the East Saharan Languages», in: *Afrikanische Sprachen und Kulturen — Ein Querschnitt*, Hamburg 1971, 224-235, surtout 225; N. Cyffer, «The Person Elements in Saharan Languages. A Step towards the Creation of Proto-Saharan», *Proceedings of the First Nilo-Saharan Colloquium*, Leiden 1981, 185-200; quelques détails aussi chez J. Lukas, «Die unabhängigen Personalpronomina in der westzentralsaharischen Sprachgruppe», *AuÜ* I.XI, 1978, 279-294. Les deux auteurs n'ont pas observé l'identité de l'élément pronominal *-n-* et du verbe *n* (d'attribution). Notons encore la fluctuation sémantique entre «être», «dire» et «donner» en teda-daza, Ch. et M. Le Cœur, *Grammaire et textes Teda-daza*, Dakar 1956, 97; le problème est discuté chez K. Petráček, «Zur inneren Rekonstruktion des zentralsaharischen Verbalsystems», *Asian and African Linguistic Studies*, Prague 1979, *Studia Orientalia Pragensia* IX, 93-127, surtout 101 ss. La base pour «être» et «dire» est ici **Kl*, la racine avec *-N-* est liée plutôt à «penser», «dire», elle fonctionne aussi comme base des suffixes pronominaux possessifs (Ch. et M. Le Cœur, o.c. 73; cf. *n-ar* «j'ai pensé, j'ai dit, j'ai donné»; la forme verbale composée *la-n-ar* «j'ai vu»; possessifs *n-ar* etc.). Le sens sous-jacent serait peut-être «penser qch. pour qn., dire que qch. appartient à qn., attribuer qch. à qn., appartenir à».
- 25 A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Cambridge 1927, 64; A. Erman, *Ägyptische Grammatik*, Berlin 1911, 84; G. Lefebvre, *Grammaire de l'égyptien classique*, Le Caire 1940, 57-8; E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, Roma 1955, 173; J. Černý, «'INN in Late Egyptian», *JEÄ* 27, 1941, 106-12; dans une perspective chamitosémitique I. M. Diakonoff, *Semitico-Hamitic Languages*, Moscow 1965, 70; K. Petráček, «Vers une conception dynamique du paradigme dans les études chamito-sémitiques», *MUSJ* XLVIII, 1973-4, 157-163.
- 26 Cf. seulement W. T. Thacker, *The Relationship of the Semitic and Egyptian Verbal Systems*, Oxford 1954, 272; A. Roccati, «Origine di forme verbali egizie», *AION* 30, 1970, 383-87; «La signification di *sdm.n.f*», 2^e Congr. int. des égyptologues, 1978, Grenoble, sous presse. La littérature respective cf. dans mon article «Zur Stellung des altägyptischen Verbalsystems im Rahmen des Hamitosemitischen», *Bulletin de la Soc. d'égyptologie*, Genève, 1982, t. 6, 83-101.
- 27 I. M. Diakonoff, o.c. en ann. 25, 84 avec l'analogie dans le haoussa et en couchitique: le verbe «être».

des autres langues chamitosémitiques (p. ex. couchitiques ou tchadiques) et utiliser aussi l'analogie des langues sahariennes, où la troisième classe formée par le verbe *n* représente la dernière étape de l'évolution du système verbal.

Notre manière de voir les faits se montre alors fructueuse aussi pour l'interprétation du système énigmatique de l'égyptien.

Pour le sémitique asiatique (et éthiopien), cette hypothèse d'unité de l'élément *-N-* ouvre de nouveau le problème de l'étymologie de l'élément *AN*¹ dans les pronoms sujet où on a voulu, déjà auparavant, trouver cet élément²⁸, parallèlement avec la base verbale en couchitique. Notons en marge que le pronom de la l. p. sg. *an-ā-ku* apparaît comme la forme régulière du statif accadien (*šar-ā-ku*)²⁹. L'analogie structurelle en saharien (verbe → pronom) et en tchadique (verbe-copule génitive-stabilisateur [copule]-pronom sujet) parlent de nouveau en faveur de cette ancienne hypothèse.

L'interprétation verbale de l'élément *-N-* nous autorise aussi à repenser à l'origine de la forme verbale réflexive et passive à préfixe *n-*, c.-à-d. la VII^e forme verbale (en arabe, niph'al sémitique). L'analyse de la forme *j-a-N-qatil* formée sur la base intransitive *qatil* et munie d'un préfixe subjectif non-actif *-a-* semble être acceptable. Le problème exige une étude spéciale que je prépare. Dans les langues couchitiques ('afar), le verbe à *-N-* forme entre outre la forme du statif³⁰ que nous pouvons chercher dans la forme analytique *j-a-N-qatil* — «celui-ci comme sujet inactif EST *qatil* (part. passif)».

Le couchitique offre — à côté du flottement sémantique entre les verbes «être» et «dire» de la base *-N-*³¹ — une analogie précieuse pour le système

28 L. Reinisch, *Das persönliche Fürwort und die Verbalflexion in den chamito-semitischen Sprachen*, Wien 1909; pour le pronom cf. aussi la dernière étude par E. Affuso, «I pronomi di I e II persona in semitico, egiziano e berbero», *AION* 37, 1977, 248-81 avec une pleine documentation.

29 Pour ces problèmes cf. l'étude de E. Affuso, o.c. en ann. 28.

30 Tout le système des thèmes dérivés en sémitique exige, d'après nous, une profonde réinterprétation, car il s'agit avant tout d'un système produisant la transitivation du verbe. Dans ce contexte cf. surtout l'étude de Abraham Demoz, *The Meanings of Some Derived Stems in Amharic*, Diss. California Univ. at Los Angeles, 1964, discutée positivement chez M. L. Bender, *Amharic Verb Morphology: A Generative Approach*, Ann Arbor 1968, 90 ss. Pour l'arabe cf. mes idées indépendantes sur ce problème dans «Le système de l'arabe dans une perspective diachronique», *Arabica*, 28, 1981, 162-177.

Pour les langues couchitiques cf. l'étude par R. J. Hayward sur le statif, «The Stative Conjugation in 'Afar», *AION* 38, 1978, 1-39, passim sur la copule (*kinni* to be), le morphe *Vn* dans le verbe statif et la copule **in* (to be). Cf. aussi la formation en somali, C. R. V. Bell, *The Somali Language*, Oxford, 1969, 114, § 136; il mentionne aussi l'analogie en souahili (ann. 1) et en galla.

31 Les analogies couchitiques ont été déjà mentionnées, cf. les travaux de M. Cohen, o.c. en ann. 10 (1947), 185-6; A. Zaborski, o.c. en ann. 20 (1975), 118-19; F. R. Palmer, o.c. en

verbal égyptien avec ses formes analytiques et, comme nous avons déjà noté, pour le système tchadique (avec les formes à -N- *su-naà*, *su-n*). Nous avons trouvé la possibilité d'interpréter la VII^e forme verbale sémitique (arabe etc. sauf araméen, et avec d'autres fonctions en éthiopien) avec l'aide de la notion verbale de l'élément -N-. Ici, en couchitique, la copule avec -N- est largement répandue³² et tirée probablement d'une racine verbale. L'analyse du statif en 'afar³³ montre l'importance de cet élément.

La préposition berbère -n- est, d'après F. A. Pennacchietti³⁴, liée à la préposition -n- en égyptien et /i- en sémitique. Notre analyse de l'égyptien et du tchadique montre la possibilité d'accepter aussi, dans ce cas, la notion verbale ou copulative avec le sens d'appartenance, mais le problème reste à être d'abord étudié de proche.

Revenons finalement au sémitique éthiopien. La distribution ainsi que la fréquence de la copule avec -N- sont largement attestées dans les langues du sud³⁵, mais ce morphème n'est pas fondé dans les systèmes du nord bien qu'ici aussi existent les particules présentatives qui peuvent être interprétées comme le point de départ de l'évolution des copules postérieures dans les langues du sud. R. Hetzron a bien montré qu'il s'agissait d'un processus évolutif dans ces langues et il a découvert les deux étapes successives de cette évolution: n- avec le suffixe objectif et puis avec le suffixe subjectif verbal³⁶. La transition du suffixe objectif au suffixe subjectif dans la forme verbale reflète, d'après notre avis, un trait typologique ancien lié au développement de l'opposition sujet-objet dans l'évolution typologique des langues, au moins dans la conception de la «typologie de contenu»³⁷.

ann. 4 (1965); E. Cerulli, o.c. en ann. 7 (1951), 477; A. N. Tucker, M. A. Bryan, o.c. en ann. 2 (1966), ann. 16; D. Cohen, o.c. en ann. 16 (1969); R. Hetzron *ibid.*; A. B. Dolgopol'skiy, o.c. en ann. 16 (1973); A. B. Dolgopol'skiy, *Nostratičeskiye etimologii i proischoždeniye glagol'nykh formantov*, *Etimologiya* 1968, 239-40; R. J. Hayward, o.c. en ann. 30 (1978); C. T. Hodge, o.c. en ann. 23 (1969).

32 Cf. les travaux de E. Cerulli et de A. Zaborski, en ann. 31.

33 R. J. Hayward, o.c. en ann. 30 (1978).

34 «Considerazioni sulla preposizione berbera N», *Atti del Secondo Congr. int. di linguistica camito-semitica*, Firenze 1974, 1978, 307-14 avec parallèles en égyptien et en sémitique.

35 Les sources citées en ann. 5 et 2 (R. Hetzron, W. Leslau, G. Goldenberg).

36 O.c. en ann. 2 (1972); accepté aussi par G. Goldenberg, o.c. en ann. 2 (1977).

37 Surtout G. A. Klimov, *Očerki obščey teorii ergativnosti*, Moskva 1973; *Tipologiya jazykov aktivnogo stroja*, Moskva 1977; «K vzaimootnošeniyu genealogičeskoy, tipologičeskoy i areal'noy klassifikacii jazykov», in: *Teoretičeskie osnovy klassifikacii jazykov mira*, Moskva 1980, 6-23; la théorie a été déjà appliquée dans les études des langues chamitosémitiques par I. M. Diakonoff, M. Korostovcev, M. Je. Mat'ye, M. L. Palmaitis. Le problème est connu sous le terme de la théorie ergative, élaborée aussi par d'autres savants et appliquée dans les langues chamitosémitiques, cf. Z. Frajzigier, «On the Proto-Chadic Syntactic

La dynamique du processus de transition de l'ancienne copule (avec les suffixes objectifs) à la copule nouvelle (avec les suffixes subjectifs verbaux) et la situation dans le nord éthiopien nous indiquent que la copule se développait surtout dans le terrain du sud. Ici, nous trouvons les langues couchitiques avec le verbe et avec la copule à l'élément -N- et nous pouvons alors supposer que les éléments présentatifs anciens ont été développés sous l'influence du couchitique, sinon repris par le sémitique de ces langues comme un élément déjà élaboré, utilisé et intégré dans le système comme tel. La théorie de E. Cerulli est basée sur cette hypothèse³⁸.

Bien qu'il reste toujours la possibilité que l'élément en question -N- représente une ancienne forme verbale, comme dans les langues chamito-sémitiques en Afrique, il n'est pas absolument exclu qu'il y a la possibilité d'y voir un élément présentatif sémitique renouvelé sous la pression des substrats ou adstrats couchitiques.

Mais finalement, rien ne nous empêche de voir dans les particules présentatives documentées en sémitique asiatique et en éthiopien, les éléments d'origine verbale, et de lier ainsi la situation en sémitique à la situation structurelle que nous connaissons dans le chamitosémitique en Afrique et dans quelques langue africaines.

Cette double interprétation prouve la complexité de la copule à -N- en chamitosémitique. À côté des arguments pour le caractère verbal de la copule «être», nous avons trouvé aussi la possibilité d'y voir la particule présentative. Mais dans ce dernier cas, il faut noter que cette particule pouvait être d'origine verbale, p. ex. tirée de la racine pour le verbe «voir» que nous avons trouvé en tchadique (*na*). Une interprétation analogue (voir → voici!) a été déjà supposée auparavant dans le cas de la particule *'inna* etc. en arabe.

L'orientation étymologique vers la sphère verbale semble être soulignée, mais à la place d'un unique verbe ancien «être», nous trouvons encore le verbe «voir» comme base possible de la copule à -N-. Le troisième verbe qui entrait dans nos arguments était le verbe «dire» dont la transformation en «être» est bien attesté dans les langues africaines³⁹. Voilà un problème d'évolution morphologique et sémantique complexe dont les fondements historiques semblent être plus larges que le résultat de l'évolution que nous observons en outre en amharique.

Pattern», *Third Int. Hamito-Semitic Congress*, London, 29-31 March 1978 (preprint-résumé); G. Böhm, «Two Types of 'Ergative' Predication in Chadic Languages», *Int. Kolloquium über die tschadische Sprachfamilie*, Hamburg 15.-18. Sept. 1981 (preprint). La littérature est ramassée dans mon étude citée en ann. 26 (1982 ann. 11); cf. aussi «Le système de l'arabe dans une perspective diachronique», *Arabica*, v. 28, 1981, 162-177.

³⁸ Cf. ann. 15.

³⁹ Cf. ann. 16, ann. 24.

AMHARIC MINUTIAE

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I

(A) *N madrög-u* vs. (B) *yä-N madrög*

1. During the last century a significant shift has taken place in what grammarians of Amharic have to say about the way, or ways, in which the nominal subject of an infinitive can be expressed.

2. From the scanty material at his disposal Praetorius concluded (§ 292 c) that the regular construction was the genitive (B). Though he was quite prepared, on the analogy of a number of languages¹, to find the nominative (A) too, the examples actually known to him were very few and not all of them certain.

3. The co-existence of the two constructions is positively stated by Afevork at the end of his chapter on the genitive (§ 117 p. 224): the genitival *yä*- “può omettersi” “nella proposizione completiva diretta o indiretta”, i.e. before the substantival subject of an infinitive functioning as complement of a *verbum dicendi/sentiendi*:

[B] *ərganna yä-motaččənän mäqqaräh yasassəbənnall*, or
[A] *ərganna motaččən mäqqarəhwan yasgänəzzəbənnall*

“La vecchiaia ci avverte che la morte si avvicina”

Cf. § 6 end.

4. This couple of Afevorkian sentences is taken up, together with a few others, in Marcel Cohen's *Traité* p. 195 (ch. VI § 30), where we find for the first time an indication concerning the relative frequency of the two constructions: “Dans une phrase à proposition infinitive, l'anticipation du sujet logique (Chap. III, § 29 [p. 93]) est si fréquente qu'elle apparaît comme la

¹ “Scholastic” grammarians had to acknowledge the nominative as subject of the gerund (Lat. *gerundium*, Fr. *gérondif*) in Psalm 125:1 *In convertendo Dominus captivitatem Sion ...*: Ch. Thurot *Extraits* 268-9.

construction la plus normale", i.e. the exact opposite of what Praetorius had thought. I for my part can only endorse Cohen's indication: in my experience construction A is markedly more common than construction B. Cf. § 8.

5. Though "la proposition infinitive" is one of the peculiarities of French (and Italian)² grammatical nomenclature, Cohen's use of the term—he refers himself to his ch. X §§ 7 and 27a (pp. 343-4 and 359 respectively)—will cause no more difficulty than Afevork's (§ 3) "proposizione completiva". I am less happy about his "anticipation". The possessive suffix attached to the infinitive (N *madräg-u*) need not be understood as anaphoric (epanaleptic), but *can* be understood literally as transformation or metamorphosis of the person-marker of the underlying verb-form. The difference is, however, not as great as it may appear at first sight. In a language where the nominal subject stands in front and the verb-form necessarily carries person-markers agreeing with the nominal subject in gender and number (and if the subject is an absolute personal pronoun, also in person), the difference between normal word-order and "anticipation" (extraposition, segmentation), between concord and anaphora, is reduced to a matter of subjective and impressionistic preference for the one or the other.

6. What both constructions have in common is that an underlying sentence (N *adärrägä*) is made to function as a substantive by converting the finite verb into the infinitive. They differ fundamentally in the range of the conversion (transposition). In construction A the conversion is limited to the verb, the possessive suffix reflecting the person-marker: N *madräg-u*; the rest of the sentence, i.e. the subject and the nexus, remains unaffected. In construction B the conversion extends over the whole sentence, the actor of the underlying finite verb being turned into the genitival adjunct of the infinitive: *yä-N madräg*. The initial unmarked N of construction A, to repeat it, is not an original genitive with "omitted" *yä-*, but the nominative which had been the actor of the underlying finite verb.

Just as N *adärrägä* is substantivized by converting the finite verb into the infinitive, so it is adverbialized by converting the finite verb into the gerund, and just as the 3rd person markers of the finite verb are transformed into the corresponding possessive suffixes with the infinitive, so they are transformed into the special personal endings of the gerund:

2 So far as *Infinitivsatz* was used at all in German [e.g. Ed. Mätzner *Französische Grammatik* (²Berlin 1877) p. 513 § 218 I 1,a] it was given a sense which will sound familiar to the student of Arabic: synonymous with *Substantivsatz* (cf. below fn. 5), because the infinitive is the "Partizipiale" corresponding to the substantive.

	m. sg.	f. sg.	pl.
Perfect	<i>adärräg-ä</i>	<i>-äčč</i>	<i>-u</i>
Infinitive	<i>madräg-u</i>	<i>-uä</i>	<i>-aččäw</i>
Gerund	<i>adräg-o</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-äw</i>

The closest parallel to *N* (nominative) *madräg-u* is provided by the Gə'əz ancestor of the gerund construction: *mäsəyo bəher* (Mark 6:47), *rə'əyomū 'arda'ihu* (Matthew 21:20), *halifon 'əmantu* (Matthew 28:11), etc.

Dillmann *Gr.* § 181 α [¹(1857) p. 354 = ²(1899) p. 399], in describing the construction, hints that he would have expected the accusative rather than the nominative: "[ein eigenes Subject] wird dann, nachdem das Suff. am [thatwörtlichen] Infinitiv [= the gerund] auf es hingewiesen, diesem Suff. frei in seiner nächsten Form (nicht im Acc.) beigeordnet".

Praetorius *Äth. Gr.* (1886) § 78 would have expected the genitive. He stresses that a nominal subject is added "unvermittelt" and that it "nicht etwa durch *lä* eingeführt wird, wie man nach § 133 [*məbrät-u lä-'əgxi'abəher*] erwarten könnte".

Thomas O. Lambdin *Introduction to Classical Ethiopic (Ge'ez)* (1978) pp. 140-1 states that "a noun subject is added appositionally to the appropriate 3rd person form". The case is not explicitly commented upon, but the following sentence is added: "In English we tend to view an expressed noun as the subject of the following main verb; in Ethiopic, however, the noun subject clearly belongs to the subordinate phrase". Would it not have been both clearer and more economical to have stated that the expressed noun remains in the syntactic relation in which it had stood in the underlying main sentence (*näbiro 'Iyäsus* ← *näbärä 'Iyäsus*)?

7. The syntactic otherness of the two constructions stands out most clearly when the infinitive is governed by a preposition. Cf. two chapter-headings in Bl. Həruy's *Yä-ləbb asab*:

- (A) *Ato Kəbrät-anna Gännəhoy Nəgatwa Şəyyon-Mogäsa-n sālā mawläd-aččäw*
(*Dərsätočč* 133:2, chap. I)
- (B) *Sālā Şəyyon-Mogäsa lägg mawläd* (*ibid.* 170:21, chap. VII)

In A the preposition *sālā* precedes the infinitive just as in the corresponding subordinate clause it would precede the substantivized *yä-wällädu*, extruding the subordinator *yä-*: *sālā wällädu*. In B, where the underlying sentence (*Ş.-M. lägg wällädäčč*) is fully nominalized, the preposition precedes the whole group *yä-Ş.-M. lägg mawläd*, again extruding the subordinator *yä-*. Cf. the corresponding position of *-n* in §§ 11, 12 and § 10 respectively.

We note that at the beginning of each of these two chapters the reader is in a different position with regard to what he is going to read. At the start he naturally knows neither the *dramatis personae* nor the subject-matter of the narrative which awaits him. By the time he reaches chap. VII he is already well acquainted with the heroine and, having read in the preceding chapter about her happy marriage, he expects, as a matter of course, just what the chapter-heading announces. It remains to be seen whether this difference corresponds to the syntactic difference.

8. Neither the fact that Afevork (§ 3) lets one single translation do duty for both constructions nor Cohen's expression "la construction la plus normale" (§ 4) implies that they are synonymous and differ merely in frequency. The lesser frequency of construction B suggests that it is subject to a condition of which A is independent and that the presence or absence of this condition finds syntactic expression in Amharic, but not in European languages. Although the syntactic difference between the two constructions (§ 6) may suffice to suggest certain deductions concerning their actual usage, we prefer to rely on the positive evidence of texts.

9. An instructive example occurs in *Araya* near the beginning of chap. XII. After his return from France Araya goes to Däbrä Bərhan in order to enquire after his mother with whom he has been out of touch since he left her, somewhat abruptly, fifteen years before. The matter weighs on his conscience and causes him "thoughts of fear and doubt (misgivings)".

[“When he enquired after the relatives and friends whom he had formerly known, he heard that most of them had died or gone to another village”] *nägär gan sēlā annatu andit ammāt .Askalä yämmibbalutən yännatun gwaddāñña agñato biṭäyyaqatṭāw annatu bähəywät mānor-aṭṭāw-n-anna mänkəwəsāw əzṣiyaw agäraṭṭāw əndämmiqqämmäṭu astawwäqut.*

yä-nnatu-n mānor barräggaggäṭä giṣe .Araya yätäsəmmaw dässta yəb näw lämalät yasṭäg-gərall “but concerning his mother, when he found and asked a friend of his mother called Mrs. Askalä, she (pl.) informed him that his mother was alive and that she (pl.) lived as nun in her same village. It is difficult to describe exactly the joy which Araya felt when he had ascertained that his mother was alive” (Gərmaččāw Täklä Hawaryat *Araya* [1 105:8-12 =] 3 131:3-7)

Our two constructions correspond here to a dramatic transition from anxiety to relief. In the sentence-like (§ 6) A the information conveyed by the infinitive has its full topicality; in the substantivized B the topicality is spent and the information is merely referential or anaphoric.

10. Construction B seems to be preferred when the infinitive refers back to a narrative (or declarative) passage:

yäkrästiyānu nāgusamm yä-ṭoru-n malāq, yä-sostu-n-amm dāggazmačotč māmōt, yandāññaw-n-amm dāggazmač mättasār, yagāru-n-amm māzžārāf-anna mātšat bäsamma gize wādiaw bāhazān-anna bādangate tammo kätəqit qān wādia alā-qānu tāqässāfä motä “when the Christian king heard that his army had been wiped out, that three³ [out of four] generals had died, that the one (remaining) general had been taken prisoner, that the country had been pillaged and devastated, he at once fell ill from grief and shock and died before his time a few days later” (Afevork *Labbi wälläd tarik* 2:18-21, anaphoric to lines 7-15).

nāgusu gān yä-balāmmwalotčawo-n-anna yä-žāhāññotčawo-n māččānāq, malqās, tāmāret māwdāq aytāw anba yanqāwo gāmmārā “but when the king [Aṭe Fasil] saw how his courtiers and his guards were distressed, how they wept, how they fell to the ground, tears began to choke him” (Afevork *Gramm.* 276:9-10, anaphoric to lines 2-5)

ya yätārabä mālaktāñña yä-nāgastitu-n māčoh-anna mārgāhgāb hayyā gize [.....] alā “when that famished messenger saw how the queen was screaming and shaking with emotion he said: ‘[.....]’” (Afevork *Gramm.* 314:9-(10)18, anaphoric to lines 5-8)

Ankobārāmm sattədārs wādä salk bet hedāb yä-abbataččān-ən mättamām lāhtotč bäsalk nāgār

“and when you arrive at Ankobār, go to the telephone office and tell my sisters by telephone that our father has fallen ill” (Bl. Həruy *Addis alām* 8:u-9:2, anaphoric to 7:pu-8:29)

[In the church of Port-Said mass was to be celebrated in honour of the Empress. Therefore] *kāmārkāb andä wārrādn bāqəttəta wādä betā krästiyān hedn. yä-gərmawit ategemm wādä betā krästiyān māhed asqāddəmo sālā tawwāqā bāPort Sa'id yāmmīnorut yāGəbš ortodoks krästiyānočč [..] bātallaq dāssta tāqābhālwaččaw* “as soon as we disembarked from the ship, we went straight to the church. Because it had become known beforehand that the Empress was (would be) going to the church, the Egyptian Christians living in Port-Said [.....] received her with great joy” (Bl. Həruy *Bäädme mäsānbāt* 4:10-15)

“säləzžih ərsəččāwn šərān yä-Asə Məniləkən ləgg Wäyžəro Zāwditun angəsānall. yä-ləul Ras Mäkwānnənən ləgg Dāggazmač Təfərin Ras bəlān alga wəraš-anna yāmāngəstu andārəse adrəgānall”. [.....]

Ləgg Iyyasumm bāHarār kätāma sallu yä-rsəččāw-n māššar, yä-nəgəst Zāwditu-n māngās, yä-əne-n alga wəraš-anna balāmulu səlčān andārəse māhon bäsāmmu gize Sumalewoččun-anna

3 Lit. “the three”, cf. Praetorius § 244e, first alinea. Cf. Brockelmann *Grundriss* II 69; Wackernagel *Vorlesungen über Syntax* II 136-7, 318 [the reference on p. 137 line 16 is to K. W. Krüger’s *Griech. Sprachlehre* (Berlin 1873) § 50,2, A. 8 (II p. 95)]. A Chaucerian example: and borwed of him large botels three / And in the two his poyson poured he / The thridde he kepte clene for his drinke (*The Pardoner’s Tale* 871-3).

Adaloččun sähsabaw bäkätämaw šabbär andinnässa adärrägu "Therefore we have deposed him (pl.) and crowned Lady Zäwditu, the daughter of Aše Menelik. We have given the title of Ras to General Täfäri, the son of Ras Makonnen, and made him Heir Apparent and Representative of the Government'" [impeachment and condemnation of Lidj Iyasu, 17 Mäskäräm 1919 a.m. = 27 Sept. 1926 [...]] "When Lidj Iyasu, being in the city of Harar, heard that he (pl.) had been deposed, that Queen Zäwditu had been crowned, that I had become Heir Apparent etc., he collected the Somalis and Adals and stirred up a disturbance in the city" (Emp. Haylä Səllase's Autobiography 32:1-3, 19-22).

11. Construction A is not excluded from similar passages. Whether it is allowed because of its neutral, unmarked, character, or whether it is intended to let the information retain its topicality, is more than the foreign student can presume to decide.

ləggətum yätəšännäsəččəw bəmuqät wərat bəMiyazya sələ honä [...] *akalwa təlləq hono təwälda nəbbär.*

Ato Kəbrätəmm ləggətu təlləq hona mawwäləd-wa-n hayyā gize "gəna səttəwwälləd əndəzxiḥ təlləq yəhonəččə kəčəqit amət bəhwala-mma mən təhəl yəhon? [...]" *kəwädet əyyaməččəhu lələbsat nəw?* "əyyalə yagwərmərrəm gəmmär" "because it was in the warm season, in (the month of) Miyazya [April-May] that the girl had been conceived [...] she had been born her body being big. When Mr K. saw that the girl was born being big, he started grumbling: 'If she is so big already when being born, what size will she be after a few years? [...] How (lit., bringing from where) am I going to clothe her?'" (Bl. Həruy Dərsətočč 133:11-19)

[Heinrich Schliemann, in search of a wife, had offered to marry the Athenian school girl who could best recite the Odyssey] *yəhən yəmässälä⁴ asab Šliman kətabaləw liq məqrəb-un məmhəritu lətamariwoččə bəgəlləččəttəlləččəw gize bəzxiya təmhərt bet bənəbbərut ləggəgərədoččə məkəkəkəl təlləq wədəddər honä* "when the schoolmistress disclosed to the students that such a suggestion had been offered by the scholar called Schliemann, there arose a great competition among the girls who were at that school" (Kəbbädä Mikael Talallaq səwočč 40:30-41:1).

12. Where the information conveyed by the infinitive stands by itself, independently of the context, construction A seems to be the norm.

bəNoh gize qura wəhaw məgwdäl-u-n ləmayät billak sayəmmälləs qərrä "when in Noah's time the raven was sent to see whether the water was diminishing (or, had diminished), he failed to return" (Afevork Gramm. 128, isolated sentence)

Žosefin gəbəččəččəw bəbetä krəstiyən yätəbarrəkə-nna yätəqəddəsä alə-məhon-u-n nəggərəččəw "Joséphine told him [the pope] that their [hers with Napoleon]

4 The *yä-* subordinates *mässälä* to *asab* only, not the whole group to the infinitive.

marriage had not been blessed and sanctified in church" (Bl. Həruy *Goba şəhal* 166)

"[...]" *yämmil dārasi sattuśāmu yəh säw wäyamm bassätāñña māhon-u-n wäyamm dägmo waga yələllaw darsāt māşaf-u-n ləttərrəddut tətəllalləttəhu* "when you hear an author who claims "[...]", you can be sure that this man either is a liar or else has written a worthless piece of writing" (Käbbädä Mikael *Sələttane malät mändənnətt?* 179:13-15)

čäräqa wädä märet əyyätəttəggətt məhed-wa yätärəgəggəttə sələhonə and qən həməret lay wädqa ləttəttəfat tətəllətt "because it is certain that the moon more and more approaches the earth, it can one day fall upon the earth and destroy it" (Käbbädä Mikael *Sələttane malät mändənnətt?* 163:1-2)

wädəgu Kat əndiggəddäl məffäräd-u-n-ənnə həmmiggəddələbbätəmm bota əssu rasu Frederik qərbo ammwamwatun əndimmələkkət mättəzəz-u-n nəggərut "they told him that his friend Katte had been condemned to be put to death and that he himself, Frederick, had been (or, was being) ordered to be present at the place where he was put to death and to watch the execution" (Käbbädä Mikael *Talallaq säwočč* 97:12-14)

II

The cleft sentence

1. An Amharic Cleft Sentence is a copula (c) sentence whose predicate (Z, the element which precedes *nəw/nəbbärä/aydəlləmm* etc.) is either a (pro)noun or an adverb (prepositional phrase, adverb clause, gerund) and whose subject (A) is a finite verb-form converted by the converter *yä-* into a noun, either a substantive ("abstract"⁵, with adverbial predicate) or an adjective ("concrete", with nominal predicate); the arrangement is either A - Z - c or Z - c - A.

(a) "SIMPLE" AND CLEFT (A - Z - c) IN SUCCESSION

2. That Cleft Sentences are "derived" from underlying "simple", non-cleft, sentences is, of course, implied in the term "Cleft" ["Zerfällung eines Satzes in zwei Glieder" Ed. Mätzner *Frz. Gramm.* (2 Berlin 1877) p. 509 lines apu - pu]; cf. Goldenberg 'Studies in Amharic Syntax', *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 3 (1965) 18-19. In order to convince the student that this "derivation" is not a

⁵ If the terms "substantival/adjectival conversion", "substantive/adjective clause" are used, then "abstract" and "concrete" become superfluous. "Content clause" [= "Inhaltssatz"] is far from being an improvement ("vaut infiniment mieux" Sandfeld *Syntaxe* II XIII) on "substantive clause"; Jespersen's arguments against the latter (*MEG* III 2.1) are futile.

mere artifice invented to support a theory, it is sound didactic procedure to make use of a case where the shift from a "simple" to a cleft sentence takes place before our eyes. This occurs with the substantive variety in the arrangement A - Z - c:

Of two successive sentences the first culminates in an ordinary finite verb-form. The second culminates in a copula with adverbial predicate (Z - c), to which the verb of the first sentence, converted into a substantive, provides the subject (A).

Such sentences occur no doubt in all Neo-Ethiopian languages, but the only source from which a few examples have so far been collected seems to be Leslau's Čäxa volume of 1950: *Notes on Gurage Grammar* (Jerusalem 1951) 26-8.

In the translations of the following examples I have taken the liberty of violating English usage by placing the *that*-clause in front.

INTRANSITIVE

3. *bämäčärräša Troy bāzxihu waggiya taffaččä yätaffaččawamm asraelawyan käGəhš agär häwättu hä-308 amätat yäwäha təfat hähonä hä-1164 amätat näw* "in the end Troy was destroyed in this war, and that it was destroyed was 308 years after the Israelites left Egypt and 1164 years after the flood" (Käbbädä Mikael *L'Éthiopie* 27:16-19) *əwnätəmm abbatu əndalaw Frederik almotəmm. nägär gən yalmotaw labbatu yəməslaw əndä nəbhärəw "mətfo sar" salä honä aydälləmm* "and really, as his father had said, Frederick did not die; but that he did not die was not, as his father thought, because he was a 'bad herb'"⁶ (Käbbädä Mikael *Talallaq säwočč* 98:12-13)

TRANSITIVE

4. *Pilaṭos əggun sayattatəb häfit Iyäsusan asgärräfä; yəsgärräfaw gən əwnät haṭiat aḡṭatobhät aydälləmm gən əhew gərrəfat təməssəqälu yatərfaw məslot nəbhär yəlallu* "Before washing his hands Pilate caused Jesus to be scourged; but that he caused him to be scourged was not because he had really found a crime ("sin") in him, but because he thought that this scourging would save him from being crucified, so they say" (Afevork *Gramm.* 180). The corresponding *Domanda* (same page) has the infinitive: *masgärräfu haṭiat aḡṭatobhätəna näw? təmariwoččumm yəwəddut nəbhär yəmmiwəddutəmm häṭəbäbu wəst təhtənnə sələnəbhärəw näw* "his [Socrates'] disciples loved him, and that they loved him was because within his wisdom he had humility" (Käbbädä Mikael *L'Éthiopie* 34:25-26)

(b) ELLIPTIC: Z - c [- A]

5. In the following examples the sentence consists of two segments. The second segment clearly represents Z - c with adverbial predicate (*əyyä*⁷, *lä*-).

⁶ "Unkraut vergeht nicht".

⁷ Rendered "while", though in our examples the meaning of the "concomitant circumstance" is modal rather than temporal.

But the first segment is not a normal constituent of the Cleft Sentence at all: it is a substantive in extraposition, qualified by an adjectivized verb-form: in the first example the substantive is the subject, in the other two examples the complement, of the verb-form.

6. For the purpose of translation, the lexical elements of the two segments can be somehow combined so as to yield a plausible sense; to construe them so as to satisfy grammar seems less easy. The apparent difficulty arises from the fact that the A part of the Cleft Sentence is omitted and has to be understood; that this is really so is shown by the last example, where there is no verb to govern the extraposed accusative. The reason for this ellipsis is that the omitted substantivized verb-form fully or nearly falls together with the adjectivized verb-form contained in the extraposition:

<i>yämmihedu,</i>	adj.	“(those) who go”
<i>yämmihedut,</i>	subst.	“that they go”
<i>yämmissäŋŋaččäw</i>	{	adj. “(those) to whom it is given”
		subst. “that it is given them”
<i>yämmişəfaččäw</i>	{	adj. “(those) which he writes”
		subst. “that he writes them”

7. *läqəddase ankwa wädä setočč gädam yämmihedu qəsawəst bəŋam yäšäməggälu mänəkəsat käwändočč gädam əyyätämərrəŋu nəw* “even priests who go to the women’s convent for [= in order to celebrate] mass—it is while very aged monks are chosen from the men’s convent [viz. that they go, *yämmihedut*] (Bl. Həruy *Dərsətočč* 150:6-8)

ženi yätəbaləw təqəbə’o səm yämmissäŋŋaččäw səwočč əndet yallə muya wəyəmm səŋota yallaččäw honəw lämmiggəŋŋut nəw? “the people who are given the honorific title ‘genius’—to those who possess (lit., are found possessing) what kind of talent or gift is it [viz. that it is given, *yämmissäŋŋaččäw*]?” (Käbbädä Mikael *Yəsələŋŋane əyyär* 79:8-9)

yämmişəfaččäw-n məsəhəft hullu kələločč dərasyan əyyəqədda nəw “all the books [accusative] which he [Alexandre Dumas] writes it is by (lit., while) copying from other authors [viz. that he writes them, *yämmişəfaččäw*]” (Käbbädä Mikael *Talallaq səwočč* 23:8-9)

8. Bally *Linguistique générale et linguistique française* (2nd Berne 1944) §§ 89, 90 shows how a single substantive in extraposition (segmentation) is equivalent to an adverb clause, especially of time and of condition, and stands to a following sentence in the relation of A to Z. Bally’s analysis applies, of course, to a cleft sentence no less than to a “simple” one. Our examples thus are of the same kind as the fairly frequent case where an adverb clause, most often

one introduced by *s*- “while, when”, is followed by an elliptic Cleft Sentence: some examples are quoted by Goldenberg art. cit. 19; cf. also my contribution to the forthcoming *Mélanges Rodinson*, § 7. In all these cases the elliptic Cleft Sentence (Z - c [- A]) as a whole is Z in relation to the extraposed A:

$$A^1 \left| \begin{array}{c} Z^1 \\ \hline Z^2 - c [- A^2] \end{array} \right.$$

(c) ACCUSATIVE AS Z

9. The accusative marker *-n* differs from the prepositions *bä-*, *lä-*, *kä-*, *sälä*, *wädä*, *ändä*, *askä* in two ways: it is suffixed to its noun and consequently does not extrude a genitival *yä-*: *yä-Troy-n kätäma* as against *bä-Troy kätäma* etc.⁸. This difference notwithstanding they belong to the same category. In the Cleft Sentence the accusative will therefore as a matter of course be treated exactly like a prepositional phrase, i.e. as an adverb, requiring a substantival A.

10. The rendering of this construction into English is sometimes awkward. With the arrangement A - Z - c it is often convenient to use a rendering which demands a nominative rather than an accusative, e.g.

añna yämmənnawqaw bamarəñña yätätafaw-n näw əngi, yäfarəng qwanqwa annawqəmm
 “what we know (recognize) is the Amharic text (lit., that which is written in Amharic), Frankish we don’t know” (Afevork *Mənilək* 78:3-5, Taytu’s retort to Count Antonelli)

In some cases we shall express the accusative in the relative, “whom”. In Amharic the direct object suffix of the nominalized verb is invariably in the 3rd m. sg., also when the Z is a feminine or a plural: by this non-concord the verb is shown to be substantivized, the suffix functioning as article.

11. A - Z - c

lännantä gən yätənazqəzullatəhu yann-ən yäMänzu-n qoda märet näw “but what he has bequeathed to you is that barren piece of land in Mänz” (Bl. Həruy *Addis aləm* 16:22-23)

antä yəmməttənnaggärəw yämälkwa-n mamar bəčča näw “but it is only the beauty of her appearance that you are talking about” (Bl. Həruy *Dərsətočč* 140:14)

läzxihamm sərə bämägəmməriya məri yadərrəgut Dəggəzmač Balča-n näw “it was General Balča whom they [certain obstructive elements] at first made leader for this activity [? I wonder whether *sərə* is not an error for *səra* ‘plot’]” (Emp.

8 Cf. in the genitival construction B discussed *supra* under I *yä-nnatu-n mānor* (§ 9 and examples in § 10) as against *sälä* *Ṣ.-M. ləgg məwləd* (§ 7).

Haylä-Səllase's Autobiography 124:18; my attention was drawn to this example by Professor Ullendorff, cf. his annotated translation *ad loc.*)

yakkarayyāhuh abəyyaye-n nāw əngi, təlawa-n tammər aydällämm "it is my she-donkey that I have leased to you, not her shade as well" (Käbbädä Mikael *Talallaq säwočč* 49:31)

dəbbəstu yəmmiyasčəggərāw kəbtočč-ən bəččämm aydällä "ce ne sont pas seulement les animaux que le sable gêne" (Afevork *Guide* 148:apu-u)

kəmot yələq yəmmifərut sayəqqəhbəru məqrät-ən nəbbär "what they feared more than death was to remain unburied" (Käbbädä Mikael *L'Éthiopie* 48:25-26)

12. Z - c - A

yäEuropa gazeta gən tətə Mənilək yələq aṭe Yohannəs-ən nāw lältyopya mængəst yätəgəhbəu adrəgo yanəsa yənəhbərə "but it rather of Aṭe Yohannəs than of Aṭe Menelik that the European press used to speak as deserving the kingship of Ethiopia" (Afevork *Guide* 228:4-6)

bəsəw təbay wəst fəsšəmo təməsgəñ-ənnə tərresə tənəqqəfi yällämm. yəmmiyasməsəg-gənəmm təbay yalləw səw binor kəyazəw yələq səčəw-n fətari-n nāw yəmmiyasməsəggənəw "in the human character there is no (such thing as) completely praiseworthy and entirely blameworthy; and if there is a man who has a character which causes praise, it is the giver, the Creator, rather than the taker that it causes to be praised" (Täklä Şadəq Məkwriya *Yəsəw təbay* 17:apu-u)

ahzəb yəqəddus Giyorgisən səwənnət əndə əhəl dəqqusəw ləhbərə ahlətəwt əndəgəna həyaw' hono bəhbərəw şəñña lay təməlləsə əndəwəṭṭə yəmmiyasayyāw-n səəl nəbbär yəmmilut? "Did you mean the painting which shows St George's body, after the heathen had crushed it like fodder and fed to an ox, re-emerging again alive on the hump of the ox?" (Haylä I. Fəqadu *Kəngədih wədih adərə əndəyəddəggəm* 82:7-10)

nəgəstə Saba İyərusalem dərse bəmämmələswa Mənilək-ən bəččə alnəbbərəmm yatərrə-fəččəw, nəgər gən yältyopyan tarik yəsəfə and yəFərənsay dərasi əndətənəggərāw "bəmahşənwa Məniləkən, bələbbəwa yəwnətəññawn haymanot zəna yəza təməlləsəčč" əngi

"On her return after having arrived in Jerusalem it was not only Menelik whom the Queen of Sheba had gained, but, as a French writer who has written the history of Ethiopia has said, 'she returned with Menelik in her womb and with the tidings of true religion in her heart'" (Käbbädä Mikael *L'Éthiopie* 24:8-125)

ləkka əsswa-n norwall-ənnə yəmmiləkəw "so it is her that he was sending [i.e. he said that he would send]!" (Balambaras Mahtämä-Səllase W.-M. *ənqəlf ləməne?* 119:pu-u). The "so" [OED *so* 10b (IX 345a top)] is intended to convey what

Leslau *Concise Dict.* 10b means by "particle indicating surprise of discovery"; cf. *Kəsate Bərhan Təsəmma* 21b bottom: *nəgərun kətərrəddaw bəhwala "ləkka əndəzxi nuroalləne?" bəlo bənəgəru məddəməm manəkər, (as[rəgg:]) ləkka əne nəgərun salərrədda qərəččə nurrealləb"*; similarly Dəssta Täklä-Wəld 720b. The same rendering suits the passage from Bl. Həruy *Dərsətočč* 163:12 quoted by Goldenberg art. cit. 18 under V: "so it was for Ş.-M.'s sake ...?!"; Ş.-M.'s parents had not realized —*nəgərun sayərrəddu qərtəw nəbbär*—the purpose of the young man's visits.

SOURCE MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF THE TIGRE LANGUAGE

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The purpose of this paper is to provide a survey of the published material that can be used as a basis for descriptive research on the Tigre language. The material discussed is not therefore the entire corpus of works connected with Tigre¹. Certain works whose content has been summarized by other writers are not mentioned in every case.

The study of the language began with the appearance in Eritrea of missionaries, especially members of the Swedish Evangelical Mission, who laid the foundations of Tigre research and worked into it alone devotedly, until they were joined by European scholars. Most texts collected by missionaries saw light during the first half of this century. However, the actual work of collecting the material in the field took place during the second half of the nineteenth century. The present state of Tigre research is without doubt the result of those endeavours in the field by missionaries.

Owing to the fact that most European scholars used the same texts for their researches, it is necessary to clarify the questions of "who wrote what, when, and with whose help". The importance of throwing light on this matter lies in the need to establish the origin of the Tigre text or of the grammatical problem presented. Such clarification enables one to see if a certain problem is inherent in the language or results from previous writers' attempts at explanations.

The material surveyed is classified and presented in the following manner: A. texts, B. grammatical material, C. lexical material. A subdivision within each section is made by grouping together all works attributed to one person. In these subdivisions the names of other writers on Tigre are sometimes mentioned where relevant.

¹ As regards bibliographies, two valuable works are available: E. Ullendorff, *The Semitic languages of Ethiopia*, London, 1955, xiv, 273pp., Bibliographical notes: pp. 233-239; W. Leslau, *The Semitic languages of Ethiopia*. An annotated bibliography of, The Hague, 1965, 336 pp., Tigre: pp. 145-164.

A. TEXTS

Texts collected by E. Littmann

The most distinguished scholar in the field of Tigre studies is Enno Littmann, whose *Publications of the Princeton expedition to Abyssinia*², the peak of his achievement in this field, is still the best available collection of Tigre texts. Littmann undertook an expedition to Eritrea in the autumn and winter of 1905/6. The material for *Publications of the Princeton expedition to Abyssinia* was collected with the help of the Revd. G. R. Sundström who spent many years in Eritrea, notably at the Swedish Mission in Galab, and was himself an accomplished student of the Tigre Language.

Sundström introduced Littmann, on the latter's arrival at Galab, to Naffa' wad 'Etmān, whose invaluable services, then and later, prompted Littmann to dedicate the first volume of his *Publications* to him. Naffa' travelled to Germany following the expedition and stayed there with Littmann for two years (1907-1909) while they worked together on the material collected in Eritrea³.

In transcribing his texts, Littmann used Ethiopic characters together with a special sign to indicate the gemination of appropriate consonants. Throughout *Publications* all words which terminate with the vowel *a* have this vowel in the fourth order, including verbs in the perfect, third person, masculine singular⁴. In the preface to volume I Littmann gives an account of the manner in which the material was collected.

A more detailed account of his stay in Eritrea is given in "Preliminary Report"⁵ (pp. 151-154), augmented by an account of the Tigre speaking people and a proposed outline (pp. 155-165) of what was later to be printed as *Publications*.

The contents of volume I of *Publications* may be classified under four headings: (a) — prose — consisting of anthropomorphic tales about animals,

2 E. Littmann, *Publications of the Princeton expedition to Abyssinia*, Leyden: late E. J. Brill, Ltd., 1910-15, 4v. in 5, 287, 344, 541, 1097 pp.

3 In 1909 Naffa', being en route from Naples to Sicily on his way back home, disappeared, never to be heard of again.

4 Littmann finally changed his mind about this, using the distinction between the first and the fourth orders to denote a morphological value, i.e.: the fourth order being used to denote a final radical which is a semivowel. Cf.: *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache* in section C. of this paper.

5 E. Littmann, "Preliminary report of Princeton University Expedition to Abyssinia", *Z.A.* 20, 1907, pp. 151-182.

stories from folklore, accounts of local historical events, stories about the stars, descriptions of the Tigre speaking tribes, customs, riddles etc.; (b) — a list of names — interpreted as fully as possible — of men (pp. 136-156), of women (pp. 156-161), of *səqrāt*⁶ (pp. 161-163), of swords and their kinds (pp. 172-187); (c) — poetry — consisting mainly of songs and dirges (pp. 203, 210-215, 229-250); (d) — idiomatic expressions such as salutations (pp. 200-202) and curses (pp. 270-277).

Volume II of *Publications* consists of an English translation of volume I. In the preface to volume II Littmann makes further remarks about the nature of the material collected in volume I, e.g. an evaluation of the literary aspects of the prose and poetry is given and a comparison made with similar material from within the boundaries of Ethiopia and from outside it. He also comments on the difficulties he encountered in the translation of Tigre names, suggesting as possible for some of them the idiolectic interpretation of his "informant" Naffa'. The translation of the poetry is supplemented by a commentary.

Volume III (published 1913) consists of a numbered sequence of seven hundred and seventeen poems in the Tigre Language, in Ethiopic script. Each poem is preceded by the poet's name. This poetry consists of (a) folk songs — amounting to about two-thirds of the collection and (b) dirges — traditionally sung by women. Some prose is also included in volume III. There is an introduction of about thirteen pages, in the Tigre language, concerning various aspects of the poetry of the Tigre people both in the past and at the time at which this material was collected. There is also a description of the origin of the Tigre speaking tribes, and an explanation of how certain rites expressing clientship came into being. Apart from the introduction, many of the poems are preceded by prose sections in which the background to the poem related. At the end of the volume the poet's names are listed in Ethiopic script, in Ethiopic alphabetical order.

Volume IV consists of a German translation of, and commentary on, the poems of Volume III. It appears in two parts: A (published 1913) and B (published 1915). Part A consists of a translation of, and commentary on poems 1-391, part B of a translation of and commentary on the remainder. At the end of part B there is a list of the poets in Latin alphabetical order.

In addition to *Publications*, two other prose texts published by Littmann remain to be mentioned: (a) *The legend of the Queen of Sheba*⁷ and (b) "Tigrē-

6 *səqrāt*: "The second name by which the mother and the other women call the child" (LH, 181b). The use of these *səqrāt* names — in the majority of cases they are also battlecries — is found frequently in poetry.

7 E. Littmann, *The Legend of the Queen of Sheba in the tradition of Axum*, Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1904, Bibliotheca Abessinica, no. 1, xi, 40 pp.

Erzählungen”⁸. Towards the end of 1902 G. R. Sundström sent Littmann the text of *The Legend of the Queen of Sheba*. The man who wrote the text down was “one of our evangelists of the Mensa tribe”⁹. Footnotes to the text preceded by the letter S are those of Sundström. The Tigre text appears on the left hand page with an English translation opposite. The text itself—about six pages—is in Ethiopic script, gemination not being marked and the final *a* of the verb in the perfect, third person, masculine singular, being represented by the first order¹⁰. These and other orthographic features found in this work are typical of the manner in which Tigre texts were transcribed by people of the Swedish Mission. Notwithstanding the generally consistent transcription and fairly accurate translation, the major part of the credit here due to Littmann derives from his editing of the material: he did not work on the material with an “informant” and thus had to rely entirely on Sundström in the case of passages that he did not understand or grammatical forms with which he was not acquainted.

“Tigrē-Erzählungen” is a collection of six Tigre tales rendered in Ethiopic script. The Ethiopic script is given on the right hand page followed by a free translation into German. On the left hand page the text is rendered in a narrow phonetic transcription with an interlinear translation into German. This collection of tales, both as to its nature and quality, resembles the prose material which appears in *Publications of the Princeton expedition to Abyssinia*, the symbol for gemination being omitted in the Ethiopic script owing to the presence of the coexisting transcription. No scholar has rendered better service to the cause of Tigre studies than E. Littmann. The translated and annotated texts of *Publications* have been a cornerstone of the work of the student of Tigre. Yet Littmann, especially in the earlier stages of his collection of texts and research, was heavily indebted to the endeavours in the field by members of the Swedish Evangelical Mission in Eritrea.

Texts published by Swedish Missionaries (and works connected with those texts)

Texts published by members of the Swedish Mission show two different levels of Tigre style: there are (a) folk tales, biblical tales, customs and rites, law, history of the Mansa’ people, medicines and diseases, poetry, etc., and (b) Bible translations whose style is literary in the sense that it does not reflect the colloquial language in the manner that most of the prose texts of (a) do.

⁸ E. Littmann, “Tigrē-Erzählungen”, *ZDMG* (1911), pp. 697-708.

⁹ In a letter from Sundström to Littmann, *The Legend of the Queen of Sheba*, x:16.

¹⁰ Cf. footnote 4 above.

Texts collected by K. G. Rodén

The most prominent text published in book form by the Swedish Mission is *Kəl'e Mansa' - The Two Mansa'*, or as it is better known among western scholars: *Le tribù dei Mensa*¹¹. The text is in Ethiopic script. There is a preface in Italian (vii-x), for the benefit of the western reader, as well as a preface in Tigre (xi-xiii) which is directed at the indigenous Mansa' reader. K. G. Rodén, the head of the Missionary Station at Galab, devoted a considerable period—between his arrival in Galab in 1890¹² and the publication of *Kəl'e Mansa'* in 1913—to collecting material for the book, which is printed in two parts. The first part (pp. 1-87), entitled *Dəgam Mansa'*—"The story of Mansa'", contains a description of genealogies of the Mansa', accounts of historical and of tribal traditions. Tables of genealogies (pp. 88-91) conclude part one. Part two, entitled *Fətəḥ Maḥārī wa'ādotāt*—"The law of Maḥārī and customs", consists of an account of the law and customs of the Mansa' tribes. Some of the tales and customs found in both parts of this book are also found in Littmann's *Publications of the Princeton expedition to Abyssinia*, volume I¹³ in slightly different versions. A free translation by Rodén into Italian of *Kəl'e Mansa'* was published along with the Tigre version¹⁴. A much more accurate translation—which exists only for the second part of *Kəl'e Mansa'*—is the one into German, *Das Feteḥ Maḥārī*¹⁵ made by M. Höfner. M. Höfner's translation incorporates a commentary with many references to Littmann's *Publication of the Princeton Expedition*. Critical observations on the translation of *Fətəḥ Maḥārī*, into Italian by Rodén and into German by Höfner, were later made by W. Leslau¹⁶.

The credit for the only valuable¹⁷ Tigre reader in existence —*Katāb Fidel*—

- 11 K. G. Rodén, *Le tribù dei Mensa*. Storia, legge e costumi. A. Testo originale tigrè, Asmara, Evangeliska Fosterlands-Stiftelsens Förlags-expedition, 1913, xiii, 192 pp.
- 12 In 1900 Rodén handed over some material to C. Conti Rossini. Cf. section on Conti Rossini below. See *Tribù*, p. xi:10-13.
- 13 Cf. e.g.: *Tribù*, 3:18-4:6 with *PLI*, story no. 73; *Tribù*, 4:20-5:1 with *PLI*, story no. 74; *FM*, 102:23 et seq. with *PLI*, 112:5 et seq.
- 14 *Le tribù dei Mensa*, Storia, legge e costumi. B. Traduzione italiana, Stockholm, 1913, xi, 352 pp.
- 15 M. Höfner, *Das Feteḥ Maḥārī*. Sitten und Recht der Mänsa'. Nach dem Tigrè-Text K. G. Rodén's übersetzt. Verlag der: Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur in Mainz, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1951, Nr. 8, pp. 647-746, off print, 102 pp.
- 16 W. Leslau, "Linguistic observations on a Tigre codex", *RSE* 11, 1952, pp. 33-46.
- 17 Two other readers exist: (a) *Fidel wālād biga tigre lalatmaharobu*, Mukullo, 1889, 35 pp.; (b) *Fidel nāy biga tigre*, Asmara: Missione Cattolica, 1908, 32 pp., the first being a syllabary only, the second containing sentences, but not texts—being of doubtful value.

goes to K. G. Rodén. This reader—using Ethiopic script only—has gone through three editions, Rodén himself being the editor of the first two¹⁸. The third edition of the reader¹⁹ is one revised by Musa Aron and published under the sponsorship of A. Berglund of the Swedish Mission. This third edition has been adapted to the needs of the young learner by means of a complete revision of the first part—entitled *'Ag'azot*—“spelling”—dealing with reading exercises, and by leaving out sections of the second part—entitled *Qar'ān*—“reading”—in the case of material thought by the reviser to be unsuitable for the young learner. The second part of the book (pp. 54-112) includes short phrases (pp. 54-55), salutations (p. 56), tales—some adapted from foreign languages—riddles and a few poems.

As well as participating in the translation of the New Testament into Tigre²⁰, Rodén translated into Tigre—in Ethiopic script—two theological works, based on Martin Luther's catechism²¹. Scriptural quotations in these works are taken from the Tigre translation of the New Testament²² with some changes and omissions which simplify the literary style of that particular translation. Other texts in the publication of which K. G. Rodén participated are *Racconti biblici* — *'Adgāmāt qəddus kəṭāb*²³ and *Manuale di storia sacra* — *Dagām qəddus kəṭāb*²⁴. Both publications, which are in Ethiopic script, consist of a selection of simplified versions of stories from the Bible translated from Swedish. *Racconti biblici* was originally translated by the Revd. A. Renlund

18 K. G. Rodén, *Sillabario della lingua tigré*. Per cura della Società evangelica nazionale svedese. Asmara: Tipografia della Missione Evangelica Svedese, 1904, 127 pp. K. G. Rodén, *Sillabario e comprimento per le scuole elementari inferiori in lingua tigré*. Seconda edizione, Asmara: Società Evangelica nazionale svedese, 1916, 173 pp.

19 K. G. Rodén, *Kəṭāb 'ag'azot waqər'ān*, 3rd edition, revised by Musa Aron, Printing and Stationery Directorate, Asmara, 1958, 112 p.

20 See the paragraph on Bible translations at the end of this section.

21 K. G. Rodén, transl., *Dottrina Cristiana, secondo il Piccolo Catechismo di Martino Lutero*, per opera del comitato catechistico (in Isvezia). Liberamente tradotta dallo svedese in tigré da K. G. Rodén. Asmara: Tipografia della Missione Evangelica Svedese, 1920, 128 pp. (pp. 117 et seq—the contents of the book). K. G. Rodén, transl., *Martino Lutero Piccolo Catechismo*. Tradotto in Tigré da K. G. Rodén. Asmara: Missione Evangelica, 1926, 23 pp.

22 See the paragraph on Bible translations at the end of this section.

23 Norlén Wilh., and Fr. Lundgren, *Racconti biblici*. Illustrati, per le scuole elementari inferiori, di Wilh. Norlén e Fr. Lundgren, Rettori di scuole magistrali. Tradotti dallo svedese in tigré da A. Renlund e K. G. Rodén. Asmara: Evangeliska-Fosterlands Förlags-expedition, 1916, 57 pp.

24 Norlén Wilh., and Fr. Lundgren, *Manuale di storia sacra* (versione tigré). Seconda edizione. Riveduta da K. G. Rodén e Giuseppe Hemmed. Asmara: Tipografia Evangelica, 1925, 200 pp.

with the help of an indigenous scholar²⁵, but was not then published. Years later Rodén undertook the work of revising the text which was finally published in 1916. The book contains stories from the Old (pp. 5-35) and New (37-58) Testaments.

Manuale di storia sacra which was published ten years later, in 1925, is an enlarged and revised version of *Racconti biblici*. At the end of the enlarged version there are four appendices consisting of: (a) the names of the books of the Bible (pp. 178-180); (b) a table of the most important events "from the time of the creation of the world until Christ and from Christ until our time"²⁶ (pp. 181-185); (c) a list of names appearing in the Bible with interpretations (pp. 186-193); (d) a list of abbreviations and symbols used in the book (p. 194). The above two publications supply the student of Tigre with excellent material as regards the syntactic structure of the language; all stories appearing in the shorter version of the work appear also in the enlarged edition, and comparisons of syntactic phenomena may thus be drawn. Furthermore, a comparison of three versions of certain texts is possible in the case of stories from the New Testament, owing to the existence of the Tigre translation of the latter.

To complete the list of publications by K. G. Rodén, it remains to mention a collection of songs: *Darus Şayon — Cantici di Sion*²⁷ translated and edited by Rodén in collaboration with R. Sundström. This work, like all of Rodén's other texts, is in Ethiopic script and consists of three hundred and ten religious songs. An index to the songs, in Ethiopic alphabetical order and according to the first word of the opening verse, is found on pp. 423-435.

Texts collected by G. R. Sundström

The Revd. G. R. Sundström, a contemporary of K. G. Rodén, became known as Tigre scholar not only through the texts that he published but also by reason of the help that he offered to E. Littmann, in terms of both scholarly knowledge and the collection of material²⁸. From a general point of view it

25 Yosef Hammad who helped Rodén and other members of the Swedish Mission with their translations into Tigre.

26 *Manuale di storia sacra*, 181:3. The first date given is that of the creation of the world, 4165 B.C., and the latest date—that of the translation of the Bible into Amharic, 1841 A.D.

27 K. G. Rodén and G. R. Sundström, transl., *Cantici di Sion*. In Tigre. Tradotti ed ordinati da K. G. Rodén e R. Sundström. Seconda edizione. Asmara: Missione Evangelica Svedese, 1931, 437 pp.

28 See above, section on Littmann's collected texts.

can be said that Sundström presented his material in a more scholarly manner than his colleagues at the Swedish Mission, perhaps owing to his fruitful relation with E. Littmann. A few, relatively short, texts were published by Sundström.

One²⁹ was published in 1904 as an article in collaboration with E. Littmann, at a time when Sundström's experience of the Tigre language was limited to a couple of years. The text consists of two pages in Ethiopic script (pp. 11-12) out of the 34 pages of the whole article, one page of text being a Tigre tale, the other a song connected with it. The rest of the article is a translation (pp. 3-4) and commentary (pp. 4-10) in Swedish, with a translation of the Swedish into German (pp. 13-23) by E. Littmann. At the end of the article a phonetic transcription of the song is given (pp. 23-24), followed by a small glossary in phonetic transcription and a Swedish and German translation of this (pp. 25-34).

Another Sundström text published five years later, deals with (a) illnesses, injuries and their cure, (b) medicines, their preparation and use. The text is in Ethiopic script and a translation into Swedish is provided. Part A)³⁰ (pp. 127-151), entitled '*Amər 'ādār*—“The knowledge of illnesses”, consists of a list of illnesses and injuries with, in each case, a description of symptoms and an outline of treatment. Part B)³¹ (pp. 152-173), entitled '*Amər 'asəryat*—“The knowledge of remedies”, consists of a list of medical trees and plants together with an account of the manner in which medicines are prepared, preserved and administered (i.e. dosages and frequencies).

The Sundström text³² most enlightening from a linguistic point of view was published in 1914. Sundström wrote it, after a stay of twelve years among the Tigre-speaking peoples, with the stated aim of giving an idea of Tigre pronunciation and accent. In the preamble to the text an account is given of certain phonetic phenomena, the most interesting of which are the allophonic forms of the vowel *a*. Apart from his unclear statement that “the vowel of the first order is always short”³³, Sundström gives a striking description of the

29 G. R. Sundström, “En sång på tigrè-språket”, upptecknad, öfversatt och förklarad af R. Sundström. Utgifven och öfversatt till tyska af Enno Littmann. Uppsala: Akademiska bokhandeln, *SKITH*, vol. 8, no. 6, 1904, 34 pp.

30 G. R. Sundström, “Sjukdomar ock deras behandling av infödingar i Mänsa’”, *MO* 3, 1909, pp. 127-151.

31 G. R. Sundström, “Kännedom om läkemedel ock deras användning bland infödingarne i Mänsa’”, *MO* 3, 1909, pp. 152-173. Parts A) and B) appear as consecutive but separate articles.

32 G. R. Sundström, “Some Tigré texts with transliteration and translation”, *MO* 8, 1914, pp. 1-15.

33 Ibid., page 1, A.

allophones of *a* though without relating them to their positional values. It is quite clear from this description that *a* may be open or close, front or centralized, and that the distinction between first and fourth order vowels cannot, thus, be a question of vowel-quality. Neither Sundström nor any other student of Tigre, for a long time afterwards, took pains to continue the analysis beyond this point; only in recent years has any advance been made as regards this aspect of Tigre phonology³⁴. This third Sundström text contains four Tigre tales in Ethiopic script, each tale being followed by a narrow phonetic transcription with an interlinear translation; this in turn being followed by a free translation into English. The style of each tale is highly narrative, as if proceeding directly from the narrator's mouth.

A document of Sundström's concerning the "Ad Šek"³⁵, a Tigre-speaking Muslim tribe³⁶, may be mentioned here. It was turned over by Sundström to Littmann and later published by M. Höfner. The text—in Ethiopic script—consists of a genealogy of the tribe and an account of its law, customs and songs together with a translation into German and a commentary.

Texts collected by C. Conti Rossini

A contribution to the corpus of Tigre texts was made by C. Conti Rossini, whose *Dəgam Mansa'*—"Tradizioni storiche dei Mensa"³⁷ was, in fact, the first valuable text to be published in Tigre. The text, in Ethiopic script (pp. 45-68), gives an account of the history of the two branches of Mansa' and there follows a translation into Italian and a commentary (pp. 69-99). The Tigre text also contains (pp. 68-69) a short folktale, *Dəgam walat ḥaṣay*—"The legend of the king's daughter". In a preamble Conti Rossini explains how and when his material was collected (pp. 41-44) and provides an ethnological introduction to the Tigre-speaking peoples. In his work Conti Rossini was helped by K. G. Rodén³⁸ and by Rodén's native assistant Tawalada Madḥən.

Indeed, a comparison of Rodén's 1913 text—bearing the same Tigre name *Dəgam Mansa'*—*Le tribù dei Mensa*—with that of Conti Rossini's shows that the

³⁴ See F. R. Palmer, "Openness in Tigre", *BSOAS* 18, fasc. 3, 1954, pp. 561-577. See also *The morphology of the Tigre noun* by the same author, §§ 1.2, 1.6 and 1.7. This work is dealt with at the beginning of section B of this paper.

³⁵ M. Höfner, "Überlieferungen bei Tigrē-Stämmen (1). 'Ad Šek", *AE* 4, 1961, pp. 181-203.

³⁶ Cf.: *PLI*, 285:5.

³⁷ C. Conti Rossini, "Tradizioni storiche dei Mensa", *GS-It* 14, 1901, pp. 41-99.

³⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 41:9-15.

same Tigre source underlies both³⁹. Another text edited by C. Conti Rossini worth mentioning is "Documenti per lo studio della lingua tigré"⁴⁰. This publication contains Tigre texts in phonetic transcription with an Italian translation. The transcription shows some peculiarities with regard to the phonetics and to the morphology of the Tigre language, e.g.: *y*, which is not geminated in the Tigre of Mansa', is here geminated⁴¹; palatalization is marked as if it occurred regularly, when in fact it is non-existent in Tigre⁴²; gemination appears in the consonants of certain words where gemination is in fact also non-existent⁴³. The collection contains⁴⁴: (a) fifty proverbs, (b) thirty-seven riddles, (c) two stories, a translation being given immediately after each proverb, tale and story.

Texts collected by W. Leslau

Leslau's "Tigre games"⁴⁵ consists of seven children's games in phonetic transcription, the Tigre text of each game being followed by an English translation. This material was recorded by Leslau during his stay in Keren in 1947, a stay which also yielded his "Supplementary observations on Tigre grammar"⁴⁶. Some of the grammatical footnotes that appear in "Tigre games" appear also in the "Supplementary observations". However, further analysis was made of the material included in "Tigre games" since it was originally collected (1947) and commented on (1948). The phonetic transcription of the text shows some peculiarities: the gemination of semi-vowels⁴⁷ and the recurrence of the form *'ändä*—"while" instead of *'ando*⁴⁸, other peculiarities occurring in either one of the works⁴⁹.

39 Cf. e.g., C. Ross. *Trad.*, pp. 60-61 with *Tribù*, 46:27 et seq.; C. Ross. *Trad.*, 63:13 et seq. with *Tribù*, 40:10 et seq.; C. Ross. *Trad.*, 59:7 with *Tribù*, 8:8.

40 C. Conti Rossini, "Documenti per lo studio della lingua tigré", *GSAl* 16, 1903, pp. 1-32.

41 As e.g.: p. 6, no. 36; p. 7, no. 43; p. 18:21.

42 As e.g.: *tezabbiéko*—"I was sold (the slave cries [saying])", p. 8, no. 49 (phonetic transcription as in the original).

43 As e.g.: *haqqohá*—"after that", 14:8; *ellü*—"for him", 18:21 (phonetic transcription as in the original).

44 C. Ross. *Doc.* also contains a translation into Italian with a commentary (pp. 21-32), the text in Tigre appearing in *Ricordo di un soggiorno in Eritrea*, 1903, pp. 67-78.

45 W. Leslau, "Tigre games", *RSE* 17, 1961, pp. 61-68.

46 See section B) below.

47 As, e.g.: "Tigre games", p. 63, footnote 2; p. 64, footnote 7; "Supplementary observations", p. 128 § 4; p. 131 § 27 a).

48 As, e.g.: "Tigre games", p. 62, footnote 2; "Supplementary observations", p. 137, § 156 a).

49 As, e.g.: "Tigre games", p. 64, footnote 3, where the form *'llu*, instead of *'lü* "[which is] for him", is questioned by Leslau himself; "Supplementary observations", p. 127. § 1, where examples of fricative [q] are given.

Bible translations

Only two parts of the Old Testament were translated into Tigre: *The Book of Psalms—Dərsān dāwəd*⁵⁰ and *The Book of Isaiah—Katāb 'Esayās*⁵¹. G. R. Sundström is to be credited with the work, though its publication is posthumous. The names of the native speakers who helped him are not on record. As regards the New Testament, the first part to appear in print was the Gospel of St. Mark⁵², from the Swedish Mission press at Monkullo—where there was at that time one of the two missionary stations among the Tigre speaking people (the other being at Galab). This translation into Tigre, in an Ethiopic script whose orthography is not consistent, was done by indigenous scholars under the supervision of Dr. C. Winqvist, a missionary physician, whose own scholarship was more in the domain of Tigrinya. The entire New Testament in Tigre was first published in 1902 by the Swedish Mission Press at Asmara. K. G. Rodén, the principal of the Mission station at Galab, supervised the work of translation which was carried out with the help of the native teachers at the Swedish Mission⁵³. Books of the New Testament used now among Tigre speaking Christians are reprints of a second edition of the 1902 publication, produced in a revised and improved form at Asmara in 1931⁵⁴. All Tigre Bible translations appear in Ethiopic script.

B. GRAMMATICAL MATERIAL

The scarcity of Tigre texts is paralleled by a scarcity of grammatical works. Practically all the grammatical works of the earlier period of Tigre studies are of no descriptive value to the student of Tigre, some of them now being linguistic curiosities of primarily historical value, while others were written by people who lacked the required skill or qualification for the task. Most

50 G. R. Sundström, transl., *I Salmi di Davide* in lingua tigré. Prima edizione. Pubblicato dalla Società Biblica britannica e forestiera, Asmara: Tipografia Evangelica, 1925.

51 G. R. Sundström, transl., *Il Libro di Isaia* in lingua tigré. Prima edizione. Pubblicato dalla Società Biblica britannica e forestiera, Asmara: Tipografia Evangelica, 1925.

52 *Evangelium enligt Markus på Tigre-Språket*, tryckt på Missionspressen i Monkullo, 1889, 52 pp.

53 As for the sources from which the translation was made, see: E. Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1968, p. 71.

54 *Haddis Galad* -- 'ab biga tagre, kälä' hatām 'arrum -- Il Nuovo Testamento in lingua tigré. Seconda edizione riveduta. Pubblicato a cura della Società Biblica britannica e forestiera, Asmara: Tipografia Evangelica, 1931.

of the credit for grammatical work on Tigre goes to E. Littmann, W. Leslau, and F.R. Palmer, the latter having made the strongest impact in his endeavours to bring Tigre studies into the domain of modern linguistic research.

Grammatical writings of E. Littmann, and connected works

E. Littmann published several monographs and articles concerning various aspects of Tigre grammar. The most comprehensive, "Das Verbum der Tigresprache"⁵⁵, is based on the published texts and grammatical works that were available at that time. A survey of such material is given at the beginning of the article (pp. 133-140), followed by an attempt at outlining distinctive dialectal features (pp. 140-152). General observations of a comparative and diachronic nature are made in part one (pp. 152-159).

Some of the gaps in *Das Verbum* were filled by M. Höfner in her article "Probleme der Verbalstammbildung im Tigrē"⁵⁶. In this article M. Höfner attempts an analysis of the relationship of form and meaning between verb-moulds such as *qal*⁵⁷ (i.e. the invariable element of verb compounds whose second element is *bela*), *qalla* (i.e. triradicals with similar second and third radicals) and *qalqala* on the one hand; *qatla*, *qatlala* and *qataltala* on the other—with the preformatives 'an- and 'as- being examined in appropriate instances. Verbs of the form *qetala* and *qotala* are incorporated in the tables of examples. The data for this article appear in *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache*⁵⁸.

An article concerning the pronoun in Tigre, "Die Pronomina im Tigrē"⁵⁹, was published by Littmann prior to the publication of *Das Verbum*, utilizing the same corpus of material. This article—in two fascicles—includes a description of the personal pronoun, the pronominal suffixes with the noun and the verb, indirect suffixes (i.e. "Mittelbare suffixe", which are in fact the prepositions 'al—"to, for", 'at—"in, on, by, with"), the pronominal copula *tu*, the possessive *nāy*, the reflexive (as expressed by *nos*—"self", *ra'as*—"head, self"), the reciprocal (*nosnos*), the demonstrative, the definite article and the relative *la-*, the interrogative pronouns and, finally the indefinite pronoun (as expressed by the enclitic *-ma* with *gale*, *sema*—"some, any"). A short article by

55 E. Littmann, "Das Verbum der Tigresprache", *Z.1* 13, 1898, pp. 133-178; *Z.1* 14, 1899, pp. 1-102.

56 M. Höfner, "Probleme der Verbalstammbildung im Tigrē", *ZDMG* 101, 1951, pp. 89-106.

57 The graphemes q, t, l, stand for the radicals of the verbal root.

58 See section C) below.

59 E. Littmann, "Die Pronomina im Tigrē". Ein Beitrag zur aethiopischen Dialektkunde, *Z.1* 12, 1897, pp. 188-230, 291-316.

Littmann, "Die Diminutivbildung im Tigrē"⁶⁰, deals with the formation of the diminutive in Tigre, mainly in proper names. The corpus of texts used is that of Littmann's *Publications of the Princeton expedition to Abyssinia*, where the lists of proper names and appellatives contain the equivalent diminutive forms⁶¹. Another short article by Littmann, "Bilitterale Verba im Tigrē"⁶², deals with the morphology of irregular biradical verbs. The article is in the nature of a supplement to Littmann's *Das Verbum* (see section B above).

Grammatical writings of F. R. Palmer

F. R. Palmer has added a new dimension to research work in Tigre by his attempts to put it on a purely descriptive plane. He has been able to do this because of the material he collected in field work during his stay in Eritrea in the early fifties. Palmer has written three grammatical essays on the Tigre language, the most comprehensive being *The morphology of the Tigre noun*⁶³. In the first part of this book Palmer provides a brief discussion of the phonology of Tigre (pp. 1-10), emphasizing the principle of assimilation which is the most influential factor in phonetic variation in Tigre. In chapters two and three (pp. 10-15) the writer establishes an outline of those criteria, such as types of formation, noun and adjective, number and gender, etc., which form the basis of the classification in the following chapters. Chapters four (pp. 16-34) and five (pp. 35-39) deal with broken plurals and suffixed plurals respectively. Chapter six (pp. 40-64) deals with "derivatives", i.e.: diminutives, pejoratives and augmentatives, according to form and meaning; an analysis of problematic forms (i.e.: forms which raise problems of classification) being made at the end of the chapter (pp. 62-65). In chapter seven (pp. 66-69) and eight (70-73) respectively pronominal suffixes and adjectives are discussed. The grammatical part of the book is augmented by a list of nouns—arranged according to the different structural patterns of the singular form—and consists of material collected by the writer and selected by him for

60 E. Littmann, "Die Diminutivbildung im Tigrē". Estratto dagli Annali del R. Istituto Superiore Orientale di Napoli. Nuova Serie, volume II, Roma: Tipografia del Senato, 1942-XX, 89-103.

61 See *PLI*, p. 137 et seq.

62 E. Littmann, "Bilitterale Verba im Tigrē". Donum natalicium H. S. Nyberg oblatum. Uppsala, 1954, p. 94-101.

63 F. R. Palmer, *The Morphology of the Tigre noun*. London: Oxford University Press, 1962, 96 pp. (London Oriental Series, vol. 13); The other two are: F. R. Palmer, "Openness in Tigre", *BSOAS*, 18, fasc. 3, 1954, pp. 561-577; F. R. Palmer, "Relative clauses in Tigre", *Word*, 17, 1961, pp. 24-33.

the purpose of this work. A glossary of the linguistic terms used in the book rounds off the work.

Grammars

Two attempts have been made to produce comprehensive works on Tigre grammar⁶⁴, the first in 1919, *Grammatica della lingua tigrè*⁶⁵, and the second, *Short grammar of Tigre*⁶⁶, in 1945. *Grammatica della lingua Tigrè* contains a description of grammatical data (pp. 10-71), texts with Italian translation (pp. 79-90) and vocabulary: Tigre-Italian (pp. 93-186) and Italian-Tigre (pp. 189-292). The Tigre material is in Ethiopic script. The grammatical data are not very helpful to the student of Tigre, since (a) the grammatical framework used is that of another language (probably Italian), and (b) many features of the data given are foreign to the Tigre language. Leslau's *Short grammar of Tigre* is the only valuable grammar of the language available. The book is a reprint of two articles which appeared in the same year⁶⁷, the dialect described being that of Mansa'. Leslau's treatise is mainly based on Littmann's *Publications of the Princeton expedition to Abyssinia*, volume I, and on certain of Littmann's articles. The Tigre material is given as a transliteration of the Ethiopic script of the sources used. The main problem which Leslau faced was his inability to check the material in the field. Consequently he left unsolved certain grammatical problems where he considered the evidence from existing material to be insufficient. Thus he made an attempt to supplement his work with fresh material which he collected while on a visit to Keren in Eritrea. The results were published as "Supplementary observations on Tigré grammar"⁶⁸. The new material enabled him to throw further light on basic problems. However as he himself remarked, his time in the field had been too limited to carry out a systematic investigation.

64 The work on the Beni 'Amər dialect: A. C. Beaton and A. Paul, *A grammar and vocabulary of the Tigre language* (as spoken by the Beni Amer). Khartum: Publications Bureau, 1954, 88 pp., mimeographed, is not covered by the above statement. In any case, the worth of this book to the student of Tigre is not very great, mainly owing to the non-linguistic presentation of the data.

65 *Grammatica della lingua tigrè*, con annesso: Vocabolario tigrè-italiano e italiano-tigrè. Per cura della Missione Cattolica dell'Eritrea, Asmara: Tip. Francescana, 1919, 299 pp.

66 W. Leslau, *Short grammar of Tigré* (North Ethiopic), Dialect of Mensa. New Haven, 1945. Publications of the American Oriental Society. Offprint series, no. 18.

67 W. Leslau, "The verb in Tigré (North Ethiopic), Dialect of Mensa", *J.AOS* 65, 1945, pp. 1-26; W. Leslau, "Grammatical Sketches in Tigré (North Ethiopic), Dialect of Mensa", *J.AOS* 65, 1945, pp. 164-203.

68 W. Leslau, "Supplementary observations on Tigré grammar", *J.AOS* 68, 1948, pp. 127-139.

C. LEXICAL MATERIAL

The only valuable dictionary of Tigre in existence—E. Littmann's *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache*⁶⁹—incorporates most vocabularies and glossaries published previously. Littmann's *Publications of the Princeton expedition to Abyssinia* was the main text used, but almost all other published texts are represented as well. It also includes material produced by Sundström, Naffa' wad 'Etmān, and others, and thus saw light of publication for the first time in this Dictionary. M. Höfner who participated in the work of editing had the immense task of rounding it off. The Tigre entries are in Ethiopic script and in Ethiopic alphabetical order, with translations into German and English. The heading of a verb entry is usually given in the perfect, third person, singular masculine, the final consonant being put in the fourth order when it is a final semivowel. The heading of a verb entry is the verb form of the basic stem, other types of formation and their prefixed derivatives—with attested participles and infinitives—being given in each case. Each entry is usually attributed to several sources, and lexical, grammatical and dialectal notes occasionally given. Idiomatic expressions and compound words are included as well, full utterances being sometimes given as examples. At the end of many entries etymologies are adduced from Gə'əz, Tigrinya and Amharic, and the Arabic origin is given where the source of the Tigre word is Arabic. Proper names, names of tribes, names of animals, names of stars and geographical names appear in a list at the end of the book (pp. 678-738). An addendum which deals mainly with additional etymologies to previous entries rounds off the book (pp. 739-744). *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache* is an impressive work. Its range of entries covers almost all published texts of the language and the various sources attributed to each item of an entry make a fine collection of examples. The dictionary has, however, a weak point: too many entries are based on Littmann's poetry collection⁷⁰, where the meaning is frequently that of the contextual sense—specific to a certain verse—and not that of the general lexical content. Thus *balsa*⁷¹, for example, has three meanings: 1. "to turn (over)"; 2. "to cause to be"; 3. "to answer". Meaning no. 2 is practically non-existent in prose and would be unintelligible to the native speaker of Tigre outside the specific poetic context in which it occurs. From a general point of view it can be said that the dictionary is a compilation

69 E. Littmann und Maria Höfner, *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache*. Tigrē-Deutsch-Englisch, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1962, 744 pp.

70 *Publications of the Princeton expedition to Abyssinia*, vol. III.

71 LH, 269b.

of linguistic forms and their meanings as found in certain texts, rather than a reflection of the spoken language. The disadvantage of this is that the spoken Tigre of today is represented to a limited extent only.

Arabic loanwords in Tigre were analyzed by Wolf Leslau in "Arabic loanwords in Tigre", *Word* 12 (1956).125-141; and in "Additional Arabic loanwords in Tigre", *Al-Hudhud. Festschrift Maria Höfner zum 80 Geburtstag* (ed. Roswitha G. Stiegner, Graz, 1981), pp. 171-198. Suggestions for comparisons between Geez, Tigrinya, Amharic and Tigre using Enno Littmann and Maria Höfner's *Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache* as a base were made by W. Leslau in *North Ethiopic and Amharic Cognates in Tigre* (Supplemento no. 31 *Annali. Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, 1982, vol. 42, 86 pages).

Abbreviations

AE	Annales d'Ethiopie.
'Ag'azot	K. G. Rodén, <i>Katāb 'ag'azot waqar'ān</i> , 3rd ed., revised by Musa Aron, Asmara, 1958.
C. Ross. Doc.	C. Conti Rossini, "Documenti per lo studio della lingua tigré", <i>GSAl</i> 16, 1903, pp. 1-32.
C. Ross. Trad.	C. Conti Rossini, "Tradizioni storiche dei Mensa", <i>GSAl</i> 14, 1901, pp. 41-99.
Das Verbum	E. Littmann, "Das Verbum der Tigrsprache", <i>ZA</i> 13, 1898, pp. 133-178; <i>ZA</i> 14, 1899, pp. 1-102.
FM	K. G. Rodén, <i>Fatāḥ Maḥāri wa'ādotāt</i> (Part two of <i>Le tribù dei Mensa</i> , pp. 95-187).
J.AOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
LH	E. Littmann und M. Höfner, <i>Wörterbuch der Tigrē-Sprache</i> , Wiesbaden, 1962.
MO	Le Monde oriental.
Publications	E. Littmann, <i>Publications of the Princeton expedition to Abyssinia</i> . Leyden, 1910-1915, 4 vol. in 5.
PL	ditto.
RSE	Rassegna di studi etiopici.
SKITH	Skrifter utgifna af K. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala.
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

B. A. TURAEV'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE WORLD SCIENCE OF ETHIOPIAN STUDIES

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Among Turaev's numerous contributions to the field of Oriental studies, a great number of them contain works on history, philology and culture of Ethiopia. B. A. Turaev has left such a rich heritage in this field that it deserves without doubt thorough study. In this article we shall restrict ourselves to considering only his most important writings on different aspects of Ethiopian studies in order to show the versality and significance of his explorations.

Having learned by himself the basis of the ancient Ethiopian Ge'ez (Geez), Turaev perfected his knowledge due to frequent contact with the great Russian scientist V. V. Bolotov to whose memory he later dedicated one of his most interesting works¹.

During his first foreign mission, Turaev took part in learning Ethiopic from Schrader. This gave him a more profound knowledge of Ge'ez. Later on, with direct participation of B. A. Turaev, the teaching of Ge'ez at the Petersburg University was brought up to a higher level. I would like to stress in particular the fact that Turaev always strove to have the students read texts in the language as soon as possible, thereby giving them the opportunity to use the ancient Ethiopian language in practice. It can be said that B. A. Turaev laid the foundation of Ethiopian linguistics in Russia, and was followed by a group of Soviet scientists, his closest pupils being I. Yu. Krachkovski, N. V. Yushmanov, T. L. Turumova and others.

His intimate knowledge of the ancient Ethiopian language has helped Turaev acquaint Russian and foreign readers with the monuments of Ge'ez literature. Following B. A. Dorn, Turaev proceeded with a description of Ethiopian manuscripts in St. Petersburg. Having begun his work in 1897, he had already published the full catalogue of these manuscripts by 1906².

For the first time in Russia, Turaev published a great number of Ethiopian manuscripts in Ge'ez with a Russian translation and comments. Unfortunately

¹ B. A. Turaev, *Investigations in the Field of Hagiological Sources on Ethiopian History*, St. Pb., 1902 (printed in Russian).

² B. A. Turaev, "Ethiopian Manuscripts in Saint-Peterburg", *ZH'ORALO*. St. Pb., 1906, issue II-III, vol. XVII, p. 115-248 (printed in Russian).

not all of these translations have been drawn into scientific circulation though they represent a rich source for studying Ethiopian history.

In 1902, one of the most significant of Turaev's works on Ethiopian studies, *Investigations in the Field of Hagiological Sources on Ethiopian History*, was published. Academician I. Yu. Krachkovski said: "This monograph has definitely put Turaev in the forefront of European researchers of Ethiopia, and in the field of hagiological literature he has been indisputably recognized the greatest expert"³.

Though Turaev was not the first to use this method⁴, the importance of his work for the reconstruction of certain stages of Ethiopian history is hard to overestimate. Although Turaev himself in the preface to this work has emphasized that it would be impossible to write "almost the whole history of the Abyssinian (Ethiopian - M. R.) people only on the basis of hagiographical sources"⁵, he noted the significance of these sources.

Turaev's research covers the period from the beginning of Axum to the end of the 17th century, that is, ancient and medieval Ethiopian history. He begins his work with a general characterization of the saints of the Ethiopian church. He dwells especially on the peculiarities of Ethiopian saints. The Ethiopian church is known not only to have been closely connected with the Coptic, but also fully subordinated to it. This explains why the Ethiopians worship Coptic saints as their own. But in the section "Saints of the Ethiopian church", Turaev points out local Ethiopian saints who occupy a notable place in the Ethiopian church calendar, and at the same time he examines the interplay between Coptic saints and those of Ethiopia. Here, in Ethiopia, one could see a concrete manifestation of the general historical process of the modification of world religion in a particular country. Turaev gives such examples of canonization. Thus some particular heroes often of mythical origin, enlighteners and even kings (Kaleb, Gebre Mesqel, Lalibela, Zera Ya'qob, Ba'eda Maryam, Lebna Dengel and others⁶) have been reckoned among the saints. Turaev draws an analogy with a similar process in Russia: "Abyssinian saints are local in the monophysite church exactly as the Russian

3 I. Yu. Krachkovski, *Introduction to Ethiopian Philology*, Leningrad, 1955, p. 106 (Printed in Russian).

4 Before Turaev, this method was applied by V. O. Kluchevski and Golubinski in their investigations on the history of Russia.

5 B. A. Turaev, *Investigations in the Field of Hagiological Sources on Ethiopian History*, p. VII.

6 B. A. Turaev, op. cit. p. 119, a transcription closer to the sound of the word has been used in the article, and in Turaev's quotations and works the transcription adopted by him has been kept.

saints are in the orthodox church”⁷. The remarkable thing is that the Ethiopian church and the Ethiopian saint Takla Haymanot were worshipped later on by the Copts⁸. In a separate chapter Turaev considers literary peculiarities paying special attention to their origin and authorship. He mentions that an answer to these questions can often be found in introductions, epilogues and notes, and sometimes directly in the main text. He writes: “The authors of the ‘Lives’ generally were monks or clergymen, well-read in the Holy Scriptures, who knew the Psalm-book and the Gospels by heart, had studied the hagiological and apocryphal literature, and even were acquainted with the Church Fathers”⁹. The establishment of the authorship of this or that chronicle or ‘Life’ is of great importance for the dating of the documents as well as for the elucidation of the authenticity of the events reflected in the original sources. A careful literary analysis carried out by Turaev helps to reveal borrowings in what are clearly original Ethiopian texts¹⁰.

The remaining parts of the book are mainly historical: they deal with the Axum period, the transitional period, the time of persecution, Zera Ya’qob’s epoch, and the epoch of Franks. Special mention should be made of the section on the transitional period. If, beginning with the 14th century, historians have at their disposal different historical chronicles and travellers’ narrations, the sources used by Turaev for the period from late Axum until ‘Amda Šeyon present themselves as almost unique and his research has not lost its importance to this day. The sources used and cited by Turaev in this section concern the lives of Lalibela, Neakuto Leab, Gebre Menfes Qiddus, Takla Haymanot, Abbie Egzi’ and Iraklid. The lives of Takla Haymanot and of Gebre Menfes Qiddus are of special interest for the determination of the southern boundaries of the Ethiopian empire of that time. Turaev identifies Saint Abo about whom legends were spread not only among the Amharas, but also among the Galla, Dawaro and Kafficho, with Gebre Menfes Qiddus acting like Abe as “the master of fire and lightning”¹¹.

Turaev spends much more attention to the well-known Ethiopian saint Takla Haymanot. Carefully analyzing different texts of this ‘Life’, he tried to settle the question which still today intrigues researchers of Ethiopia, namely the question of the time when Takla Haymanot lived. He came to

7 B. A. Turaev, op. cit. p. 9.

8 Ibid., p. 17.

9 Ibid., p. 27.

10 Ibid., p. 29.

11 Ibid., p. 81.

the conclusion that "the legend, placing Takla Haymanot at the period of Zagwe's rule and at the time of the so-called restauration of the Solomonic dynasty has been more convincing than that which made him a contemporary of Veniamin (Coptic patriarch - M.R.) and of Avva Ioann" ¹².

The other descriptions of Lives containing material about the way of life of Northern Ethiopia are of equally great interest. As Turaev notes in his Conclusion, these Lives like the Lives of saints of the persecution epoch (15th-16th century) give important information about the history of Ethiopia after the decline of Axum's power when the cultural center had moved to the South in Amhara and Shoa. "Not being always accurate and authentic in relating facts, hagiological monuments", Turaev writes, "grasp more broadly, embrace more deeply and depict more vividly the historical life of its people than do chronicles" ¹³.

While recognizing the importance of the descriptions of the Lives of historical personalities and treating the Lives themselves as historical sources, we must note that B. A. Turaev undoubtedly has idealized these saints and has exaggerated their role in Ethiopian history. The decisive role in the preservation of the national integrity of Ethiopia has belonged not to them, but to the peoples of Ethiopia.

Due to I. Yu. Krachkovski's efforts, the various Ethiopian historical chronicles prepared by B. A. Turaev were published ¹⁴. Turaev intended to publish all the chronicles of the 14th-16th century, but his premature death prevented him from doing so. As a result, only *The Legend of Amda Seyon's Crusade*, *The Chronicle of King Zera Ya'qob and His Successors*, and *The Cronicle of Lebna Dengel, Claudius and Minas* were published by him. There are prefaces to all the chronicles: two to the last two by Turaev, and those to the first chronicle as well as to the whole book by Krachkovski. The chronicles cited in this edition are written not only in ancient Ethiopic, but there are also Amharic words to be found, and this presented a great difficulty for translating. In fact the material used in the Ethiopian chronicles is both a direct continuation of and a supplement to those written sources which were used by Turaev in *Investigations in the Field of Hagiological Sources on Ethiopian History*.

The first of the chronicles, *The Legend of King Amda Seyon's Crusade*, is a valuable source for the restoration of Ethiopian history at the end of the

¹² Ibid., p. 95.

¹³ Ibid., p. 288.

¹⁴ B. A. Turaev, *Abyssinian Chronicles of the 14th-16th century*, translated from Ethiopic, edited by I. Yu. Krachkovski, M.-L., 1936 (printed in Russian).

13th and the beginning of the 14th century; it gives a vivid picture of feudal wars of which the medieval history of Ethiopia is full. The author of the chronicle could reproduce in artistic form not only the battle of the Ethiopian ruler against the Muslims, but also acute conflicts between the ruler and the Christian clergy. It should be underlined that Turaev succeeded in substantially correcting J. Perruchon's translation. The material in the chronicle concerns feudal hierarchy, relations of vassals, and toponymic data still not elucidated at present; in comparison with later chronicles and travellers' narrations (Almeida, Zorzi and others), they can be a most valuable source for the restauration of the Ethiopian historical map of the 13th century, its feudal structure, and part of its political history.

The Chronicle of Zera Ya'qob and His Successors, as Turaev points out in his preface to it, is one of the most interesting documents informing us about an important epoch of cultural and political change in the history of the country, constant wars against Islam, and the beginning of relations with Western Europe¹⁵. At the same time Turaev stresses that the work has no "strict chronological basis, historical perspective, literary harmony, actual completeness"¹⁶. The chronicle is of special value because it contains most curious material on various customs and rites many of which were forgotten and again revived at the time of Zar'a Ya'qob.

The Chronicles of Lebna Dengel, Claudius and Minas deal with one of the most turbulent periods of Ethiopian history—an invasion of Ethiopia, on the one hand, by Turks-Osmans supported by the forces of the Muslim Sultanate Adal under the leadership of Ahmed ibn Ibrahim el Ghazi (nicknamed Grañ, i.e. the left-handed), and on the other hand an intrusion of the Galla. These are glorious pages in the historical past of the Ethiopian people when Ethiopia in spite of all these difficulties and complications managed to preserve the integrity of the state and did not fall under the oppression of the Portuguese who, under the guise of "assistance", tried to strengthen their foothold in the country. We do not agree with B. A. Turaev who criticizes the authors of the chronicle for their telling little because of their "national feeling about the role of 'Franks', i.e. Portuguese, in saving Abyssinia"¹⁷. In our opinion, this is a merit of the chronicles and not a shortcoming. Of course, the Portuguese helped in the struggle against Ahmed ibn Ibrahim el Ghazi, but the decisive role in this belongs to the Ethiopian people; the Portuguese helped the Ethiopians in reality in order to strengthen their own position there, and the

15 B. A. Turaev, *Abyssinian Chronicles of the 14th-16th century*, p. 56 (printed in Russian).

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid., p. 116.

Ethiopians soon afterwards not only understood the essence of Portuguese "aid", but exerted every effort to drive the Portuguese out.

Having been engaged for a long time in various periods of Ethiopian history, Turaev also studied the ancient history of Ethiopia. In his two-volume work *The History of the Ancient East* he gives special consideration to the history of Axum. Using all the written and archeological sources in existence by 1913, as well as investigations of foreign researchers of Ethiopia such as Dillmann, Littmann, Conti Rossini, and Krencker, he has given a general picture of the Axumite kingdom. Of course, at present, scholarship has made great progress, but the chapter on Axum has not lost its importance¹⁸. Particularly interesting are the pages depicting the ethnic history of Axum which has been confirmed by the latest data.

Speaking about Turaev's contributions to Ethiopian studies, one must also mention certain articles, although small in size, on some questions of Ethiopian history published in encyclopedias and magazines. General articles such as "Abyssinia"¹⁹, "Ethiopia"²⁰, "Ethiopian Literature"²¹, "The Ethiopian Language" and others not only contain material on various questions of Ethiopian history, literature and linguistics, but also present a historiographic review of these questions.

Following Bolotov, Turaev gives great consideration to the history of the Ethiopian church, the peculiarities of the mode of life of monks and priests who played a significant role in the medieval history of Ethiopia.

Thanks to the versatility of Turaev's creative work and his endeavours, Russians as well as others at the very beginning of the 20th century could become acquainted with Ethiopian painting of the 19th century. Together with D. V. Ainalov, he published in *The Christian East* reproductions of Ethiopian paintings that were brought by Dr. A. I. Kokhanovski who had worked a long time in Ethiopia²². They are of great interest because they preserve the traditional art of Ethiopia with its peculiar features for posterity.

Turaev's merit was that he was aware of writings published abroad and responded to them quickly²³. On the other hand, his scientific work attracted

18 See, for example: Yu. M. Kobitschanov, *Axum*, 1966 (in Russian).

19 *The Orthodox Theological Encyclopaedia*, 1900, columns 19-82 (in Russian).

20 *Byzantine Vremennik*, St.Pb., 1904, vol. XI, issue i/2, Sect. II, p. 365-379 (in Russian).

21 *Encyclopaedic Dictionary*, Brockhaus and Efron, vol. XLI, book 81, St.Pb., 1904, p. 261-266 (in Russian).

22 B. A. Turaev and D. V. Ainalov, "Abyssinian Paintings Collected by Dr. A. I. Kokhanovski", *The Christian East*, St.Pb., 1913, vol. II, issue II, p. 199-209 (in Russian).

23 See, for example: B. A. Turaev, "Dillmann", *Encyclopaedic Dictionary, Brockhaus and Efron*, vol. X^a, book 20, St.Pb., 1893, (in Russian); same, "Ludolf (Lodolf or Leutholf), Iov", *New*

the attention of scholars of his time dealing with Ethiopia in other countries. Indeed many of his works were immediately translated, after being published in Russia, into foreign languages such as Italian, French and German²⁴. S. Zanutto, one of the greatest bibliographers on Ethiopia, gives a full list of B. A. Turaev's works in the second edition of his bibliography²⁵. Another prominent Italian Ethiopist, C. Conti Rossini, in the Introduction to his work on Ethiopian History²⁶ also takes into consideration the works of Turaev.

One can hardly find a single historical source that was overlooked by B. A. Turaev. His investigations on Ethiopia have laid a solid foundation for Russian and Soviet Ethiopian studies.

Encyclopaedic Dictionary, Brockhaus and Efron, vol. XXV, 1915, col. 15-16 (in Russian); same, "Aethiopica for the years 1912-1914", *Christian East*, 1914, vol. III, issue II, p. 217-224 (in Russian).

²⁴ B. A. Turaev, *Vitae Sanctorum Indigenarum* I. Acta S. Fere Mika'el et S. Zaria-Abreham, Rome, 1905; same, *Vitae Sanctorum Indigenarum* I. Acta S. Eustathii. Interpretatus est Boryssus Turaev, Rome, 1906; same, Testi etiopici in manuscritti di Leningrado, — *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*, Rome, 1948, vol. VII, fasc. I.

²⁵ S. Zanutto, *Bibliografia etiopica in continuazione alla "Bibliografia Etiopica" di G. Fumagalli*. Primo contributo: Bibliografia. Rome, 1936.

²⁶ C. Conti Rossini, *Storia d'Etiopia*, Parte Prima. Dalle origini all'avvento della dinastia Salomonide. Bergami, 1928.

ÄTHIOPISCH UND HAMITISCH

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Seit der Frühzeit äthiopischer Forschung und bis in unsere Tage ist die Frage nach den Beziehungen des Äthiopischen (eines fast schon im Lichte der Geschichte von Südarabien nach Ostafrika übergetretenen Zweiges des Semitischen) zu den hamitischen Sprachen gestellt worden¹. Und da diese Frage stets auch das lebhaftes Interesse des hochgeschätzten Jubilars, des großen Semitisten und Erforschers äthiopischer Sprachen, gefunden hat, mag ein neuer Beitrag zu diesem Thema in seiner Festschrift nicht unpassend erscheinen.

Das Augenmerk soll dabei auf das Lexikon gerichtet werden. Und, anders als gewöhnlich, soll die lexikalische Vergleichung in zwei getrennten Listen erfolgen, einer 1. ausschließlich mit Vergleichungen zwischen äthiopischen und hamitischen Sprachen, und einer 2., in der semitisch-hamitische Vergleichungen — mit oder ohne Beteiligung äthiopischer Sprachen erscheinen. Die Unterscheidung der beiden Listen von Gleichungen erfolgt also nach einem einzigen, durchaus einseitigen Kriterium: danach ob die Vergleichung nur das Äthiopische nachweislich betrifft (1.), oder ob sie darüber hinaus »semito-hamitisch« ist (2.). Die 1. Liste wird vor allem Lehnbeziehungen aus der Zeit der Einwurzelung des Äthiopischen auf afrikanischem Boden erfassen, die 2. Liste altes gemeinsames semitohamitisches Wortgut, — ohne daß jedoch jeweils die andere Möglichkeit absolut ausgeschlossen werden könnte.

LISTE 1

1.01. BGS

Äth.:Tigré *bagas bélä* »aufbrechen lassen«, *täbgist* »Aufbruch« (H. 298).
Gem. Berber. (1.-4.)² *bgs* (3. Twâreg *gb̥s*, metathes.) »se ceindre« (La. 208).

¹ Vgl. die heute noch wichtigen Artikel von F. Praetorius ZDMG 43 (1889) 317-326 und ZDMG 47 (1893) 385-394. In unseren Tagen insbes. W. Leslau *WORD* 1 (1945) 59-82; *LANGUAGE* 28 (1952) 63-81; *J.AOS* 79 (1959) 1-7.

² Die Ziffern 1. 2. 3. 4. im Berberischen beziehen sich auf die vier Dialektgruppen nach A. Willms, vgl. Literaturverz.

— (1.) Sûs *a-aggus* »ceinture« (Dest. 55).

Äg. (Neues Reich) *bgš* »Aufruhr« (Erm. I. 483). Kopt. *beke* »Rebell« (We. 22).

Bedeutungsentwicklung: »sich gürten — sich bereit machen zum Aufbruch/Kampf — aufbrechen/Kampf beginnen«. Entlehnung aus einem hamitischen Idiom wahrscheinlich, weil es sich um ein »starres«, indirekt mit Hilfsverb *bälä* »sagen« (nach kuschitischem Vorbild) flektiertes Verb handelt.

1.02. BDD

Äth.: Tigriñña *bädäd bälä* »sich rasch erhaben« (H. 298).

Gem. Berber. (1.-4.) *bdd* »être debout« (Ba. No. 9, p. 14-15); auch »veiller sur« gehört zum Bedeutungsfeld (Boul. 343), *a-nəbdad* »surveillant« (Boul. 338).

Auch dies ist ein indirekt flektiertes Verbum. Vgl. 1.08.

1.03. G^uZL

Äth.: Geez *g^uädä/ä* »manus fuit, defecit« (Dill. 1201/1202).

Berber. (1.) Sûs *igzzul* »il est court« (Dest. 79). — (3.) Twâreg *gəzzul* »il est court« (F. I, 414). — (4.) Kabyt. *wəzzil* »il est court« (Dall. No. 2991).

Das Äthiopische hat typisch kuschitischen Lautstand: *g^u* und *z* > *d*. Im Berberischen gibt es ein Schwanken *g/w*, doch *z* bleibt erhalten.

1.04. GMZ

Äth.: Tigré *gundä-fälle, gənfälle* »Daumen« (H. 590, 591).

Kusch./Agau: Bilin *gundä-fälle-ra* »Daumen (= dicker Finger)« (Rei/Bi. 154); Somali *sūl-gumud* »Daumen(-Stumpf)« (Rei/So. 171.260).

Berber. (1.2.3.) *gməz* »pouce« (La. 281).

Herkunft des äth. Wortes aus dem Agau klar. Urspr. *z* (berber.) > kusch. *d*!

1.05. W^uTN

Äth.: Geez, Tigriñña *wəttänä* »coepit, incepit, incohavit« (Dill. 941).

Beḡa *din* (Wurzel *wḏn*, vgl. Kausativ *sōdin*!) »anfangen, beginnen« (Rei/Be. 74).

Entlehnungsrichtung fraglich.

1.06. W^uPI

Äth.: Geez, Tigriñña, Tigré, Amhar. *ʾaf* »Mund« (H. 388).

Kusch.: Saho, 'Afar, Somali *af* »Mund« (Rei/So. 16); Beḡa *yāf* »Mund« (Rei/Be. 241).

Äg. *wpy/ypp* »trennen, öffnen« (Erm. I, 298), *wp/yp* »eine Bezeichnung der Türen« (Erm. I, 302).

Im Äthiopischen wurde wohl die angestammte semitische Form des Wortes (*pû, pî, pâ*) durch die stammverwandte hamistische verdrängt.

1.07. *WTL*

Äth.: Geez, Tigriñña, Tigré *mäntälé* »Hase« (H. 128).

Kusch./Agau: Bilin *mäntälé-ra* »Hase« (Rei/Bi. 273), Kemant *bäntära* »lièvre« (vgl. Nubisch *widla, wudla* id.) (CR. 178).

Berber. (1.4.) *a-wtul, a-wtil* »lièvre« (La. 253).

Äth. aus Bilin, im Anlaut nach besonderen Gesetzen entwickelt, *n*-Infix bei Tiernamen.

1.08. *KRP*

Äth.: Tigré *käräf bälä* »schleppend gehen«, *käräfä* »krumm, lahm s.« (H. 405).

Kusch.: Saho *kuruf dah* »impotent s.«, wörtlich: »K. sagen« (Rei/Sa. 221).

Gem. Berber. (1.-4.) *k r f* »être engourdi, paralysé, entravé/entraver« (Ba.

No. 3, p. 5. — F. II, 858. — Dall. No. 1433).

Indirekt flektiertes Verbum, vgl. 1.01. und 1.02.

1.09. *QDNGLI*

Äth.: Amhar. *ʾnqāqala* »Eidechse« (nach L. Reinisch).

Kusch./Agau: Kwara *ʾnḥalḥala* id.; Beḡa *adangalāy* id. (Rei/Be. 8).

Hausa *kadāngare* id. (A. 442), vgl. Tubu (*k*)*adūnkuli* id. (Luk. 187).

Hausa *r < l*.

1.10. *QLP*

Äth.: Geez *qäläpā, qäläbā* »hiante ore receptit« (Dill. 415-416); Tigré *qälhā* »wegnehmen, wegreißen« (H. 233).

Hausa *karḥāa* »to receive« (A. 483).

Es ist zu beachten, daß im Hausa der erste der beiden Emphatischen dissimiliert und daher einfacher Stimmloser ist. Vgl. 2.10. Hausa *r < l*.

1.11. *SBK*

Äth.: Tigré *säbäkä* »to descend« (H. 184).

Hausa *sabkà > safkà > saukà* »to descend« (A. 757.760.788).

Die Wurzel scheint im übrigen Äthiopisch und Semitisch nicht belegt. — Im Hausa existieren alle angegebenen Entwicklungsstufen tatsächlich dialektisch nebeneinander.

LISTE 2

2.01. DHR

Äth.: Tigré *däharä* »nieder s.« (H. 509).

Berber. (3.) Twâreg *e-dir* »bas d'une chose, fond« (F. I, 228).

Bemerkenswert der obligatorische Laryngalschwund im Berberischen, vgl. 2.08.

2.02. WRQ

Äth.: Geez *wärq* »aurum« (Dill. 898), Tigré *wärq* »Silber« (H. 434).

Akkad. *warāqu* »gelbgrün, fahl s./w.« (vS. III).

Gem. Berber. (1.-4.) *warraq, araḡ* »il est jaune« (Ba. No. 140, p. 109).

Äg. *w'q* »grün, frisch s.« (Erm. I, 240).

Normale Entsprechung von äg. *ʾ* ist ursprachl. *r*; nach extremer Abschwächung dieses Lautes wurde das Graphem im Ägyptischen (über eine Stufe *r*) zum Vokalzeichen (die allgemein geglaubte Hamza-Funktion des Graphems wird mit einer isolierten Gleichung gestützt, ist exakt absolut unerweislich). Mit äg. *q* wird hier *ḏ* der Ägyptologen umschrieben.

2.03. DBB

Äth.: Amhar. *ḡamb* »Fliege«, vgl. Geez *ḡabḡābā* »repulsit« (Dill. 1050).

Akkad. *ḡubbu, ḡumbu* »Fliege« (vS. III).

Berber. (2.) Rif *i-ḡabb* »mouche (de cheval)« (Ren. 321); (3.) Twâreg *a-ḡabb/ a-habb* »mouche (plate)« (F. II, 505).

2.04. KNW

Äth. car.

Akkad. *kanūtu* »Verehrte, Gehegte«, *kinītu* »Nebenfrau« (vS. I).

Berber. (1.3.4.) *knw* »être coépouse«, *te-kné, ta-kna* »coépouse« (Dest. 68. — F. II, 831. — Dall. No. 1412).

2.05. KRI

Äth. — (andere Bed.)

Akkad. *karū* (III. *w, y*) »kurz s.« (vS. I). — Gehört nicht wie von Soden meint zu aram. arab. *krh*, sondern zu: Aram.: Syr. *karyā* »brevis« (Br. 342).

Berber. (1.) Sûs *kry* »être court« (Dest. 79), (4.) Kabyl. *kry* »être malingre, de petite taille« (Dall. No. 1448).

2.06. KRM

Äth.: Tigré *kärämä* »aufhalten, unterbrechen« (H. 397).

Akkad. *karāmu* »(zurück)halten«, *karmu* »verzögert« (vS. I).

Berber. (3.) Twâreg *krm* »empêcher« (F. II, 876).

2.06¹. *K R M*

Äth.: Geez, Tigriñña, Tigré *kärämä*, Amhar. *kärrämä* »hibernavit«, Geez, Amhar. *kärämt*, Tigré *käräm*, *kāramāt* »hiems« (Dillm. 834. — H. 397).
Berber. (1.) Sûs, Demnât *k r m* »être froid« (Dest. 135.-Boul. 347); (2.) Şanhâja *k r m* »se tapir« (Ren. 344); (3.) Twâreg *k r m* »(se) replier« (F. II, 876).

Diese und die vorhergehende Wurzel sind offenbar ursprünglich identisch.

2.07. *K R S*

Äth.: Tigré *käräsä* »aneinander befestigen«, *kärs* »Knopf« (H. 399).
Akkad. *karāsu* »zubinden« (vS. I).
Gem. Berber. (1.-4.) *k r s* »nouer« (Ba. No. 3, p. 5).
Äg. *i š s* »knoten, verknüpfen« (Erm. V, 396), *i š s t* »Knoten« (Erm. V, 399).
Kopt. *iōs* »zusammenfügen« (We. 435).
Äg. *š* für ursprachl. *r*. Mit äg. *i* wird hier *t* der Ägyptologen umschrieben, vgl. 2.02.

2.08. *M' R*

Äth.: Geez *mā'r* »momentum v. ictus temporis« (Dill. 206).
Berber. (3.) Twâreg *e-mir* »moment«, *te-mirt* id. dimin. (F. III, 1225).
Laryngalschwund im Berberischen wie im 2.01.

2.09. *N Z Q*

Äth. — car. —
Akkad. *naṣāqu* »sich ärgern, Kummer haben«, *niziqtu* »Ärger, Kummer« (vS. I).
Bibl. Aram. *n z q* »Schaden erleiden«.
Berber. (4.) Kabyl. *n z q* »s'étouffer en pleurant« (Dall. No. 1974).

2.10. *Q T N*

Äth.: Geez, Tigré *qätin*, Amhar. *qäṭṭan* »dünn, schmal« (H. 263).
Akkad. *qatānu* »dünn s./w.« (vS. II). Vgl. Hebr. Aram. *q t n*.
Berber. (1.) Izayân *kätin* »être petit, court« (Loub. 555).
Hausa *kaḍān* (dial. *kaḍāna*) »a few, a little« (A. 442).

Im Berberischen und im Hausa ist der erste der beiden Emphatischen dissimiliert und daher einfacher Stimmloser wie in 1.10. Im Akkadischen entsprechende Dissimilation des zweiten Emphatischen!

2.11. *Q R Š*

Äth. - car.
Akkad. *qarāšu* »zerschneiden« (vS. II).
Arab. *qaraša* »schneiden«.
Gem. Berber. (1.-4.) *q r s* »couper« (c. dat. »égorger«) (Ba. No. 3, p. 5).

2.12. R K S

Äth. — (andere Bed.)

M. Hebr. *rikkes* »stampfen« (Dalm. 404).

Berber. (3.) Twâreg *rks* »piétiner« (F. IV, 1632).

2.13 Š R I

Äth.: Geez *säräyā* »remisit, ignovit, condonavit (alicui peccatum)« (Dill. 346).

Aram.: Syr. *šrā* »solvit, fregit, aperuit, liberavit, dimisit« (Br. 803).

Hebr. *šarā* »loslassen«.

Berber. (1.) Demnāt *šry* »dégager, faire passer, délivrer« (Boul. 350). (3.)

Twâreg *šry* »(faire) courir à bride rendue (cheval); pratiquer la liberté des mœurs« (F. IV, 1854).

2.14. T R K

Äth. car.

Akkad. *tarāku* »schlagen, klopfen« (vS. III).

Berber. (3.) Twâreg *trk* »donner un/des coup/coups de poing«; (4.) Kabyl. *trk* »battre, malmener« (F. IV, 1914. Dall. No. 2824).

Arabisch *taraka* ist wahrscheinlich eine ganz andere Wurzel.

Unsere beiden Listen dürften ein ziemlich genaues Bild von den zweierlei »hamitischen Beziehungen« der äthiopischen Sprachen gegeben haben. Darüber hinaus bilden die in ihnen enthaltenen Vergleichen einen Teil des heute bereits rekonstruierbaren Netzes lexikalischer Beziehungen im gesamten semitohamitischen Raum, — eines Netzes, das weiterhin noch engmaschiger geknüpft werden kann und muß. Am eindrucksstärksten wird dabei vielleicht die Regelmäßigkeit der Lautentsprechungen sein. Sie ist unabdingbare Voraussetzung realistischer Ergebnisse.

Schließlich sei noch eine berühmte Gleichung erörtert, die hier in keiner der beiden Listen Platz finden durfte. Sie geht auf W. F. Albright zurück (*AJSL* 34/1918, p. 216) und hat seither viele Anhänger gefunden. Sie wurde zuletzt von G. Conti diskutiert.

Äth.: Geez *ʾṣḥ* »silex, pyrites« (Dill. 791); Tigriñña *ʾaṣḥit*, *qəṣḥit* »quarzo« (Co. p. 4).

Äg. *ʾṣḥ* »Korn mit der Sichel abmähen; Gemähtes: Ernte; Sichel« (Erm. I, 19).

Das punctum saliens dieser Gleichung ist die Tatsache, daß die neolithischen Sichel *Feuerstein-Schneiden* hatten.

Doch ist eine Wurzel »ʾṣḥ/ḥ« weder semitisch, noch hamitisch, noch sonst afrikanisch nachzuweisen (Co. p. 2), und sind die äthiopischen Formen

offenbar nur lautlich (dialektal bzw. unter Agau-Einfluß) veränderte und orthographisch verfremdete Erscheinungsformen eines ${}^+qadh$, ${}^+qadahit$ (von der bekannten semitischen Wurzel QDH), vgl. arab. $qadh$ »pierre à feu« (Do. II, 312). Der mittlere Radikal D aber wurde dabei — auf dem Hintergrund der bekannten Kuschitisierung von $z > d$ — fälschlich und überkorrekt als Z restituiert. Eine Beziehung zu äg. ḥsh kann daher nicht vorliegen, somit auch kein Beleg für irgendwelche ägyptisch-semitischen Lautentsprechungen (z.B. äg. ḥ und sem. ʔ).

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ETHIOPIAN AND HEBREW PROSODY: SOME PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

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The relationship between Ethiopian languages and Hebrew was studied by Wolf Leslau in several publications (cf. pp. 1 ff., nos. 149, 235, 256). His concentration on lexical matters brought reliable and commonly accepted results.

Some similarities between the forms of Ethiopian poetry and biblical Hebrew poetry were brought to the attention of scholars in both fields by Enno Littmann (1925:1-2; 1930:207-225, esp. 223-224; 1924: 272-273; 1949:3-4).

In his book on Ethiopia and the Bible, Edward Ullendorff (1968:90) quoted Littmann's observations (1949:3-4), but no subsequent work in this direction is mentioned. Ullendorff has added his own observations on the Ethiopic liturgical chants: the names of Ethiopic musical signs are similar to those of the Hebrew liturgical reading system in not less than five such pairs (1968:96).

Littmann's suggestions were not followed up in the study of Hebrew biblical poetry. In a thorough survey by Otto Eissfeldt (1965:57-64), provided with rich bibliographical data, there is no mention of such comparative study (cf. also Kaiser 1975: 319-326).

The present author considered in an article dedicated to Rudolf Meyer the possibility of using Ethiopian poetry as a parallel to the accentuating system of Hebrew biblical poetry, accepted by most scholars for all its periods (Segert 1969:316).

The correspondence of the prosodical system and phonological structure of the Hebrew language may recommend that the accentuation system be limited to the middle period of Hebrew biblical poetry, about 1000-500 B.C. in terms of absolute chronology. The oldest stage of Hebrew biblical poetry, at the end of the second millenium B.C., can be compared to Ugaritic poetry preserved from the 14th and 13th centuries B.C. The reliably reconstructed vocalic structure of Ugaritic words can help in the reconstruction of the oldest biblical Hebrew. For post-exilic biblical poetry after about 500 B.C., a time when the Hebrew language and prosody were exposed to the impact of Aramaic, the study of prosodical systems used in Aramaic and Syriac poetry can provide useful analogies (cf. Segert 1969: 315-317, 320). An analogy to Hebrew

biblical poetry of the middle period, during which the accentuation prosody prevailed, would be welcome. Ethiopic languages and poetic traditions deserve to be taken into consideration in the search for such an analogy, in spite of their genealogical, chronological and geographical distance.

Already Iob Ludolf, who studied traditional Ethiopic poetry in Geez in the 17th century, observed that it is not composed according to a regular meter (cf. 1702:165). Later scholars confirmed this statement on the basis of their own analyses (cf. Littmann 1914:33; Grohmann 1919:36).

Among the various principles which were applied to both traditional and recent Ethiopic prosody, the syllable count seems to be most frequently represented (cf. Chaîne 1923:20; Cohen 1924:22; 1936:414; Littmann 1925:54; Kamil 1957:3-23; 1968:106-118; Schall 1961:291-194). Marcel Cohen also considered (1924:22) division into hemistichs; in 1936 he mentioned rhyme in the first place and syllable count second among the principles governing recent Amharic poetry. For Geez poetry, Cohen (1924:22) assumed a fixed number of accents for each verse (cf. also Schall 1961:3). The accent was acknowledged as a prosodic principle of recent Amharic poetry by August Klingenberg (1959:7-10).

The importance of rhyme in the structuring of Ethiopic poetry was recognized already by Enno Littmann (1909:229). Conti Rossini (1941:161) did not see any metrical principle in Ethiopic poetry in which verse ends were marked by rhyme or rather end assonance. A great part of Ethiopic poetry, traditional and recent, is sung, its rhythm determined by the music. The presentation of Ethiopic songs by native singers has been described by several observers (for references see pp. 345-346).

The following survey of some distinctive features of Ethiopic prosody is admittedly based on a very narrow corpus of material. Texts available in Roman letters are preferred. From poetry in the traditional language Geez which ceased to be commonly spoken in the Middle ages, short poems from the Synaxarion (Lambdin 1978: cf. 237-275) and short selections from the Hymns to the Virgin Mary (Grohmann 1919:398, 400) were used. The old Amharic poetry is represented by the Emperor songs from the 15th century (Praetorius 1879:499-502: cf. Littmann 1914).

For modern Amharic poetry the publications by August Klingenberg (1959) and Murad Kamil (1957; 1968; also apud Schall 1961) were used. The texts in Čaha, a dialect of the Central Ethiopic language Gurage, were taken from publications by Wolf Leslau (1950; 1964; 1982). The funeral songs and lamentations in Tigre as published by Enno Littmann (1949) represent a northern, rather conservative, language and poetry.

Special attention perhaps should be devoted to the poems which were composed or adapted by the Ethiopian poets as an expression of friendship to Western scholars since their date, author and circumstances of composition are exactly known. Such are the poems for Iob Ludolf (cf. 1702:169-171), August Klingenberg (1959:19) and Wolf Leslau (1950:125-126); cf. also the close cooperation of Murad Kamil with Amharic poets in the 1940's (Schall 1961:5).

Prosodical systems are bound to phonological characteristics of languages, especially to the structure of syllables and the kind and position of the word stress (cf. Lotz 1960:138-139). The traditional Ethiopic alphabet, used for the classical language, Geez, and also used with a few additional signs for Amharic, indicates fully the consonants and—by graphic modification of consonant letters—the vowels with one major exception: one series of signs indicates both consonants without a following vowel and consonants followed by the short vowel *a*. There are no special signs for the double consonant. No information about the position of word stress is given (cf. Ludolf 1702:13; Cohen 1921:220; Leslau 1970:469-470). The data from written Geez texts have to be supplemented from traditional pronunciation (Cohen, 1921:247-267; Mittwoch 1926; Brockelmann 1929; Leslau 1970:468-470). Recent poetry in various Ethiopic languages is accessible mostly in texts in the Roman alphabet; some of them indicate word stress.

Open syllables with short (CV) and long (C $\bar{V}$) vowels as well as closed syllables with short vowels (CVC) are frequent in the traditional pronunciation of Geez, while closed syllables with long vowels (C $\bar{V}$ C), appearing mostly at the end of words, are relatively rare. End syllables with short vowels do occur (-CV). Marcel Cohen (1921:267) has observed the shortening of short and long vowels due to accentuation.

In some modern Ethiopic dialects no long vowels have been recorded; only two types of syllables, CV and CVC, are attested.

The character and position of word stress are indicated differently by different scholars. In his work on the traditional pronunciation of Geez, Eugen Mittwoch (1926:32-40) understands the word stress as expiratory and emphatic (1926:33), i.e. dynamic, while he ascribes to the musical or tonic accent a subordinated role. The position of the word stress according to Mittwoch (1926:37) depends on the character of the word: it is set on the last but one syllable in verbs, on the last syllable in nouns, while prepositions and conjunctions have no stress (cf. Ludolf 1702:13-15). Edward Ullendorff (1955:189-197) emphasizes that in the traditional recitation of Geez the "musical" accent, tone and pitch, is decisive; it falls on the final syllable

(1955:192). The sentence accent is far more significant than the stress of individual words (1955:193).

In the pronunciation of liturgical texts in Geez by Abba Mikael N. Taffese, during a church service on Saturday, May, 15, 1982, in Los Angeles, stress of a rather dynamic type on the end of verses was more audible than the relatively weak word stress. The same could be observed in the reading of Biblical pericopes in Amharic, performed by his assistants at the same service. These observations agree in principle with those made by Iob Ludolf (1702:15, end of c. VII) on Geez poetry three hundred years ago.

The most prominent feature of Ethiopic poetry in all languages is rhyme. There is no monograph devoted to the kinds of rhyme and its function in the poetic structure.

A detailed treatment of rhyme has been provided by Wolf Leslau in the introductory sections of his publications of Čaha songs (1964:231) and proverbs (1982:185-186). Nearly all of his observations can be applied to rhyme in other Ethiopic languages.

Most of the rhymes in the Čaha songs end with a vowel: -V, -CV, -VCV, -CCV. Rhymes ending with a consonant (-C, -CVC) are rare; final consonants can be only -*m* and -*r* (1964:231). The rhyming consonants are not always identical, homorganic sounds can rhyme, e. g. -*tām*, -*dām*, -*ṭām*. A peculiar feature in Čaha songs is rhyming of a form with final -*m* with a form without it, e. g. -*ša* and -*šam* (1964:231). In Čaha proverbs identical or corresponding verbal or nominal forms serve as the basis of rhyme, often because of the parallelistic structure of verses (Leslau 1982:186, nos. 44, 15, 132, 65). Some rhyming words are derived from the same roots but do not exhibit the same form (1982:186, nos. 141, 72). Even rhyming words derived from different roots do appear (1982:186, no. 131). In some Čaha songs more than one rhyming pattern is used (Leslau 1964:231).

In an older, unpublished article "Abyssinian Folk-Poetry", Wolf Leslau studied rhymes in 72 Amharic couplets, mostly love-songs, which were given to him orally and in writing by Mr. Mangestu Mamača in the late 1930's. Rhymes of one syllable prevail, but rhymes of two syllables are well represented. In seven couplets whole words, of 2-6 syllables, do rhyme.

Some additional observations from other Ethiopic poems can be added. The rhymes in the Hymns to the Virgin Mary, in the late Middle ages, were characterized by Adolf Grohmann in the introduction of his edition (1919:38). They are of two types, consonant + vowel, and end consonant only. This last observation probably has to be modified on the basis of personal observations by Murad Kamil (apud Schall 1961:127): after the last rhyme consonant a

short vowel is pronounced, indicated by Kamil as *a* but rendered in his transliterations as *e*—here the sign *a* is used—, and compared to the Arabic *rawm*. (As an analogy the short *e* pronounced after a rhyming consonant in French religious songs can be adduced).

The rhymes in the Old Amharic Emperor songs (Praetorius 1879:499-501) are also short, of the -CV type. In the New Amharic Emperor songs (Kamil 1957:2-30) the rhymes are longer, mostly of the -VCV type. In some poems even the third vowel from the end is used for (“deep”) rhyme. Rhyming patterns with at least two vowels and one end consonant, -VCVC are also frequent. Similar patterns also appear in various kinds of Amharic poetry presented by Murad Kamil (1968:106-118).

The rhymes in short poems consisting of five verses added at the end of the Lives of the Saints taken from the Synaxarion (Lambdin 1978:237-275, from Dillmann 1866:16-39) are mostly of the -CVCV type. But in the song for Yared, the patron saint of Ethiopic church music (cf. Lambdin 1978:268), the rhyme is enhanced by identical or corresponding vowels in the preceding syllable: -V(C)VCV.

The rhyme patterns in the lamentations, mostly composed in the 19th century (Littmann 1949:58-75) are also of a longer type: -VCV, -VCVC, -V(C)VCV, -V(C)VCVC.

It can be supposed that the old short rhyming patterns, attested from the 15th century, were gradually extended.

In those types of poetry where the differentiation of vowel length can be observed, it is also respected in the structuring of the rhyme: usually vowels correspond mutually according to their quantity.

The word stress is indicated consistently in the Tigre poetry presented by Enno Littmann (1949). In general, stress patterns are respected in rhymes. Stress is placed most frequently on the paenultima, often on the ante-paenultima, but on the ultima only when it is long and closed, -C[˘]VC, e.g. IV:f; 2:1-4; 7:3-9. Rare exceptions to the general agreement of stress patterns in rhymes can be observed, e. g. 4:7; 38:3; 43:5.

The considerable margin of freedom in Ethiopic rhyme can be explained by the phonological rather than phonetic character of rhyme in general, as defined by Roman Jakobson (cf. Worth 1977:516-517).

This approach corresponds to that of Conti Rossini who preferred to characterize this dominant feature of Ethiopic poetry as assonance rather than as rhyme (1941:161) Jakobson’s concept of “deep” rhyme (cf. Worth 517-518) can be applied to the supporting of rhymes by the identical vowels in the preceding syllables.

The rhymes in Ethiopic poetry are in general arranged in straight sequence, their number varying between two in proverbs and short poems and several decades (54 in the first Old Amharic Emperor song, cf. Praetorius 1879:499-501). More than one sequence of different rhymes can be used in the same poem.

The grammatical or non-grammatical character of rhyme (cf. Jakobson 1960:368; Worth 1979:519-520) can be conveniently observed in Leslau's edition of Čaha songs, presented in Roman letters and provided with an interlinear English translation (1950:112-126). Out of ten songs three exhibit mostly grammatical rhymes: nos. 1, 6 and 8—with repeated suffixed pronouns. In three songs the non-grammatical rhymes are very strongly represented: e.g. no. 2, p. 114: *q"ato* "the mountains" — *yatsakato* "they were (very) proud" — *moto* "(they) died" — *yoto* "(to the) ants" — *moto* "O death!".

Grammatical rhymes appear with high frequency in Čaha proverbs which are often expressed in parallelistic verses; the patterns of rhyme and parallelistic structures are listed in their edition by Leslau (1982:184-186).

The proportion and function of grammatical rhymes in other Ethiopic poems deserves a closer scrutiny. Here only a few preliminary and general observations can be given. If very long poems with only one rhyme had to be composed, such as the first Old Amharic Emperor song containing 54 verses with the same number of identical rhymes (Praetorius 1879:499-500; cf. Littmann 1914:9-11), it was not possible to preserve grammatical rhymes throughout the entire poem. The use of non-grammatical rhyme can be considered poetic license. Non-grammatical rhymes appear, especially in more recent poetry, even in combinations of two verses (cf. for Tigre Littmann 1949: no. IVd; no. 10:7+8; for Amharic Kamil 1968:115 'antšār).

(Similar use of grammatical and non-grammatical rhymes can be observed in Arabic folk poetry, e.g. in children poems published and discussed by Wiebke Walther, *Altarabische Kindertanzreime*, pp. 217-233 in *Studia Orientalia*; for bibliographical reference cf. Kamil 1968.)

Even if other poetic features on a phonological level similar to rhyme are not as important in Ethiopic poetry, they deserve to be briefly mentioned. Their use is quite different in various types and languages.

The inner rhyme, the correspondence of the end of the first half verse and the end of the verse, is consistently avoided in poetry in Geez and in older Amharic poetry as well as in songs in Tigre.

The inner rhyme is very frequent in short Čaha proverbs; it corresponds to their parallelistic structure (Leslau 1982:185). It is also represented, for the same reason, in Čaha songs (Leslau 1950:112, 116). In the song no. 1 three rhymes are exhibited in the first verse: -šam, -zām, -sam. Some other rhymes

are corollary to the inner parallelism within the verse, e.g. no. 3, verse 23: *anqäpäräm andäpäräm* "he did not diminish, he did not add".

The use and frequency of epanaphoras and epiphoras corresponds to that of inner rhyme: they do not appear in Geez poetry and in older Amharic poetry. In recent Amharic poetry they are quite rare (cf. Kamil 1968:113 below, 115 below; epiphora in Kamil 1959:IV:1:1-3).

Both the epanaphora and epiphora are common features in Tigre poetry (Littmann 1949). Short poems are connected by identical words in the beginning of verses (e.g. 1 b, e), with even three or four such verses appearing in these poems (e.g. IV d, e, f; VI b, c). In longer Lamentations the epanaphoras are frequent, up to five verses (e.g. 48:1-5). Epiphoras appear at the end of half-verses in Tigre lamentations (e.g. 5:1a+2a+3a; 14:5-8). Both these features appear in 12:2a+3a+4a.

In some poems in Tigre and also in some recent Amharic poems, the corresponding ends of first half-verses serve to add cohesion to the poetic structure if they appear in the immediately following verses or shortly afterwards (cf. e.g. Kamil 1968: p. 108:1, second strophe, verses 2a+5a+6a+8a; p. 113, poem by Joftahe Negus from 1935: 7a+8a; p. 115, third poem: 1a+2a).

The rhyme is regularly used in nearly all types of older and recent Ethiopic poetry. The only type of non-rhymed poems is listed by Kamil in his survey of Amharic poetry (1968:110-111); it is called *haggä watt bet*, i.e. "exceptional", and is considered as archaic and unusual. In all eight distichs presented by Kamil there are two verses consisting of 5+5 or 6+6 syllables.

The overwhelming frequency and regularity of rhyme in nearly all types of Ethiopic poetry leads to the conclusion that the rhyme is its dominant principle. Since the end of the verse is so clearly marked by rhyme, a regular arrangement of the preceding parts of the verse is probably not essential. The only other feature is the not always obligatory caesura (Cohen 1924:82) between the first and the second part of the verse marked by a short pause in recitation or singing (Grohmann 1919:41; cf. Schall 1961:291). In most of the Ethiopic poems this pause divides the verse into equal or at least symmetrical halves. In some types of poetry, especially in Tigre, asymmetrical verses are frequent (cf. Littmann 1924: 272-273; 1930:223).

Although many scholars since Ludolf (cf. 1702:165) supposed that the rhyme is the only principle recognizable in Ethiopic verse (cf. Littmann 1914:33; Grohmann 1919:36), some other structuring principles were considered: syllable count, accent and musical rhythm. The very rare occurrence of parallelism of members excludes it as a possible structuring principle, but because of its importance in older Semitic poetry it deserves to be mentioned.

In the Old Amharic Emperor songs parallelism of members appears with relatively high frequency. In the first of these poems (Praetorius 1879:499-501; Littmann 1914:9-11) the second and third verses in most strophes are bound by parallelism. Also in the second and tenth poems (Littmann 1914:12-16 and 29-31), parallelism is used frequently. In most of these instances it is synonymous, but complementary (no. 3:6+7) and antithetic (no. 2:96+97, 100+101) parallelism are also attested as well as a longer series of parallelistic verses (no. 4:45-49) (cf. Littmann 1914:17, 15, 19). In the Hymns to Mary parallelistic features are also represented.

But the parallelism of members is extremely rare in more recent Amharic poetry, in *qanē* (cf. Schall 1961: no. 31; no. 47:4+5), in various kinds described and presented in samples by Kamil (1968: p. 113 [1935]:9+10; p. 115 [1943] 1+2; [1915]:2+3) and in the New Emperor songs (Kamil 1959: I:2:3+4; IV:1:1+2; XI:55+56; XII:26+27).

Parallelism of members appears frequently in Čaha songs (Leslau 1950). In song no. 8 the majority of verses are connected by parallelism. There was a special reason for frequent use of parallelistic verses in poems no. 4 and 5 which describe the murder of two brothers by a cruel burglar: all the words in such verses correspond, only the names of the brothers are different.

In Tigre lamentations (Littmann 1949) parallelistic features are relatively less frequent, but they are of a different kind: inner parallelism with correspondence of the first and second half-verse (e.g. 2:9), two subsequent parallel verses (e.g. 3:2+3), and groups of more parallel verses (e.g. 14:5-8). Even repetitions of verses and half verses can be observed (e.g. 18:1-6; 46:5+7+9).

Parallelistic verses appear most frequently in comparisons and poetic descriptions. They probably reflect the old formulae of oral poetry which survived in the relatively remote area of Tigre and Čaha until recently, while in Amharic the use of this poetic device is rare in comparison to older Amharic poetry. Still the parallelism is attested in poems published by August Klingenberg (1959:13), and even in the third and fourth verse of the national anthem of Ethiopia (cf. ib.:19-20).

Many recent Amharic poems are composed in symmetrical verses of an identical number of syllables in each half-verse. Such verses continue in stichic arrangement through the longer poems. In other types of Amharic poetry cola with different number of syllables are combined into complex verse structures, as in the religious songs called *qanē* in Geez (cf. Schall 1961, esp. 291-294) and in Amharic (cf. Kamil 1968:116-118).

In older poetry in Geez and Amharic and in more recent poetry in Čaha and

Tigre such an exact regularity of syllables within verses and their parts does not appear, but the number of syllables oscillates within relatively small limits.

Also the exceptional verses with no rhyme (Kamil 1968:110-111) show the same regularity of syllable count as those with rhyme.

Syllable count itself is a limiting principle, which provides only the numeric regularity of metre, while the real rhythm has to be provided by other phonological features, such as word stress, regular patterns of long and short syllables, pauses between the words, or by non-phonological means, which together can form the parallelistic structures (cf. Lotz 1960:140).

Since rhyme is a regular feature of Ethiopic verse it can serve as a sufficient structuring principle clearly indicating the verse end, while the syllable count can be considered as facultative supporting feature.

In those verses in which the number of syllables varies and the length of half-verses within one verse often differs, the possibility of rhythm provided by word stress deserves to be considered. The number of stresses serves as a dominant rhythmic principle in Tigre according to Enno Littmann (1949:57). The lack of regularity between verses, even within one and the same poem, does not seem to support this rhythmical pattern.

The asymmetrical verses (3 + 2, 2 + 3, 2 + 1, 1 + 2) do not appear with such regularity, as the asymmetric *qīnā* verses in Hebrew biblical poetry, to which they are compared by Littmann (1924:272-273).

For other Ethiopic poetry, that in Geez according to traditional pronunciation and that in modern dialects, word stress is not appropriate as a prosodic principle as it is relatively weak and not easily perceptible.

August Klingeheben observed the dynamic accent in the recitation or singing of Amharic poetry (1959:7-8). But the position of the accent is not the same in the same word in its different positions, and also this accent does not coincide often enough with the word stress. Such an accent in songs has to be characterized rather as an ictus. In most of Klingeheben's (1959:8-19) analyses the syllables with and without ictus alternate regularly. Such a metrical system corresponds to the alternation prosody of Aramaic, especially Syriac poetry.

Neither syllable count nor word stress or any other prosodical system can explain the structure of poetry based on musical rhythm without knowledge of the rhythm of the individual poems. The importance of music for Ethiopic poetry, both traditional and modern, was observed and rightly evaluated by many scholars, i. a. Giusto di Urbino (quoted by C. Conti Rossini 1915: 223-224), Enno Littmann (1933:211-218; 1949:8-12, 17), Marcel Cohen

(cf. 1921:222), Carlo Conti Rossini (1945; quoted by Schall 1961:297), August Klingenberg (1959:7-10), Murad Kamil (1968:105-107) and Edward Ullendorff (1968:90, 93-96, 98-99). Cf. also Schall 1961:3-4, 295-297. Some of them have observed and recorded how the Ethiopic poetry had been recited and sung with musical accompaniment. Murad Kamil also gave basic data about musical signs and kinds of melodies as well as the Ethiopic terms for various melodies and parts of verses (1968:105-107). The role of dance rhythm was taken into consideration by Adolf Grohmann (1919:37 and n. 3 there).

Knowledge of appropriate rhythms and melodies leads the performers in their recitation and singing of the poems. The authors of the poems are bound by these traditional patterns determined by the genre of the poem. (Cf. Giusto di Urbino, quoted by C. Conti Rossini 1915:223-224 and Schall 1961:4, n. 1; cf. also C. Conti Rossini [1945] and E. Cerulli [1956], quoted by Schall 1961:297, nn. 2 and 3). Without knowledge of a particular rhythm—the melody may be of somewhat lesser importance—any attempt to analyse the real verse structure remains hypothetical (cf. Schall 1961:295-296).

Since the dominant feature of Ethiopic poetry, both traditional and modern, is the rhyme, it can be compared to the stage of Hebrew poetry in which rhyme was used. Murad Kamil has already pointed to the rhymed poetry of the Hebrew poet Kallir (apud Schall 1961:134).

It is possible to trace the rhyme in Hebrew poetry farther back than to this poet, who was formerly supposed to have been active in the 10th century A.D.; but now, after new discoveries of his works, is dated into the pre-islamic period, perhaps to the 6th century A.D. A passage with many rhymes can be found already in the Book of Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus) composed in Hebrew about 180 B.C. At the beginning of chapter 44, there are according to the Genizah manuscripts not less than nine rhymes in six verses. In two of these verses there are internal rhymes, the first half-verse rhyming with the second one. Most of the rhymes are grammatical, *-tām*, expressing suffixed plural pronouns attached to feminine nouns, but one of these rhymes is non-grammatical, *'ōlām* “world/eternity”. (Cf. Segert 1953:538-539). The prosody used in this section and apparently in most of this book is based on the principle of alternation, as stressed syllables alternate with unstressed syllables, while the word stress is often disregarded (cf. Segert 1953:538-539; Hrushovski 1981:61).

This use of rhyme did not find immediate adherence. The composer of *piyutim* Yannai is reputed to be the first Hebrew poet to introduce the rhyme; he lived probably in the 6th century A.D. (cf. Carmi 1981:87-88, 215-220). The rhymes in his poems are mostly grammatical: the suffixed pronoun can be

repeated many times (cf. Carmi 215), but he also occasionally used non-grammatical rhymes. Most of his verses consist of two half-verses with four words each; the word stress probably played some role in this kind of prosody.

Eleazar ben Kallir was a follower of Yannai (cf. Carmi 1981:89, 221-232). The forms of his poetry correspond to those of Yannai, his rhymes are also mostly grammatical, but non-grammatical rhymes appear more frequently. A verbal form rhymes with a noun: *ʾaʕen* "I shall envelop" — *haʕen* "(of) the tooth/ivory". Because of his stay in Old Cairo in Egypt, the poet Samuel Hashelishi, who died after 1012 (Carmi 1981:93, 254-256), deserves to be mentioned. In comparison with his predecessors, his use of non-grammatical rhymes is more frequent.

It would be interesting to compare the rhyme technique of Hebrew mediaeval poetry to that of Ethiopic poetry in more detail. The rhyme is mostly formed by the final syllables (-CV or -CVC) or by the two last syllables. It is sometimes supported by identical vowels in the preceding syllables, with different consonants after them (-VXVCV(C)). This "deep" rhyme, as it is defined by Jakobson (cf. Worth 1977:517:518), corresponds to that used in various kinds of Ethiopic poetry. (Cf. Hrushovski's term "discontinuous-terminal", 1981:62). It would also be interesting to compare the arrangement of rhymes in the structure of strophes in both Hebrew and Ethiopic poetry.

While there are significant correspondences between early medieval Hebrew poetry and late medieval and later Ethiopic poetry, they are probably not the result of parallel spontaneous development. Hebrew poetry of late Antiquity and Aramaic poetry of that time influenced each other within the general symbiosis of these two cultures in Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia. The literature of the Christian Aramaeans in the Syriac language was brought to Ethiopia by their first Christian missionaries in the 4th century A.D. Some contacts through Coptic, Greek and later Arabic intermediation can also be traced. (Cf. to these contacts Grohmann 1919:4-5, 37, 39, 46; Kamil apud Schall 1961:129-137; Schall 1961:295-296; Ullendorff 1968:89-100; and the references there; cf. also Littmann 1925:51-55).

If any relationship between Ethiopic poetry and the Hebrew poetry of the biblical period should be found, the investigation should concentrate on tracing parallel trends or tendencies rather than on a comparison of entire prosodic systems. The parallelism of members apparently served as a dominant principle of early Hebrew biblical poetry, and remained its frequent feature throughout the biblical period, whether the prosody was based on word stress or—later—on alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables. In Ethiopic poetry parallelistic structures were used rarely, rather as poetic ornaments, while the dominant principles were rhyme and musical rhythm.

Even if the structure of the language, especially the frequency and distribution of vowels in words, was very similar between Hebrew of the period of the Israelite and Judaeen kingdoms in the first half of the first millenium B. C., and between classical and modern Ethiopic languages, considerable difference in the strength (cf. especially Ullendorff 1955:189-190) and consequently prosodical function of word stress distinguishes the respective prosodical systems.

The commonly accepted theory of Hebrew biblical poetry based on the rhythm provided by word stress is therefore not supported by the analogy of the Ethiopic poetry. Since this accentuation theory corresponds to our knowledge—although to a considerable extent hypothetical—of the phonological character of the Hebrew language of the period of the Kingdoms (cf. Harris 1941) it deserves this general acceptance, at least for that period.

These preliminary observations are presented to Ethiopists with the hope that further research in Ethiopic poetics will bring better documented results, to be gratefully acknowledged and used by Semitists and by those interested in general poetics.

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EMPEROR YOHANNES IV OF ETHIOPIA
AND THE BUILDING OF THE ETHIOPIAN CHURCH
OF DÄBRÄ GÄNNÄT AT JERUSALEM

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Professor R. Macuch of the Freie Universität Berlin has been kind enough to send me (on June 24, 1981) the Amharic letter whose text is here reproduced. It was “found among some old letters of Emmanuel Mountaki from Crete who now lives in Berlin”. As we shall see in the following, the Greek provenance of this missive may well be significant.

I am grateful to Professor Macuch for making this document available to me, and to Dr. Richard Pankhurst for some very helpful observations.

Seal of Emperor Yohannes IV in Ethiopic and Arabic¹:

ገገሠ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ዘኢትዮጵያ ፡

يوحنا ملك ملوك الحبشة

Translation of Amharic Text

Letter of the Elect of God, Yohannes, King of Zion, King of Kings of Ethiopia. May it reach the Greek² Consul of Jerusalem. How are you? (I

¹ Cf. Pankhurst, “Royal & Imperial seals in Ethiopia”, *JES*, XI, 1, 1973, especially p. 191 (where, however, *يوحنا* should read *يوحنا*) and 7th page of unnumbered illustration. See also Edward Ullendorff & Abraham Demoz in *BSOAS* 1969/1, pp. 135-142.

² The Amharic *romawi* “Roman” and later *nəgusä rom* “King of Rome” present one of the ostensible difficulties in this document. The arguments in favour of interpreting this as Eastern Roman, Byzantine, Greek orthodox (rather than = Italian) seem wellnigh overwhelming. I have already referred to the Greek provenance of this document.

For the interpretation of *rom*, *romawi* as “Greece” and “Greek”, cf. also Wright, *Catalogue of Ethiopic MSS in the British Museum*, Orient. 816, No. 13; *rum* is, of course, the traditional appellation for “Greece, Greek”, i.e. “Byzantine” (cf. Dillmann, *Lexicon Ling. Aeth.*, col. 1412; Isenberg, *Dict. of the Amb. Lang.*, p. 45). Dr. R. Pankhurst has kindly drawn my attention to *Tabyaros qesar romawi* “Tiberius Caesar, the Greek” in E. A. W. Budge, *Life & Exploits of Alexander the Great*, text p. 32, transl. p. 59; and many similar instances.

Furthermore, when Emperor Yohannes alludes to the Italians he normally uses *(i)ṭalya(n)*. The Greek king at the operative time (1883) was George I (as stated in line 9—though he

ask) repeatedly. By God's goodness, by the intercession of the true Ark of the Covenant³—may the God of the holy ones be honoured and praised—I, together with my army, am well. Your honoured letter with its seal⁴ has reached me; I was very pleased about the message which I found in the letter. Please look after (for my sake) the monks who are at Jerusalem, those with Abba Wäldä Säma'ət⁵, so that they may quickly build the church⁶ without being disturbed. When you receive from Abba Wäldä Säma'ət the

is scarcely "new", some 20 years after his accession), while the King of Italy was Umberto I. Since Yohannes corresponded with Umberto (cf. C. Giglio, *L'Italia in Africa*, vol. I, Rome 1958, p. 173), he was well aware of the Italian king's name.

Moreover, we know that the Greek Consul at Suez (as such easily believed to be at Jerusalem = Palestine), Mitzakis, and his compatriot, the physician Dr. Parisi, were in the Emperor's confidence (Zewde Gabre-Sellassie, *Yohannes II' of Ethiopia*, Oxford 1975, pp. 137, 286, 288; M. de Coppet, *Chronique du règne de Ménélik II*, vol. I, p. 190, note 11; *Chi è dell'Eritrea*, 1952, p. 207; S. Rubenson, *Survival of Ethiopian Independence*, pp. 345, 350). Mitzakis visited the Emperor on several occasions and acted, according to *Chi è dell'Eritrea*, as his "consigliere". He took letters from the Emperor to various European heads of state, and he and Dr. Parisi maintained contact between George I, King of the Hellenes, and Emperor Yohannes.

It seems to me, therefore, that it is virtually certain that the Consul in question here was Mitzakis. It does indeed seem infinitely more probable that the Ethiopian Emperor would commend the Ethiopian monks at Jerusalem to the care of a Greek orthodox official rather than to that of a Roman Catholic functionary. Also, Mitzakis's dates fit those of the colophon admirably.

Dr. Pankhurst has furthermore drawn my attention to an article on Mitzakis and his 1879 mission by T. Natsoulas, "The Hellenic presence in Ethiopia", published in *Abba Salama*, VIII (1977), pp. 101-115 (at the time of writing I do not have access to this particular issue of *Abba Salama*).

In a more general context see also R. Pankhurst, "Greeks and other orthodox foreigners in traditional Ethiopia", *Εκκλησιαστικὸς φάρος*, 60, 1978; and "The role of foreigners in 19th century Ethiopia", *Boston Univ. Papers on Africa*, II, 1966.

³ Cf. Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible*, pp. 82-89, and esp. p. 83.

⁴ For the significance of seals, cf. footnote (1), particularly pp. 184ff.; also *The Amharic Letters of Emperor Theodore to Queen Victoria* (British Academy: Oriental Documents II), pp. 4b and 34b.

⁵ Abba Wäldä Säma'ət was before and during the reign of Emperor Yohannes the chief of the Ethiopian monks at Jerusalem. It was to him that the Emperor sent the considerable funds for the maintenance of the Ethiopian monastic community at Jerusalem and for the construction of the fine church of Däbrä Gännät ("hill of paradise") in new Jerusalem. See Abuna Philippos, *Know Jerusalem* (in Amharic and English, Addis Ababa 1972, pp. 187-8 and 161-2, respectively); also, Hərūy Wäldä Səllase, *Biographie* (in Amharic), pp. 68-9; Bairu Tafla, *A Chronicle of Emperor Yohannes II'* (Wiesbaden 1977), pp. 163-189.

⁶ *Däbrä Gännät* (see previous footnote). Cf. in particular J. B. Coulbeaux, *Histoire politique et religieuse d'Abyssinie*, II, 476-81.

letter which I have written to the new King of Greece², George I, please send it on (for my sake) immediately by your own hand.

Written at the city of Sämära⁷ on the 23rd of Gənbət in the Year of Grace 1875 (= 30th May, 1883).

⁷ Part of Däbrä Tabor, capital of Emperor Yohannes, some 30 miles east of Lake Tana. See *Guida dell' Africa orientale*, p. 391 and map p. 368. For details of Sämära and Däbrä Tabor see Pankhurst's admirable study in *BSOAS* 1977/2, pp. 235-266 (esp. pp. 257-8).

THE VOWEL SYSTEM OF GƏ'Z

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1. The numerous kinds of vowel neutralization, especially in the neighbourhood of laryngals, represent one of the main features of Classical Ethiopic. Although this has been treated several times by Ludolf¹, Hupfeld², Dillmann³, König⁴, Praetorius⁵, Marcel Cohen⁶, Ullendorff⁷, and others, I should like to take up this topic again in order to contribute to a system into which the rules in question can be incorporated.

2. The vowel system that provides the context for treating vowel rules can be described in terms of the Protosemitic system as well as of the Modern Ethiopian one.

A derivation of the Gə'z vowels from Protosemitic can be characterized conveniently by the systematic reduction of vowel length. Thus, the three-term opposition "short: long vowel: diphthong" yields the new opposition "centralized: short: long vowel" being represented briefly as follows⁸:

<i>Sem.</i>	s	l	d
	↙	↙	↙
<i>Eth.</i>	c	s	l

¹ Iohi Ludolfi *Grammatica aethiopica*, ed. sec., Francofurti ad Moenum 1702. It seems that Ludolf does not know rule no. 2 (s. below) since he writes: "prima gutturalis nullam inflexioni mutationem offert" (p. 53).

² H. Hupfeld, *Exercitationes aethiopicae* ..., Lipsiae 1825.

³ A. Dillmann, *Ethiopic grammar* (2. ed. by C. Bezold), transl. by J. A. Crichton, London 1907.

⁴ E. König, *Neue Studien über Schrift, Aussprache und allgemeine Formenlehre des Äthiopischen*, Leipzig 1877.

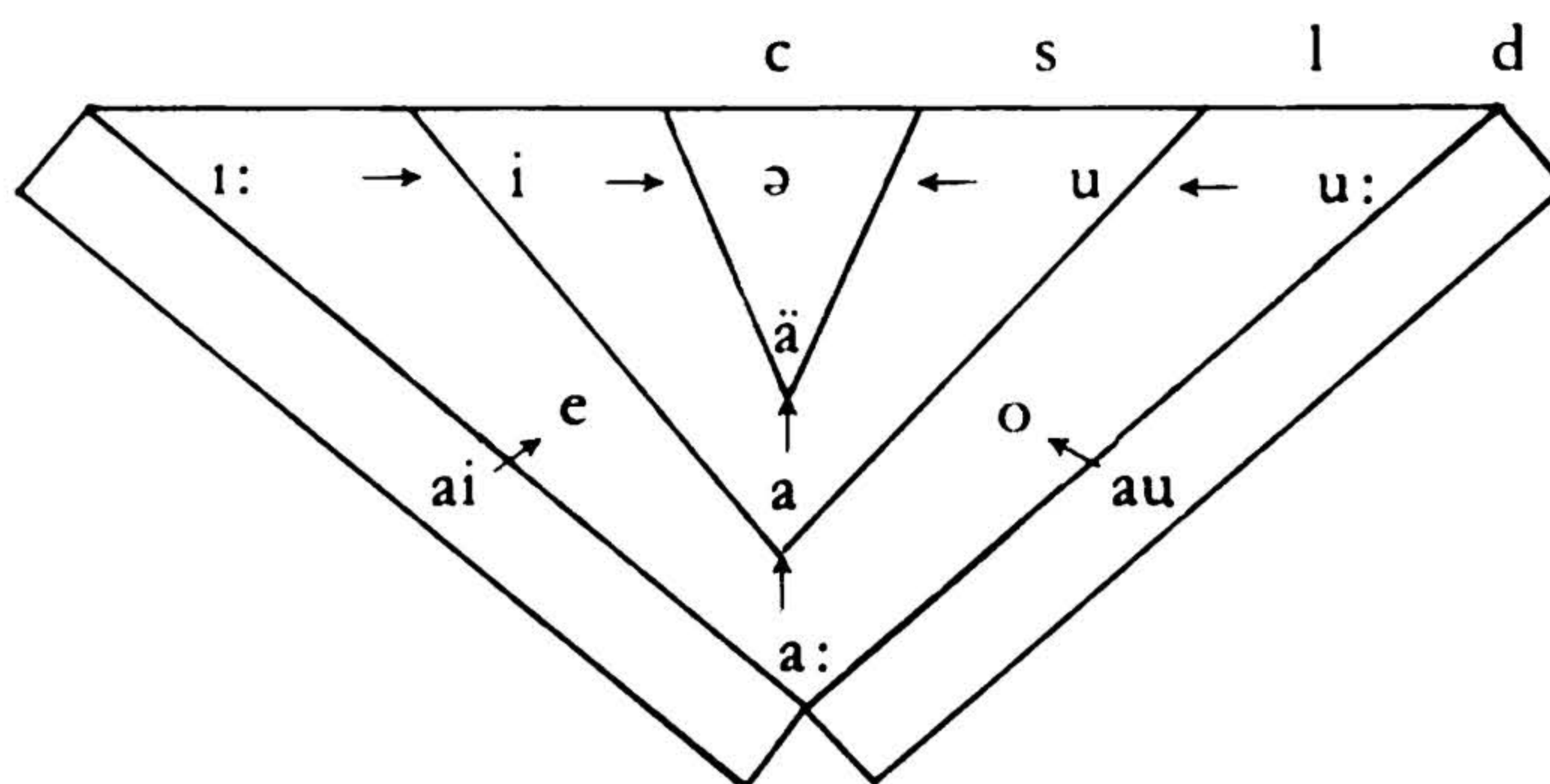
⁵ F. Praetorius, *Äthiopische Grammatik*, Karlsruhe (etc.) 1886.

⁶ M. Cohen, "Consonnes laryngales et voyelles en éthiopien". *Journal asiatique*, 210 (1927) 19-57.

⁷ E. Ullendorff, *The Semitic languages of Ethiopia*, London 1955.

⁸ The basic facts are well-known, s. K. Petráček, "Zur Entwicklung des phonologischen Systems des Altäthiopischen". *Rassegna di studi etiopici*, 20 (1964) 129-132.

As usual⁹, the vowel shortening is accompanied by a modification of vowel quality. The step marked $d \rightarrow l$ implies monophthongization; $s \rightarrow c$ implies centralization:



In addition to this diachronically based presentation, we can use the synchronic system of vowel evaluation as derived from the structure of Modern Ethiopic¹⁰:

	[front]	[central]	[back]
[high]	<i>i</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>u</i>
[mid]	<i>e</i>	<i>ä</i>	<i>o</i>
[low]		<i>a</i>	

Which of the two systems is to be considered more appropriate for serving as a basis, if we want to describe the relevant vowel rules? It appears to me that in some cases the diachronically based system provides a more suitable and convenient way to formulate the rules, whereas in other cases the modern system appears more appropriate.

The enumeration of Praetorius, which has been adopted by other authors¹¹, presents the relevant vowel rules in the following manner:

- (1) The vowel *ä* is lengthened before a syllable-closing laryngal, e.g. *yamšä* → *yamša*, *bäšəhnä* → *bäšəhnä*, *mä'käl* → *ma'käl*, *'astəḥqärä* → *'astəḥqärä*.

⁹ Cf. in English the likewise non-phonetic distinction of vowel quality in quantity oppositions as bit: beat [i]: [i:] or bother: bought ([ɐ]: [ɔ:]), s. P. Ladefoged, *A course in phonetics*, New York (etc.) 1975, p. 64, the short vowels being lower.

¹⁰ As Ullendorff would like to see it. The scheme is taken from J. Tubiana, "Système vocalique du guèze", *Comptes rendus du GLECS*, 7 (1954-57) 81-82, s. M. L. Bender, H. Fulass, R. Cowley, "Two Ethio-Semitic languages". *Language in Ethiopia*, London 1976, pp. 99-119.

¹¹ e.g. Cohen.

It was Ullendorff¹² who combined this rule with the pronunciation of *ä* as *a* after laryngal by using the syllable concept. Thus it is better to state that *ä* becomes *a* beside a laryngal belonging to the same syllable. This rule can also be formulated according to the mirror-image convention:

$$\ddot{a} / _ L \S \rightarrow a \text{ (i.e., } \ddot{a} / \left\{ \begin{array}{c} _ L \S \\ \S L _ \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow a)$$

It seems that laryngals have a "marked preference for the *a*-sound"¹³.

But if we added the rather marginal lengthening of *a* before syllable-closing laryngal (as in *gə'z*¹⁴ [gēz]), we could extend the application of this rule to all centralized vowels:

$$\begin{array}{c} V \\ [+centr] \end{array} // _ L \S \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} V \\ [+long] \end{array}$$

covering *ä* → *a* as well as *a* → *ā*¹⁵.

(2) *a* before a laryngal followed by *ä* (which becomes *a* by dint of (1)) is replaced by *ä*, e.g. *mähär* → *mähär* → *māhar*, *yä'äqqab* → *yä'äqqab* → *yä'aqqab*:

$$aL\ddot{a} \rightarrow \ddot{a}L\ddot{a}$$

(3) *ä* before a laryngal followed by a high vowel becomes *a*, e.g. *'äxud* → *'axud*, *'äxaw* → *'ax(ä)w*, *rähīb* → *rāhīb*, (*nāhnä* →) *nāhanä* → *nāhanä*¹⁶, *rä'äyā* (sic) → *rā'äyā*.

The rule application in *näsä'ä* → *näsä'ä* which contradicts the given rule could be derived by analogy from other forms of the paradigm, e.g. *näsä'u* → *näsä'u*¹⁷, or by assuming another suffix (*näsä'e*?).

$$\ddot{a} / _ L \begin{array}{c} V \\ [+high] \end{array} \rightarrow a$$

¹² O.c. p. 212, cp. Praetorius o.c. p. 17.

¹³ Dillmann o.c. p. 85.

¹⁴ Usually rendered as *gə'əz*.

¹⁵ The lengthening of postlaryngeal *a* would be a disadvantage; up to the present time, there has been no substantial hint of such an instance. Cf., however, the remarks of Hupfeld (p. 12): "in principio vocis since vocali positae pro schevate plenam vocalem sibi assumunt e, quasi fortiolem sonum requirentes, ut ... *ērakkeb*".

¹⁶ The traditional explanation of this form being read *nāhnä* refers to an underlying *nihnä|ū* (s. C. Brockelmann, *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, P. 1, Berlin 1908, p. 299).

¹⁷ s. Cohen o.c. p. 48.

The last two rules conspire in order to harmonize¹⁸ two vowels separated by a non-geminated laryngal. In (3), *ä* actually becomes phonetically identical with the following vowel without leaving its vowel class (i.e. centralized):

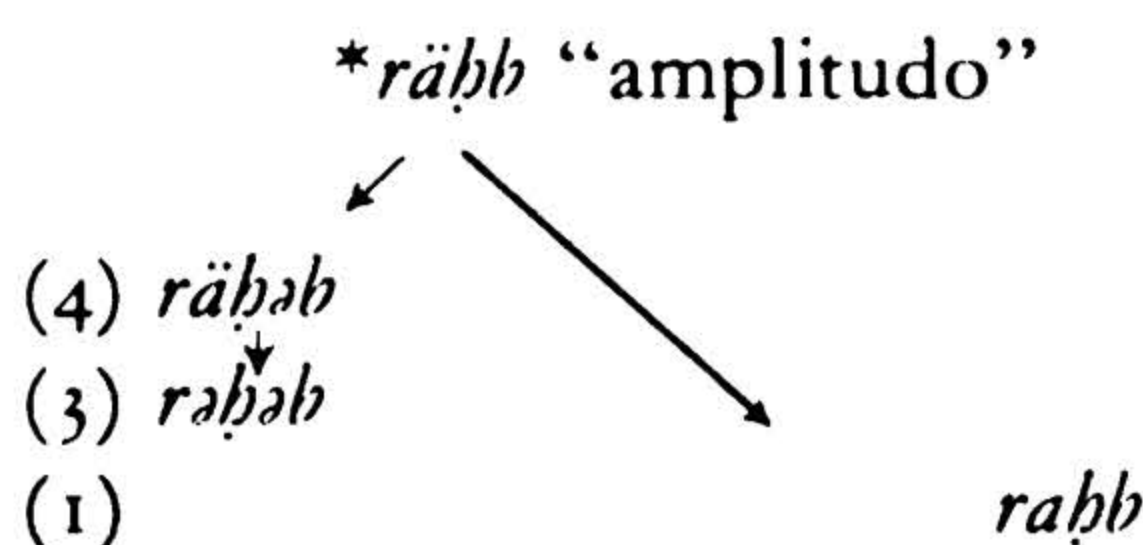
$$\begin{aligned} \text{'äxud} &\rightarrow [\text{'üxud}] \quad | \text{'axud} | \\ \text{rähīb} &\rightarrow [\text{rīhīb}] \quad | \text{rahīb} | \end{aligned}$$

(4) Another rule hitherto not recognized should be added in this context.

It is about a rule that feeds (3) and exhibits the same input as (1):

$$\text{äLC} \rightarrow \text{äLəC}$$

It is by the conflict with (1) that such doublets as *rahb/rahāb* (sic), or *'ahzab/'ahəzab* (sic) arise:



Rule (1) is regarded as a late and superficial rule bringing about no further consequences, contrary to rule (4) which changes the syllable structure and leads to the application of another rule.

If we object to accepting a perfect med. lar. *rä'äyā* as primary, we can derive this form from *rä'yā* by means of (4).

Two other well-known rules are relevant in this context:

(5) Short vowels are centralized in non-final, closed syllables, e.g. *säyyat* — (f.) *säyyat-t* → *säyyätt*, *nəgus* — (f.) *nəgus-t* → *nəgəst*, *ləhiq* — (f.) *ləhiq-t* → *ləhəqt*. The fact that final closed syllables are not affected by the rule proves the theory¹⁹ of the original nominal suffix which represents the last remnant of the nominative and genitive suffix. Thus, *nəgus* (← *nəgusə*) remains unaffected.

$$\begin{array}{ccc} \text{V} & & \text{V} \\ [+ \text{ short}] & / _ \text{CC} \rightarrow & [+ \text{ central}], \text{ i.e. } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{ü}] \quad | \text{ə} | \\ [\text{ä}] \quad | \text{ä} | \end{array} \right. \\ [+ \text{ high}] & & [+ \text{ high}] \end{array}$$

A short vowel can resist to being reduced in that way if the preceding consonant is palatalizable, e.g. *rəkus* = *rək'as* — (f.) *rək'ast* [*rūkust*].

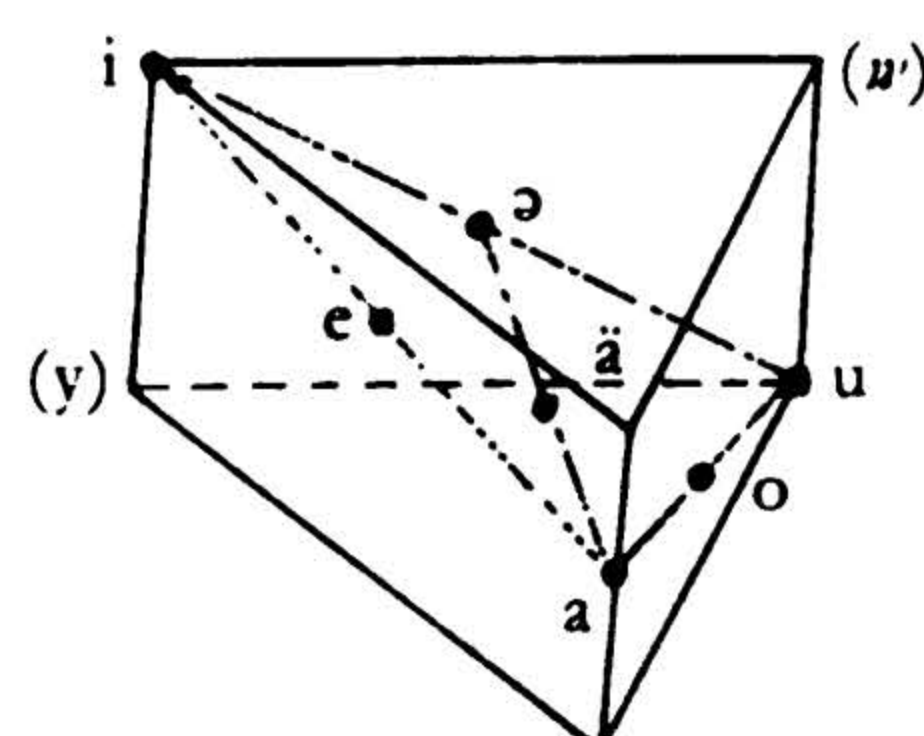
¹⁸ s. Ullendorff o.c. p. 215.

¹⁹ s. A. Dillmann, "Bemerkungen zur Grammatik des Geez ...", *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Jg. 1890, pp. 3-17.

On recording these rules in the given vowel scheme²¹ we obtain:

It is evident that *o* and *e* should be regarded as “long” since they cannot be reduced in closed syllables. In most Modern Ethiopic languages, *o* and *e* can cause labialization and palatalization—a remnant of their former diphthongic nature²². In terms of the distinctive-feature system, we could say that only [-mid] vowels become [+central] in closed syllables. It appears that in this case the first formulation is more revealing and instructive than the second one. In other cases, however, the df notation is more useful, cf. for

21 Since the distinctive feature [rounded] for front vowels is unmarkedly minus, but for back vowels unmarkedly plus (s. N. Chomsky and M. Halle, *The sound pattern of English*. New York-London 1968, p. 409), the phonetically most realistic model is a three-dimensional vowel diagram as proposed by P. Ladefoged, "The classification of vowels". *Lingua*, 5 (1955-56), p. 121:



22 In the same way, labialization (and palatalization) of consonants followed by *u* (and *i*) shows the former length of these vowels. Cp. the two reduction steps $d \rightarrow l$ and $l \rightarrow s$ explained above.

instance the harmony tendency of some vowels to other vowels as well as to consonants. Roughly speaking, one can state the following affinity of consonants to vowels that is based on feature similarity:

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} w, C^w \text{ --- } u, o \\ y, C^y \text{ --- } i, e \\ L \text{ --- } a \end{array} \right\} (6)$$

(1, first version)

Another harmony process is shown in the neutralized opposition between the two centralized vowels when separated by a laryngal:

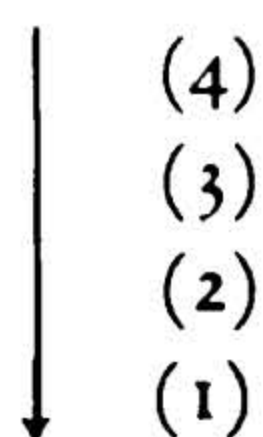
$$ə \sim \ddot{a} // \text{---} L \text{---}$$

Thus, the three general principles underlying the given rules are:

- vowel centralization (*shortening) in closed syllable
- affinity of V and C sharing similar features
- harmony of centralized vowels across a laryngal²³

3. It has long been observed that not all rules can be regarded as having been valid from the very beginning of the Ge'z language history, cf. the various doublets (e.g. *məḥar* beside standard *mäḥar*)²⁴.

The laryngal sensitive rules (1-4) are arranged in the following chronological order:



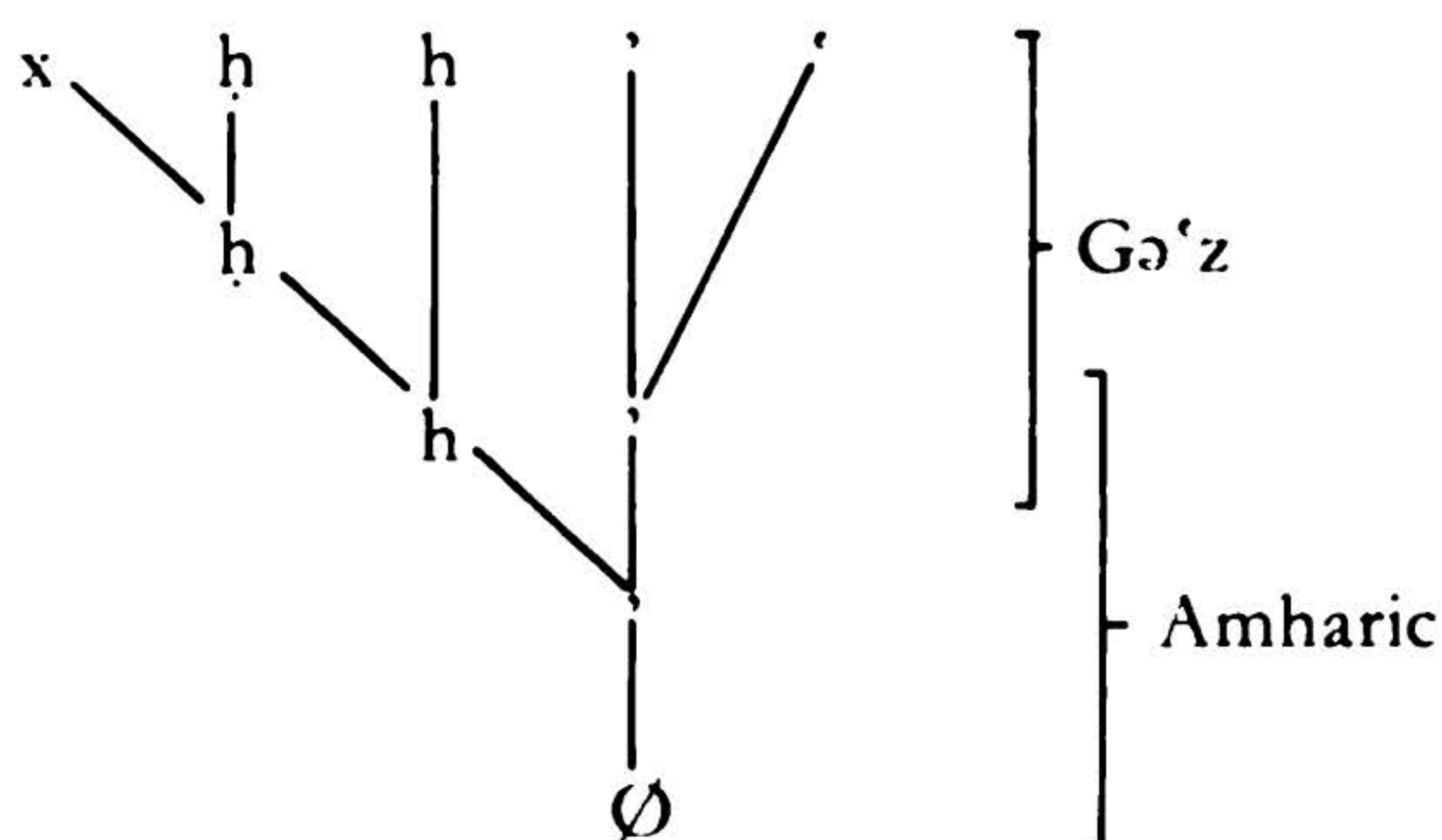
(1-2) are younger than (3-4) since they show remarkably more exceptions. (4) can be regarded as the oldest vowel rule that reminds us of the former noun declension system (*kəburə* → *kəbur*). Furthermore (4) stands to (3) in a feeding order. (1) seems to be the latest rule.

The forming of laryngal-sensitive vowel rules emerges from the reduction process of these consonants that started in Gə'z and led eventually to their loss (or morphological near-by loss) in Amharic.

The delaryngalization of the relevant consonants has been gradual. Its graphic representation could be as follows:

²³ In this context, even Hupfeld speaks of vowel assimilation (p. 13).

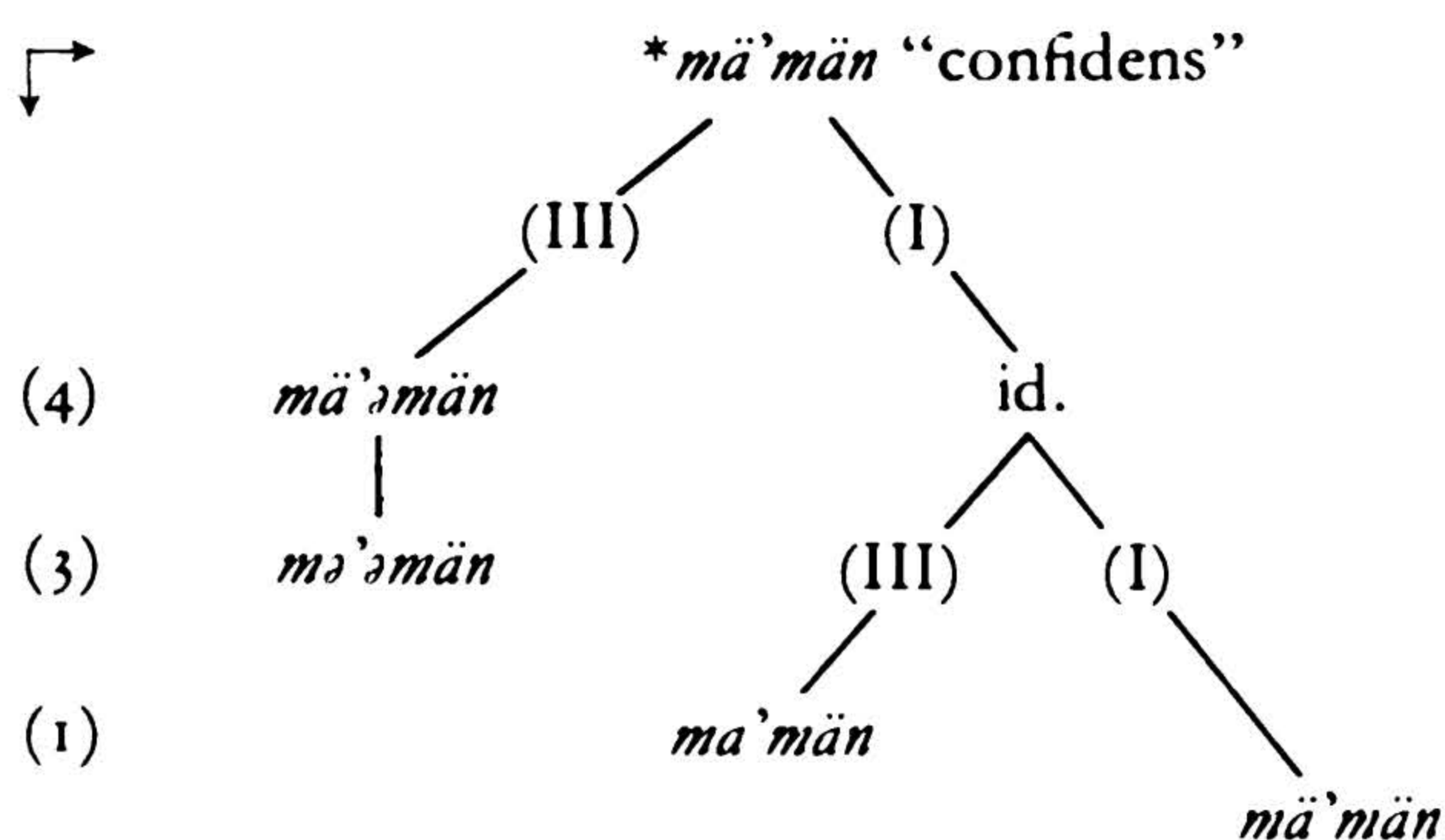
²⁴ s. Dillmann o.c. p. 85.



Some doublets can successfully be explained by taking into account the relationship between the vowel rules and the different stages of the laryngeal development. It appears that we can distinguish three stages which represent two steps of delaryngalization:

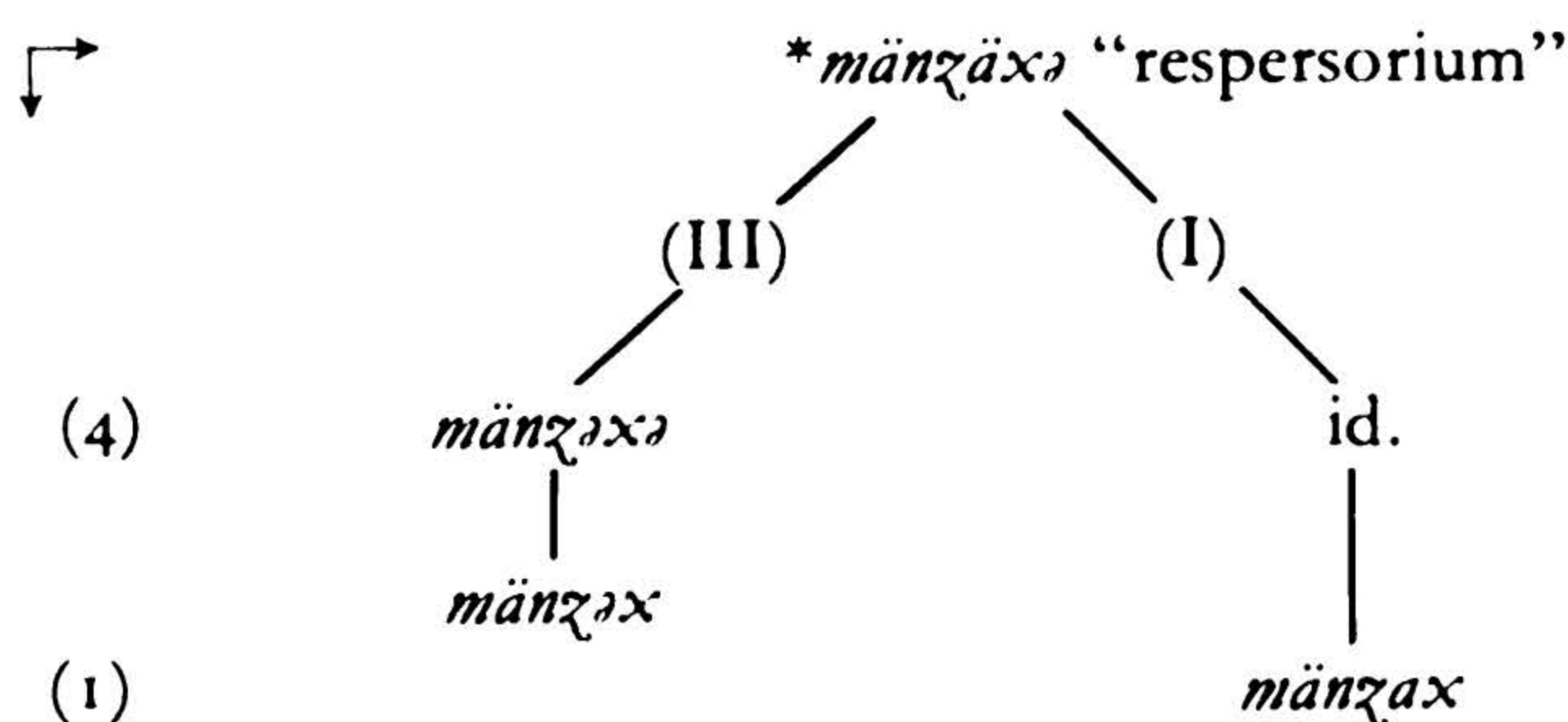
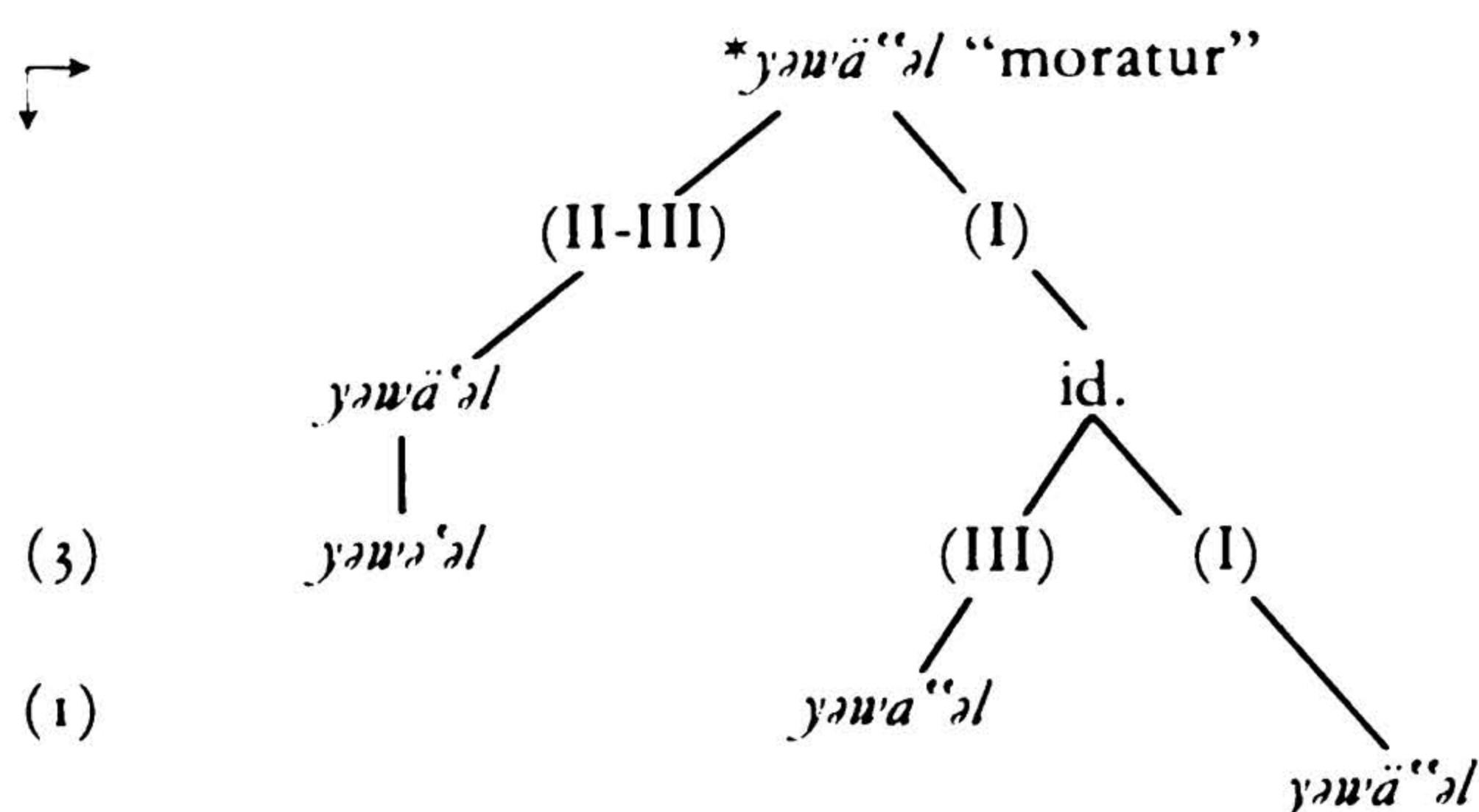
- (I) L:LL, i.e., L is treated just like any other consonant
 (II) L/LL, i.e., L can no longer be lengthened
 (III) L' , i.e., L is weakened to ' resp. h

The following model demonstrates the interaction between vowel rules and the degree of laryngality:



The arrows indicate the historical dimension. The underlying form is, of course, *mä'män* which yields regularly *mə'amän*; the forms *mä'män* and *ma'män* owe their existence to the renewed use of the nominal pattern *mägbär*.

To provide further instances of how to demonstrate the interaction between vowel rules and degree of laryngality, I should like to present another two models:



It appears worthwhile noting that the lengthening of the second radical is a prerequisite to the derivation of the *yawä''äl* form. Otherwise, the rule that changes *ä* to *a* would not apply.

The observations made in this essay may be of some help in trying to reconstruct important features in the pronunciation of Old Ethiopic without having to rely solely on the oral tradition, which has, to some extent, become a controversial method. Through internal reconstruction, we may be able to arrive at results which can be discussed in a more systematic manner.

Note. df of page 359 = distinctive feature.

SELT'I-VERSE IN ARABISCHER SCHRIFT AUS DEM SCHLOBIES-NACHLASS

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Die Akademie des Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz (BRD) verwahrt den Nachlaß des früh verstorbenen deutschen Orientalisten und Diplomaten Hans Martin Schlobies (1904-1950), der sich in den Zwanzigerjahren längere Zeit in Äthiopien aufhielt. Der Nachlaß enthält neben altsüdarabischen Materialien und arabischen und äthiopischen Handschriften auch Aufzeichnungen zu den modernen Sprachen Äthiopiens. Diese bestehen einmal aus Paradigmata für verschiedene Gurage-Sprachen wie Soddo (bei Schlobies »Dialekt von Dámo«¹), Gogot (bei Schlobies »Dialekt von Dubi«²), Selt'i und Mask'an. Während die ersten beiden von Schlobies in Lateinschrift aufgezeichnet wurden, wurden die letzten beiden offensichtlich von einem einheimischen Schreiber in arab. Schrift hinter amh. Formenlisten gesetzt, die von Schlobies Hand stammen (leider alles über Kopf, was die Benutzung nicht gerade erleichtert). Daneben hat Schlobies acht Schreibhefte mit Texten in arab. Schrift hinterlassen, von denen die ersten vier die Aufschrift »Gurage-Lieder I-IV« und die weiteren Aufschriften »Siltē, Mask'an«, »Sänger Said Kebato« und die Daten VI. 26 und VII. 26 tragen. Die Texte sind sehr klar und voll vokalisiert von einem einheimischen Schreiber geschrieben worden³. Da aber sowohl eine Transliteration als auch eine Übersetzung fehlen, werden diese Texte nach meinen Erfahrungen mit arab. geschriebenen Texten in dem sehr viel besser erforschten Harari kaum ohne Hilfe einheimischer Sprecher bearbeitet werden können. Etwas besser

- 1 Zu Dámo vgl. Marcel Cohen: *Études d'éthiopien méridional*. Paris 1931 (im folgenden EEM abgekürzt), S. 91, wo es (*dammo*) zusammen mit *aymalläl* (alter Name für Soddo) und *nuranna* als linguistische Einheit genannt wird. Vgl. auch die Karte EEM 98.
- 2 Auf der Karte bei Ulrich Braukämper: *Geschichte der Hadiya Süd-Äthiopiens von den Anfängen bis zur Revolution 1974*. Wiesbaden 1980. (Studien zur Kulturkunde. 50.) (im folgenden GH abgekürzt), S. 425 als ethnische Gruppe (Dobi) nördlich der Mask'an eingetragen, also in einem Gebiet, in dem nach der Karte von Wolf Leslau: *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage (Ethiopic)*. Wiesbaden 1979 (im folgenden EDG abgekürzt), Vol. 1, S. XXIX wirklich Gogot gesprochen wird.
- 3 Es handelt sich wohl um die gleichen Texte, die bereits EEM 96, Anm. 1 erwähnt werden. Demnach war der Schreiber Muḥammad 'Arab.

steht es mit einem weiteren Heft mit der Aufschrift »Siltē I. Poetische Texte«. Es enthält elf kurze Gedichte, die von Schlobies in arab. Schrift offensichtlich von einer einheimischen Vorlage abgeschrieben und mit einer Transkription, einer amh. Übersetzung und Anmerkungen zu den Eigennamen versehen wurden. Die amh. Übersetzung stammt anscheinend von einem Selt'i-Informanten, der das Amh. nur sehr mangelhaft beherrschte. Sie gibt die Selt'i-Texte oft nicht nur falsch wieder, sondern enthält auch viele Wörter und Formen, die im Amh. nicht existieren, sowie falsche Konstruktionen. Trotzdem bietet sie gewisse Anhaltspunkte für die Interpretation der Selt'i-Verse.

Das Selt'i gehört zusammen mit dem Wolane und Zway zu dem Ost-Gurage, das wiederum mit dem Harari eng verwandt ist⁴. Während das Harari verhältnismäßig gut erschlossen ist, kann man das von dem Ost-Gurage nicht sagen. Die ersten Vokabellisten im Selt'i-Wolane wurden von Seetzen und Lefebvre in der ersten Hälfte des vorigen Jahrhunderts gesammelt, allerdings für Argobba gehalten⁵. Anfang dieses Jahrhunderts veröffentlichte dann Casimir Mondon-Vidailhet einige Paradigmata zum Ulbarag (Dialekt des Selt'i) und Wolane, die jedoch für das Verb sehr mager sind, und ein Vokabular des Ulbarag⁶. Eine recht ausführliche Darstellung des Wolane bringt dann Marcel Cohen auf Grund eigener und älterer Materialien (vor allem von d'Abbadie)⁷. Nach dem Zweiten Weltkriege sammelten Leslau (Selt'i, Wolane und Zway), Drewes (Azärnät-Mugo [ein Selt'i-Dialekt]) und Hetzron (Selt'i, Ennäk'or [ein Selt'i-Dialekt] und Wolane) neues Material zum Ost-Gurage⁸, von dem allerdings nur Leslau

4 Auf die Verwandtschaft machte zuerst Cohen in EEM 42 aufmerksam. Sie wurde dann von Wolf Leslau u. a. in: *Classification of the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*. In: Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa 1966. 2. Addis Ababa 1970, S. 5-22, speziell S. 18-20 näher begründet. Auch Robert Hetzron: *Ethiopian Semitic. Studies in classification*. Manchester 1972. (Journal of Semitic Studies. Monograph. 2.), S. 42-44 stellt Ost-Gurage und Harari zusammen. Das Werk wird im folgenden ES abgekürzt.

5 Vgl. Wolf Leslau: *Examen du supposé Argobba de Seetzen et de Lefebvre*. In: Word 5 (1949), S. 46-54.

6 C. Mondon-Vidailhet: *La Langue Harari et les dialectes éthiopiens du Gouraghé*. Paris 1902. (Extraits du Journal asiatique et de la Revue sémitique), S. 77-119 und ders., *Études sur le Guragié*. Publ. par Erich Weinzinger. Vienne 1913. (Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Schriften der Sprachkommission. 5.).

7 EEM 55-241.

8 Vgl. A. J. Drewes: *Le Type verbal k'ātala en Gurage oriental*. In: Bibliotheca orientalis 17 (1960), S. 5-10, speziell S. 6 mit Anm. 3, und Robert Hetzron: *Two Notes on Semitic Laryngals in East Gurage*. In: Phonetica 19 (1969), S. 69-81, speziell S. 69 mit Anm. 1.

den lexikalischen Teil seiner Sammlungen in seinem monumentalen *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage* veröffentlicht hat. Angaben zur Morphologie und Syntax der Ost-Gurage-Sprachen finden sich in den Werken der drei Autoren nur en passant zumeist in vergleichendem Zusammenhang. Textpublikationen fehlen praktisch ganz. Die wenigen im folgenden publizierten Selt'i-Verse aus dem Schlobies-Nachlaß sollen dafür keinen Ersatz bieten. Angesichts der Tatsache, daß andere Forscher umfangreiche Sammlungen zu dieser Sprache besitzen, wäre es vermessen, ohne eigene Aufzeichnungen und ohne einheimischen Informanten ein umfangreicheres Textkorpus interpretieren zu wollen. Der sprachliche Kommentar zu den Versen bringt deshalb auch keine neuen Erkenntnisse, sondern weist nur, soweit möglich, die im Text vorkommenden Erscheinungen in der Literatur nach. Vieles muß ungeklärt bleiben⁹. Mir geht es im Gefolge meiner Studien zu den *Harari-Texten in arabischer Schrift*¹⁰ in erster Linie darum, eine Probe für die Anwendungen der arab. Schrift auf eine weitere semitische Sprache Äthiopiens vorzuführen¹¹.

Ich bringe die einzelnen Gedichte zunächst unverändert im arab. geschriebenen Text und in der Umschrift von Schlobies¹², dann folgt ein Übersetzungsversuch und ein Kommentar. Die amh. Übersetzung habe ich fortgelassen, da sie wegen ihrer Fehlerhaftigkeit eines eigenen Kommentars bedürfte. Ich verweise aber gelegentlich auf sie.

1 اَلْاِلُ * اَلْاِلُ * دِلَّانْشُنْ تَابَاشُ * سِلْطَنُ اَنِانُ وَيُسُّ

1. *ilām ilù, ilām ilù, dillāntōn tābāččo silṭēn ānuian yēččo.*

Er sagt und sie sagen, er sagt und sie sagen. Dillānčo und Abāččo machten Silt'ē angenehm(?).

Nach Schlobies ist *ilām ilù, ilām ilù* die Eingangsformel für jedes zu dem Saiteninstrument *karār* gesungenen Lied. Zu dem Impf. *yal* von *bāla* »sagen«

- 9 Wenn im folgenden nicht hinter jedem Wort der Übersetzung ein Fragezeichen steht und nicht jeder Satz des Kommentars ein »wohl«, »vielleicht« oder »möglicherweise« enthält, so geschieht das aus Gründen der Stilistik und Raumersparnis, nicht weil ich meiner Sache sicher wäre.
- 10 Erscheint demnächst als Band 13 der von Ernst Hammerschmidt hrsg. Äthiopistischen Forschungen. Im folgenden HTAS abgekürzt.
- 11 Der Schlobies-Nachlaß enthält auch einen kurzen amh. Text in arab. Schrift. Er wird von A. J. Drewes zusammen mit anderen amh. Texten in arab. Schrift veröffentlicht werden.
- 12 Aus Platzgründen stehen die Verse nicht wie im Original in einzelnen Zeilen, sondern sind durch * bzw. Komma getrennt.

(EDG I 974b) vgl. das zusammengesetzte Impf. *yalan* AFSE¹³ 224a. Eine 2. Pers. sing. m. hinter der Konditionalpartikel *ba-* findet sich AFSE 218a in *batla*. *-u* ist die Endung der 3. pl. Impf., vgl. *idäblun* = amh. *yač'ämmarallu* und *ilädäblu* = amh. *ayč'ämmarum* aus Schlobies' Paradigmata. *-m* »und« (EDG I 999b) koordiniert Sätze, vgl. auch ES 97. Vielleicht liegt aber auch ein altes Gerundium *-äm* vor, das heute zumeist *-ä* heißt, nach ES 94 aber aus *-ä* (Übertragung der alten gerundialen Akkusativendung auf das finite Verb) + *-m(a)* entstanden sein soll. Das würde den Übergangsvokal *-ä-* erklären. — Dillänčo war nach Schlobies ein *šäfa* in Törä (Siltē) und Abäčco ein *šäfa* in Būzē (Siltē). Zu *-n* »und« vgl. EDG I 1005a. Es ist hier mit *tä-* »mit« (EDG 1020a) kombiniert. — Der Akkusativ lautet im Selt'i normalerweise *-ä* (AFSE 217-18); bei Eigennamen wie hier *siltēn* scheint aber auch das amh. *-n* vorzukommen, vgl. z. B. den von Schlobies notierten Satz *šērāi iusūfēn* »ruf Yūsuf!«. — *ānuān* (richtiger *añuyān*) ist 3. pl. des Präsens-Perfekts von *añe* »machen« (EDG I 969a) mit infigiertem Objektsuffix *-y-* (amh. Übers. *adärrägut*). Zur Bildung des Präsens-Perfekt mittels des Hilfsverbs *-an* (< **hlw*) vgl. ES 40. Zu dem im folgenden noch öfter vorkommenden Objektsuffix 3. sg. m. *-y* vgl. aus den Schlobies'schen Paradigmata z. B. *ilenzui* = amh. *ayyazutām* »sie nehmen ihn nicht« und AFSE 216b *yokäbku-y* »ich kaufte ihn«. — *uētto* (so nicht in EDG) wird durch das mir unbekannte amh. *maču* wiedergegeben. Vielleicht ist es Fehler für *mačču* »passend, angenehm«. Die Wurzel kommt aber als *tāmētte* »passend sein« (EDG I 999b) auch im Selt'i vor und ein Übergang *m* > *w* ist eigentlich nur bei der Vorsilbe *mä-* der Verbalnomina belegt, vgl. EDG III, XXXIII, so daß sich *uētto* nicht recht erklären läßt.

2 يَكْبِينُ حَمِيدٌ * أَرُونِي تَبَادُ * مَالَتِي تَجْهَادُ

2. *jakiḥē hamīd̄, arōtai tihād̄, māltaḥ tagḥādē.*

Ḥamīd b. Kībē (verbrachte) die Nacht mit Gebet und den Tag mit Glaubenskrieg.

Ḥamīd und Kībē waren nach Schlobies *k'allatṭa* (Magier) in Sōgārē (Siltē). *yä-* ist Genitivpartikel (EDG I 1028b). — *arōt* »Nacht« (EDG I 970a) und *mālt* »Tag« (EDG I 1001b) stehen im adverbialen Akkus. auf *-ä* (AFSE 218) mit folgendem Artikel *-y*, vgl. AFSE 218b *bučō-y* »der Hund«. — Den arab. Lehnwörtern *ibād* »Gebet« (EDG I 961a) und *ḡihād* ist die Präposition *t(ä)-* (EDG I 1020a) vorgesetzt.

¹³ Hiermit wird Wolf Leslau: *Archaic Features in South Ethiopic*. In: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 71 (1951), S. 212-30 abgekürzt.

3 يَكْبِي حَمِيدٌ * بِجُفْلَلٍ مِيدٌ * تَارْقُويْ جِدْ

3. *ja kībē hāmīdē, bagōflala mīdē, tamāraḳōi gidē.*

Hamīd b. Kībē (hatte) am Fluß Goflala mit den Māraḳ'o einen Kampf(?).

Goflala ist nach Schlobies eine Ebene, auf der Silṭē und Marāḳo Krieg führten. Da aber sowohl *mīde* (EDG I 1000a) als auch die amh. Entsprechung *wānz* »Fluß« heißen, habe ich so übersetzt. — Zu dem östlich der Selt'i wohnenden Marak'o vgl. GH 425-26 und EEM 69; 94; 98. Das -i am Ende des Namens kann ich nur als Artikel erklären. — *gid(ē)* muß nach der geographischen Anm. von Schlobies und nach der amh. Übers. soviel wie »Kampf, Krieg« heißen. Vielleicht ist es eine indirekte Entlehnung von *ḡihād*. Vielleicht hängt es auch mit der Wurzel *gdl* »töten« oder mit *ḡad* »Gewalt« (EDG III 262) zusammen.

4 لَكِبِي حَمِيدٌ * قَلِمِ تَائِدٌ * إِجْبَاؤُ بَجْدُ

4. *lakībē Hamīdē, ḳālbīmē tāiōddē, igabāu bagiddē.*

Obwohl mein Herz den Hamīd b. Kībē nicht liebt, gehe ich doch gezwungenermaßen (zu ihm) ein.

Nach Schlobies handelt es sich um einen Gesang der Frauen. — Zur Einführung des direkten Objekts durch *lā-* vgl. AFSE 218b. — An arab. *qalb* »Herz« (EDG 1080a) ist zunächst -m »und, auch« (EDG 999b) (vielleicht handelt es sich auch um das von Verb getrennte -m verneinter Verbalformen wie *tayḳāflam* »ohne zu zahlen« [AFSE 218a]) und dann das Possessivsuffix 1. sg. -e (vgl. AFSE 218b *fārāz-e* »mein Pferd« und das Paradigma der Possessivsuffixe an *ḡār* »Haus« bei Schlobies: *ḡārē, ḡārāḥ, ḡārāṣ, ḡārḳā, ḡārṣ, ḡārāna, ḡārāmu, ḡārṇimu*). Zur Infigierung des -m- zwischen Nomen und Possessivsuffix vgl. PG 14 168 *abbo-m-ḳā* »und sein Vater«. Ähnlich steht das Possessivsuffix erst hinter der Kopula, z. B. AFSE 216b *uhā abbo-t-ab* »er ist dein Vater«. — *wādādā* »lieben« (EDG I 1025a) steht hier hinter der Konjunktion *ta-* »während« (PG 168) in der 3. sg. m. des verneinten Impf. im untergeordneten Satz (*aysābər* gegenüber *alāsābər* [oder *alāsābər*, vgl. Ged. 9] im Hauptsatz, vgl. ES 95), vgl. auch das oben zitierte *tayḳāflam*. — *ḡāba* »hineingehen« (EDG I 986b) steht in der 1. sg. des zusammengesetzten Impf., dessen Konjugation ES 39 gegeben wird. — Zu *bāḡad* »zwangsweise« vgl. EDG I 987a.

14 Hiermit wird Wolf Leslau: *Is there a Proto-Gurage?* In: Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies held in Jerusalem, 19-23 July 1965. Jerusalem 1969, S. 152-71 abgekürzt.

5 يَكِيْبِي حَمِيْدُ * اَللهُ اَوْطَانُ چَزْ * يَارَقُ سُمَهْ * تَنْقَلُبِي اِلَانَ بَزِيْزْ

5. *jakībē hāmīdē, allāḥ awāṭān giṣṣ, jāmarako sūmahā, tināḵlubūi ilān biṣṣbiṣṣ.*

Hamīd b. Kībē ist etwas, das Gott hervorgebracht hat (ein Geschenk Gottes). Sobald sie ihm gegenüber deinen Namen Marak'o erwähnen, steht er ganz aufrecht da.

Das Kausativ *awāt'a* »herausbringen« (EDG I 1027b) steht im Präsens-Perfekt, vgl. Ged. 1. Der Relativsatz wird wohl nur durch die Stellung zum Ausdruck gebracht. — Zu *giṣṣ* »Sache« vgl. EDG I 991b. — Auf *sum* »Name« (EDG I 1015b) folgt das Akkusativsuffix -ā- und das Possessivsuffix 2. sg. m. -h, hier anscheinend in einer älteren Form -ha. Angeredet ist offensichtlich der feindliche Stamm Marak'o. — *nāk'älä* »aufheben« (EDG I 1006a) hat wohl gleich dem synonymen amh. *anässa* auch die Bed. »(einen Namen) erwähnen« (vgl. Wolf Leslau: *Concise Amharic Dictionary*. Wiesbaden 1976, S. 111). Die Form setzt sich zusammen aus der Konjunktion *tə* + *yanāk'lu* (3. pl. Impf.) + Präposition *b* + Suffix 3. sg. m. -y. Der Übergangsvokal -u- ist wohl durch das *b* bedingt. — *biṣṣbiṣṣ* *bālā* »aufrecht stehen« (EDG I 977b) ist hier redupliziert. Zu der 3. sg. m. des zusammengesetzten Impf. *yalan* von *bālā* s. AFSE 224a.

6 طِيْبَمُونُ تَحْتِ * اَطِيْدُونُ تَمَلْتِي * اَسَنُنُ تَبَالْ * اِلْبُورُنُ تَكُورِي * اِچَاتِنُ تَلْ * اِيْتَامُ اَلْفَرِ

6. *ṭibamōn tagatē, aṭīdōn tamaltē, ásanún tabällē, ilborón tákorē, ágātēn támallē, ētāmu állifari.*

Ṭibamo und Gatē, Aṭido und Maltē, Asan und Bällē, Ilboro und Korē, Agate und Mallē, ihren Ort will ich nicht fürchten!

Nach Schlobies war Gatē *balabbat* (Stammesführer) in Karrisso; Ṭibamo war sein Freund; beide waren zu Schlobies' Zeit bereits tot. Aṭido und Malte waren Brüder. — Auf *ēt* »Ort« (EDG I 971b) folgt das Possessivsuffix 3. pl., vgl. Ged. 4. — *färe* »fürchten« (EDG I 985a) steht wohl im verneinten Jussiv 1. sg. Die Form entspricht bezüglich der Präfixe etwa Čaha *anankəs* <al+l+ankəs mit ll > n, vgl. Wolf Leslau: *Ethiopic Documents: Gurage*. New York 1950. (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology. 14.), S. 29 und 13. Nach Wolf Leslau: *Le Type verbal qatälä en éthiopien méridional*. Beyrouth 1954. (Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph. 31, 2.), S. 56 lautet der Jussiv von dem Verb III inf. *gāṣe* (C-Stamm) *yāgaṣ*, so daß man von *färe alläfär* erwarten würde. Ich nehme deshalb an, daß das -i am Ende auf *ēt* rückbezügliches Objektsuffix 3. sg. m. ist.

7 مَنْ نَادِنُ الْآبَا * اذْنَحْنُ تَائِقَابَ * بَسْشِ حَبَابَا

7. *Min nnādēn ālābā, addāmgīn tāikāba, bāsačē gabāba.*

Wieso pries man Ālābā, nachdem er (der Stamm Ālābā), ohne sich einmal umzudrehen, nach Gagāba geflohen war?

Zu *man* »was?« vgl. EDG I 1001b. — Ich nehme an, daß das doppelte *n* in *nnādēn* nur das *šadda* der arab. Schrift wiedergibt, das seinerseits nur bedeuten soll, daß das auslautende *n* von *man* und das anlautende *n* von *nādēn* zusammen als ein gelängtes *nn* zu sprechen sind. Man wird also wohl *nādēn* anzusetzen haben, das Grundverb von dem EDG I 1005 a genannten Reflexiv *tānādā* »stolz, arrogant sein« in der Bed. »preisen« in der unpersönlichen Form (deutsch mit »man« zu übers.) des Präsens-Perfekt auf *-n*. Zu unpersönlichen Formen auf *-e* vgl. ES 108 und Beispiele wie *bičē nāqāle* »one lifted the mourning« von *nāqālā* (EDG I 973b). — Die Ālābā wohnen südlich der Ulbarag, die wiederum südlich der Selt'i leben, vgl. GH 425-6 und EEM 98. — Zu *addā gān* »einmal«, hier mit eingefügtem *-m* »und, auch«, vgl. EDG I 989a. — *k'āhā* heißt nach EDG I 1007a »falten, aufrollen«; nach EDG III 332a bed. das Wort in den verwandten Sprachen aber auch »curve, turn the cattle in another direction«. Da es zudem mit amh. *tāmälläsā* wiedergegeben wird, habe ich es mit dem reflexiven »sich umdrehen« zu übersetzen gewagt. Die Form ist wieder 3. sg. m. verneintes Impf. des untergeordneten Satzes hinter der Konjunktion *ta-*, vgl. Ged. 4. — Vor *sāčē* »fliehen« (EDG I 1014a) steht hier die Konjunktion *bā-*, die mit folgendem Perfekt und *rēr* »since, as, after« heißt (EDG 973b). In dem poetischen Text fehlt das *rēr* entweder oder *bā-* leitet hier nicht einen Nebensatz, sondern den Nachsatz ein, wie offensichtlich auch in Ged. 8. Dann wäre zu übersetzen: »Wieso pries man Ālābā? Ohne sich einmal umzudrehen, floh er nach Gabāba«. — Gabāba liegt nach Schlobies zwischen Silte und Ālābā.

8 يَفَرُزُ دَابِنَ * بِالطَّبِيَّانِ دِينَا * بَسْشِ وَنْدَبِنَ

8. *jafāraz dāhana, bālmatabijān dīnā, bāsačē uāndabana.*

Er floh zum Abhang hin, selbst wenn der Kriegsfeind nicht in der Wolke der Pferde (von den Pferden aufgewühlten Staubwolke) kam.

Schlobies bemerkt dazu: »Ulbarak u. Alaba flohen, die Silte waren die einzigen, die mit den Arussis und Maraḳo kämpften«. — Zu *fāraz* »Pferd« vgl. EDG I 985b, zu *dābāna* »Wolke« EDG I 980b. — *māt'a* »kommen« (EDG I 1004a) steht im mit *al-* verneinten Präsens-Perfekt auf *-an* mit eingeschobener Präposition *-b-* und auf die Wolke rückbezogenem Suffix 3. sg. m. *-y*. Vorangestellt ist die Konjunktion *ba-* »selbst wenn, obwohl«, die nach EDG I 973b allerdings nur

vor dem Impf. steht. — Zu *dīna* »Kriegsfeind« vgl. EDG I 982a. — Zu *bä-säṭe* vgl. Ged. 7. — Auf *wändāhān* »Abhang« (EDG I 1026b) folgt der Akkusativ der Richtung -ä, vgl. AFSE 218.

و يَدُورِ تَسْمًا * يَبَالِ إِسْمًا * تَسْمًا يَدُورِ * بَقُولًا بَقُولِ * اِزْلَزَلَاؤُ
بَامُولِ * الْوَجِيرِي شُولِ

9. *ja dōrē tasammā, ja bāli ilasamā, tasammā jadōrē, bafōlā bafōli, izlazlāu bāmōlē, ilaugēbrāi ṣūlē.*

Tasammā b. Dōrē hörte nicht auf das, was man sagte. Oh Tasammā b. Dōrē, um dein Leben oder mein Leben (geht es)! Ich handle (zwar) mit Salzbarren, mein Kind will ich (dir aber) nicht als Steuer zahlen.

Nach Schlobies hat Tasammā Gangul, Sohn des Dōrē, z. Zt. Meneliks II im Jahre 1311 H. (1893) Silṭē tributpflichtig gemacht (mit dem GH 269 genannten *fitawrari* Tasammā Guči identisch?) — *bāli* steht vielleicht für *bāle*, dem unpersönlichen Perfekt von *bālā* »sagen«. Den bisherigen adjektivischen Relativsätzen fehlte das Relativpronomen *yä-*. Vielleicht muß es bei substantivischen Relativsätzen stehen. — *aläsāma* ist 3. sg. m. des verneinten Impf. im Hauptsatz, das nach Schlobies' Paradigmata folgendermaßen konjugiert wird: *ilāwdābəl, ittādābəl, ittādābəl, ilādābəl, ittādābəl, ilādāblana, ittādāblu, ilādāblu*. Da Schlobies mit *ilāsāku* = amh. *aysāsum* oder *ilāmāt'u* = amh. *aymāt'um* weitere Formen mit *ā* hinter dem *l* anführt, ist das *ə* in ES 95 *alāsāhər* vielleicht nicht richtig. Die Form *alak'atəl* »er kann nicht« (AFSE 218a) gibt über diese Frage keine Auskunft, da ihr das Kausativ eines C-Verbs *ak'atāla* (EDG I 1011a) zugrundeliegt. — Auf *fōl* »Atem« (EDG I 984a) folgt einmal das Possessivsuffix 2. m. sg. -*āh*, für das Schlobies' Gewährsmann Yūsuf eine Nebenform -*ā* angab, und einmal das der 1. sg. -*ē*. Das -*i* ist sicher ein Fehler, da auch der Reim ein -*ē* verlangt. — *zilāzālā* »kleinen Handel betreiben« (EDG I 1030a) steht hier in der 1. sg. des zusammengesetzten Impf., vgl. Ged. 4. — Zu *amōle* »Salzbarren« (früher als Zahlungsmittel verwendet) vgl. EDG I 965b. — *gēbārā* »Steuern zahlen« (EDG I 987a) steht in der 1. sg. des verneinten Impf. im Hauptsatz, vgl. neben dem obigen Paradigma auch AFSE 218 *alāwsāma* »ich werde nicht hören«, *alāwbālā* (zu lesen *alāwbāla*?) »ich esse nicht«. Das seltsame -*āw* im Präfix ist vielleicht aus der Endung -*aw* (<*-*allāh**) des positiven zusammengesetzten Impf. transponiert worden. Das -*i* an *ilaugēbrāi* ist auf *ṣūlē* bezügliches Objektsuffix 3. sg. m. — Auf *ṣ'ūlo* »Baby« (EDG I 979a) folgt das Possessivsuffix 1. sg. -*ē*, vor dem das -*o* offensichtlich ausfällt. Das Wort ist im arab. mit *sīn* mit vier Punkten geschrieben, was Schlobies mit *ṣ* umschreibt. *sīn* mit vier Punkten kann aber auch *ṣ'* wiedergeben, vgl. z. B. in Schlobies' Paradigmata *ilāmāt'ṣ'anā* = amh.

anmät'am »wir kommen nicht« (von *mät'a* »kommen«), wo das *t'* gesichert ist, da es sich um eine Palatalisierung des *t'* handelt. Ich möchte deshalb einen Fehler in Schlobies' Umschrift annehmen und *t'ulē* lesen.

11. 15. بِلَانْزِي أَنْزِي * بِلَوْبِي أَمْبِي

11. 15. *bilānzi anžēn, bilobai ambeñ.*

Wenn ich ihn sehen wollte, sah er mich. Wenn ich (mich) ihm aber (hin)geben wollte, lehnte er ab.

Schlobies bemerkt dazu: »eine Frau an einen Helden, der sie nicht heiraten will«. — *anže* »sehen« (EDG I 968b) steht hier wohl in der 1. sg. Jussiv mit vorgesetzter Konjugation *hə-* und folgendem Objektsuffix 3. sg. m. *hə-* steht nach EDG I 973b allerdings nur vor dem Impf. Man könnte sich deshalb fragen, ob in dem *l* nicht eine Verneinung steckt. Das verneinte Impf. 1. sg. mit Objektsuffix heißt nach den Schlobies'schen Paradigmata aber *ilauuānzi* = amh. *alayawam*. Für das verneinte Impf. im abhängigen Satz sollte man nach der 3. sg. m. *aysähar* (ES 95) für die 1. sg. eher *balānzi* erwarten. — *anžēn* ist 3. sg. m. des gleichen Verbs mit Objektsuffix 1. sg. *-ñ*, vgl. z. B. in den Schlobies'schen Paradigmata *alāñ* »ich habe«. — *bilobai* ist die *bilānzi* entsprechende Form von *wābā* »geben« (EDG I 1024b), für das Schlobies in den Paradigmata u. a. die Form *jōbāimāu* = amh. *əsāt'aččawallāh* zitiert. — Auf *ambe* »ablehnen« (EDG I 965a) folgt wieder das Objektsuffix 1. sg.

Das arab. Alphabet besitzt folgende Buchstaben, denen im Selt'i keine Laute entsprechen: ' (außerhalb des Anlauts), ' , *d*, *ḍ*, *g*, *h*, *ḥ*, *s*, *t*, *z*. Im Gegensatz zum Harari, bei dem archaisierende und hyperkorrekte Schreibungen vor allem bei den Laryngalen und *ḍ* in Mengen vorkommen¹⁶, fehlen diese Buchstaben im Selt'i praktisch ganz. Nur der arab. Eigenname *Ḥamīd* wird mit *h* geschrieben.

Bei den beiden glottalisierten Lauten *t'* und *k'* des Selt'i werden wie im Harari die Buchstaben für die arab. velarisierten Entsprechungen *t* und *q* eingesetzt, vgl. z. B. *tamarakōi* (Ged. 3), *auatān* (Ged. 5), *tāikāba* (Ged. 7), *bālmatabijān* (Ged. 8).

¹⁵ Ged. 10 habe ich übergangen, da bei Schlobies der Text in arab. Schrift fehlt.

¹⁶ Vgl. zunächst einmal Enrico Cerulli: *Studi etiopici*. 1: *La Lingua e la storia di Harar*. Roma 1936 (Im folgenden LSH abgekürzt), S. 346-49. Das Problem wird auch in der Einleitung zu HTAS angesprochen werden.

Darüber hinaus kennt das Selt'i die Laute ℓ , ℓ' , g , $\tilde{n}$, ξ^{17} , die im Arab. fehlen. Außer ξ finden sich diese Laute auch im Harari. Wird Harari in arab. Schrift geschrieben, so gibt es zwei Möglichkeiten: Entweder werden die Buchstaben t für ℓ , t' für ℓ' , g für g und n für $\tilde{n}$ mitverwendet, so z. B. im *K. al-Farā'id* (LSH 344-46). Daneben kommt in HTAS mindestens ebenso häufig wie t ein ʃ für ℓ vor, eine Erscheinung, die im *K. al-Farā'id* auf das Wort *dāʃi* »Land« beschränkt ist (LSH 345). Die Folge dieser Möglichkeit der Schriftadaption ist, daß die Schrift nicht mehr eindeutig ist und einem Buchstaben zwei Laute entsprechen.

Die andere Möglichkeit besteht darin, durch die Setzung zusätzlicher Punkte neue Buchstaben zu erfinden. In HTAS finden sich folgende Zusatzbuchstaben, die jedoch nie konsequent, sondern offensichtlich nur, wenn Mißverständnisse befürchtet wurden, gesetzt sind:

ℓ wird durch ein t mit zwei Punkten über und drei Punkten unter dem Buchstaben (in der Anordnung wie bei pers. p) ausgedrückt, z. B. in HTAS *awaʃ ayaʃ* »Väter und Mütter« (A 18¹⁸ Hs. A); *asʃāna* »laß uns trinken!« (A 32 Hs. A)¹⁹.

ℓ' wird durch t mit drei Punkten unter dem Buchstaben (in der Anordnung wie bei pers. p) ausgedrückt, z. B. in HTAS *ʃ'aya* »Schatten« (A 31); *aʃ'nyu* »er (Respektform) wurde fortgeholt« (B 80).

g wird durch g mit drei untergesetzten Punkten (wie pers. ʒ) ausgedrückt, z. B. in HTAS *gir* »mal« (A 2); *uga* »Weg« (A 28)²⁰.

$\tilde{n}$ wird durch n mit einem Punkt über und drei Punkten unter dem Buchstaben (in der Anordnung wie bei pers. p) ausgedrückt, z. B. in HTAS *uñāna* »mach uns!« (A 20 Hs. A); *māñit* »Schlafen« (A 21 Hs. A)²¹.

Das Selt'i verwendet nur in einem Falle die gleiche Wiedergabe wie das Harari: auch hier wird g durch g mit drei Punkten ausgedrückt, vgl. *gōʃlala* und *gidē* in Ged. 3, *igabāu* und *bagiddē* in Ged. 4 usw.

In allen anderen Fällen beschreitet das Selt'i eigene Wege. Am einfachsten ist der Fall bei $\tilde{n}$. Hier verwendet das Selt'i ein y mit drei Punkten darunter,

17 Die Selt'i-Laute p und p (EDG III, XXXII) kommen in den Gedichten nicht vor.

18 Die Majuskel bezeichnet den Text und die Ziffer den Abschnitt von HTAS.

19 B 179 kommen ein einziges Mal Varianten mit g (mit einem untergesetzten Punkt) und g mit drei untergesetzten Punkten für ℓ in *dāʃi* vor. Es handelt sich wohl um Fehler.

20 D 9 werden die Wörter *ge* »Land«, *girgara* »Hilfe«, *gar* »Haus« und *gälgeb* »Unterhaltung« mit *kāf* geschrieben. Ebenso vereinzelt ist die Schreibung von g durch *kāf* mit drei Punkten unter dem Buchstaben in A 32 Hs. A.

21 E 25/26 wird in *hanen* »er ist für mich da« und einigen anderen Wörtern $\tilde{n}$ vereinzelt durch eine dritte Methode, nämlich die der Buchstabenkombination, ausgedrückt. Für $\tilde{n}$ steht *ny*.

vgl. *ambén* in Ged. 11. Diese Schreibung des *n̄* findet sich in den übrigen Texten von Schlobies überaus häufig, z.B. *zīt'āññe* »neun« (S. 19, Z. 15²²). So stellt es sicherlich nicht das richtige Verhältnis dar, wenn in unseren Gedichten das *n̄* gleich zweimal durch einfaches *n* wiedergegeben wird (*ānuīān* in Ged. 1 und *añžén* in Ged. 11).

Das *č* wird durch *s* mit vier Punkten über dem Buchstaben ausgedrückt, vgl. *dillāñčōn*, *tābāččō* und *uēččō* in Ged. 1 und *básáčē* in Ged. 7 und 8.

s mit vier Punkten wird gelegentlich aber auch zum Ausdruck des *č'* verwendet, vgl. *č'ūlē* in Ged. 9 und die im dortigen Kommentar genannte Form aus den Paradigmata. Viel häufiger ist in den sonstigen Schlobies'schen Texten aber für *č'* das in den Gedichten nicht belegte *ʃ* mit drei Punkten darüber (in der Anordnung wie bei arab. *ʃ*). Während das Harari also die Punkte unter das *ʃ* setzt, setzt das Selt'i sie darüber. Beispiele: *č'unč'e* »Mücke« (S. 16, Z. 2; S. 18, Z. 8 u. 9); *añč'ar* »kurz« (S. 19, Z. 6); *č'ak'a* »Schlamm« (S. 7, Z. 7).

Darüber hinaus benutzt das Selt'i das *ʃ* mit drei Punkten aber auch, um das *ž* auszudrücken, das in den hier veröffentlichten Gedichten wie im Pers. durch *z* mit drei Punkten geschrieben wird, vgl. *bilāñžī* und *añžén* in Ged. 11. In den Paradigmata, die für Schlobies aufgezeichnet wurden, wird das gleiche Verb *añže* »sehen« durchgängig mit *ʃ* mit drei Punkten geschrieben. In den übrigen Texten kommen beide Schreibungen vor: *bəžžī* »viel« S. 4, Z. 8 mit *z* und drei Punkten, S. 13, Z. 2 dagegen mit *ʃ* und drei Punkten. Im ganzen überwiegt wohl die Schreibung mit *ʃ* und drei Punkten. Weitere Beispiele dafür sind: *kālbäžō* »Stern« (S. 8, Z. 9) und *žubo* »Ding, Angelegenheit« (S. 8, Z. 6).

Bezüglich des Vokalausdrucks hat das Harari gar keine Versuche gemacht, die Schrift an die im Harari gegenüber dem Arabischen sehr viel größere Zahl der Vokalqualitäten anzupassen. Ja, es hat sogar die in der arab. Schrift gegebene Möglichkeit durch Defektiv- und Pleneschreibung die im Harari ebenfalls vorhandenen Vokalquantitäten auszudrücken, nicht genutzt. Plene- und Defektivschreibung gehen durcheinander²³.

Das Selt'i geht hier etwas weiter, vor allem durch die Nutzung des doppelten *damma* (im Arab. Nūnation) zum Ausdruck des *o* und des doppelten *kasra* (im Arab. ebenfalls Nūnation²⁴) zum Ausdruck des *e*, vgl. Ged. 1,

22 Alle im folgenden aus den übrigen Texten von Schlobies stammenden Beispiele sind einem einzigen der unbezeichneten Hefte entnommen. Ich zitiere nur nach Seite und Zeile.

23 Hierauf bin ich ausführlicher in der Einleitung zu HTAS eingegangen.

24 Im Harari wird das doppelte *kasra* wie im Arab. für die Endung *-in* gebraucht, vgl. LSH 351. In HTAS wird sogar die Kopula *intā-* gelegentlich so geschrieben, daß das vorhergehende Wort *tanwīn* erhält und man dann bei der Kopula mit dem *t* beginnt (A 30).

3, 4, 6, 7, 9. Die Gedichte zeigen aber ebenso deutlich, daß die Erfindung nicht konsequent angewendet wird. Wie im Harari hat sich auch keine konsequente Bezeichnung der Längen durch Pleneschreibung durchgesetzt. Mit der äthiop. Schrift teilt die Selt'i-Orthographie die *crux*, daß sie nicht eindeutig ausdrücken kann. Sie verwendet entweder *kasra* (dann von Schlobies auch meist mit *i* umschrieben) oder *sukūn*. In den Paradigmata wird z. B. eine Form wie *attədābəl* = *attəṭ'ämmərəm* mit *kasra* unter dem *alif*, *ṣadda* und *sukūn* über dem *t*, *fathā* über dem *d* und *sukūn* über *b* und *l* geschrieben.

Zusammenfassend kann man sagen, daß die Selt'i zwar durch Erfindung von Zusatzbuchstaben mittels Abwandlung vorhandener arab. Zeichen (zusätzliche Punkte) und durch Umfunktionieren vorhandener orthographischer Mittel (Nūnation) einen Zeichenvorrat geschaffen haben, der dem Lautstand ihrer Sprache in etwa gerecht wird, daß sie aber durch inkonsequente Anwendung der neuen Zeichen einen großen Teil des Erfolgs wieder zunichte machen.

[*Korrekturzusatz*: Der Schlobiesnachlaß ist inzwischen an die Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, überführt worden.]

BASIC NUMERALS IN THE OMOTIC LANGUAGES

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Although probably the majority of linguists are inclined to consider the Omotic languages of Ethiopia, formerly classified as a branch of Cushitic and hence called "West Cushitic", as an independent group of the Afroasiatic family, the problem of the genetic classification of these languages is not clear. There are even some (e.g. P. Newman, 1980) who deny that Omotic languages belong to Afroasiatic at all. The existing classification of Omotic as a separate and in fact the most distant group of Afroasiatic is actually only a hypothesis elaborated by H. C. Fleming and M. L. Bender. There were also some earlier attempts at a definitive separation of at least a part of Omotic from Cushitic by H. Plazikowsky-Brauner. This hypothesis is based mainly on lexicostatistics and on a very general synopsis of some basic grammatical features but not on regular comparison and reconstruction of proto-Omotic. Of course proto-Omotic should be compared with Cushitic and eventually also with other groups of Afroasiatic. Since at least in a number of cases lexicostatistic results do not contradict the genetic classification based on internal and comparative reconstruction of both phonology and morphology, I do not agree with those linguists who totally neglect the validity of lexicostatistics for genetic classification. Nevertheless, comparative and historical linguistics cannot be limited to lexicostatics, i.e. lexicostatics can be used only as an auxiliary, and not a basic method. It is possible to say, without being accused of hypercriticism, that before we finally accept the hypothesis about Omotic as an independent group within Afroasiatic we need a lot of elementary data on many Omotic languages and their dialects which are still practically unknown. Unfortunately there was a long standstill in Omotic studies between 1952 (and practically even since the II World War) till the mid 1970s. For a rather long period we had fresh data only thanks to Professor Leslau, who provided us with the pioneer grammatical sketch and a vocabulary of Mocha. Now we need data on the little known "South Omotic" languages since their affinity to the rest of Omotic is still provisional, and even more so, we need more data on a number of totally unknown North Omotic languages, since in general North Omotic languages are more conservative or archaic than "South Omotic" and hence more important for a comparison with Cushitic etc. As I have emphasized else-

where (Zaborski, forthcoming), we have to look for the most conservative or archaic Omotic languages in order to explain the genetic classification of the whole group within Afroasiatic (or even outside Afroasiatic) on the basis of relative chronology.

It seems that basic Omotic numerals (the numbers from one to ten) provide rather clear hints at the internal classification of these languages, though obviously the evidence of the numerals alone cannot be decisive but should be used only in conjunction with the evidence of the more important parts of the system like e.g. verbal morphology. This pertains even more to the question of the relevance of the evidence of the numerals for any claim about the relationship of Omotic with Cushitic. Since we lack so much data on the Omotic numerals, no attempt has been made here to reconstruct proto-Gonga, proto-Ometo etc., or proto-Omotic numerals. The transcription of the numerals has to be unified and in the course of the transliteration of different systems used by different authors some problems remain unsolved. Many linguists have not an adequate explanation of their transcription or have used contradictory methods. This is particularly true of the older authors (e.g. quoted by Conti Rossini), but also of some contemporary linguists who use sometimes phonemic but sometimes rather phonetic principles. Fleming-Bender's internal classification of the Omotic languages has been taken as a basis and it has to be said at the very beginning that this classification is confirmed in general terms by the evidence of the basic numerals.

Let us deal first with North Omotic. The numerals "three" and "five" are the same everywhere except in Anfillo where "five" is loan from Ethiosemitic, probably through Highland East Cushitic. The number "ten" is the same everywhere, with the exception of Anfillo and Kafa (here also a loanword from Ethiosemitic), Boro (Shinasha)¹ and Chara.

The Dizi (or "Dizoid") subbranch is clearly a unit, since only in Nao is "one" different, though it agrees with Janjero, Chara and Central Ometo (except Oyda). The Gonga subbranch differs from other subbranches in the numerals "one" and "two"², and also in the series from "six" to "ten" (with the exception of Boro "ten") which has been borrowed from Ethiosemitic (on Anfillo "five", see below). It has to be emphasized that Gonga and all other Omotic languages (including South Omotic) with the exception of

¹ Plazikowsky-Brauner 1963, 470-471, explained Boro "ten" as a contraction of **gittē uṣṣa* "two fives". Cf. note 4.

² This is a loanword from Southern Ethiosemitic, most probably Gurage, e.g. Soddo *kitt*. Cf. Cerulli 1951, 308.

Dizoid have the same numeral "four". Since Dizoid differs from the rest also in "one", "two", "six", "seven" and "eight", there is a good reason to consider Dizoid languages as a clearly separate branch. Janjero shows several cognates with Gimira, Chara and Ometo — or "Gimojan" languages — but at the same time differs in the number "two" from all other Omotic languages though the older numeral "two" survives, as pointed out already by Cerulli (1938, p. 57) in the compounds "eight" and "seven" which are "10-2" and "5+2" respectively. "Ten" has been borrowed from Ethiosemitic and the older form that survives in "eight" and "nine" (= 10 - 1) as *gidin/girin* and *gin* is also a loanword — cf. Oromo *kuḍān* (Cerulli, 1938, p. 58). The Gimira subbranch, including Bencho and She also looks like a unit though we know too little about Bencho numerals to be sure. It is strange, however, that Gimira "seven" differs from all Omotic languages (Toselli, 1939, p. 35) and also from She and "Dizu" Gimirra (ibid., quoted from Conti Rossini and Montadon), the latter two coinciding with Janjero, Chara and Central Ometo. The number "one" separates "Gimojan" from the rest of Omotic and is most probably a loan from Highland East Cushitic (cf. Bender [ed.], 1976, p. 261, and cf. Cerulli 1934, pp. 89-92). The number "eight" also seems rather isolated, though it may be related perhaps to Chara and has also an original **na/nam* "two" as the first component. The number "nine" (= 10-1) which is related structurally to "eight" (both contain the final *-rs* which may be a remnant of the older "ten") is totally isolated. Chara differs from all other Omotic languages in the number "nine". Here it may be, perhaps, related to North Ometo "one"³ and also "ten"⁴. The number "eight" may be related, perhaps, to Gimira and there is only a typological ("two" subtracted from "ten" principle) parallel in Janjero; cf. also Cerulli 1938, p. 155. West Omotic, including Doko and Dollo, is separated from all other North Omotic languages by its cognates with South Omotic, namely "six" and "eight" (10-2?, cf. Cerulli, 1938, p. 110) as well the phonemic shape of "ten", in which /b/ corresponds to /b/ and /p/ in Hamar and Karo respectively. Also the number "seven" has cognates in South Omotic, but we find other cognates in North Omotic Sheko, Nao and Dizi. Cerulli's hypothesis that Basketo *tabzā* may be related to Cushitic, i.e. Somali *todoba*, Oromo *torbā* (Cerulli 1938, p. 110) has to be verified since it is more probable that this is a loan. Another isogloss connecting West Ometo both with South Omotic and Dizoid is the number

³ Cerulli 1938, 155, explains it as "one subtracted from ten".

⁴ Cerulli 1938, 155, relates it to *tam* existing in other languages and connects its final *-sā/-tsā* with the hypothetical morph *-sa* in number "eight" but Chara *tantsā/tansā* bears some resemblance to Boro *tasē*. Both similarities may be accidental.

“nine” which is also probably a loan from Cushitic (cf. Somali *sagaal*, Oromo *sagal*, Arbore *ṣagal* [Cerulli 1942, p. 267]). It is found probably as a loan from the neighbouring Dizoid or other Omotic languages in Me'en of the East Sudanic family (cf. Toselli 1939, p. 37, quoting Conti Rossini). Another interesting isogloss, the number “one” connects Basketo, Dollo and Doko with Male (South Ometo) and Oyda (Central Ometo)⁵. The Central Ometo languages have the same numerals with the exception of “one” in Oyda and the number “two”. For the number “two” we shall have to search in the future for phonetically possible sound correspondences (Lautgesetze) to account for the existing divergencies. The numerals from “six” to “ten” in the alleged Dokko materials collected by d'Abbadie and published by Conti Rossini differ from those collected presumably by Sacchi (Conti Rossini 1927, p. 248) but obviously coincide with the respective numerals in Central Ometo. It is impossible to say whether this is due simply to dialect differences or to faulty identification. In general, the numerals “six” to “nine” provide a good isogloss connecting the Central Ometo languages. They are connected with East Ometo Koyra numerals and also with Zayse, but the forms found in the latter (only “six” and “seven”) are already abbreviated. These numerals etymologically go back to “1 + 5”, “2 + 5”, “3 + 5” and “4 + 5” where the final *-punā* means “five”⁶. East Ometo languages (Zayse, Zergulla, Gidicho and Koyra) are well linked by the numeral “one”. Koyra coincides in all other numerals with Central Ometo, but Zayse differs in the number “nine” from all other Omotic languages⁷. Furthermore in Zayse number “eight” we have initial *la-* going back to “two” but the second morpheme, meaning most probably “ten”, remains without an etymology⁸. Kachama has been classified so far as a North Omotic, and more precisely East Ometo language, but strangely only the numeral “one” has cognates in East Ometo while all the other numerals have nothing in common with Omotic. Therefore we can ask the question whether d'Abbadie's data published by Conti Rossini really pertain to Kachama.

⁵ Cerulli's hypothesis (1938, 109) that *fättän/pettanē* etc. may be related to *mat* “one” in Gimira is quite improbable.

⁶ Cerulli 1938, 58, says that it may be, perhaps, related to East Cushitic “five” e.g. Afar *kōn* but this cannot be accepted, since it would be difficult to find an adequate sound correspondence. Also Dolgopolskiy's (1966, 62) hypothesis connecting **punā* explained as “above five” with the Chadic verb “to be superior” e.g. Hausa *fī*, Logone *fana* is hardly probable. Also a relation with Dullay *xupin*, Tsamay *kubin* is uncertain.

⁷ Cerulli 1938, 196, derives *tsingo* hypothetically from *sagn* (cf. Sheko and Nao) and this hypothesis merits attention.

⁸ Cerulli 1938, 196, explains the final *-u* hypothetically as going back to a “negative” verb *kay* but this can hardly be accepted. Cf. n. 10.

Let us turn now to South Omotic. The numerals “one”, “three” and “five” separate South Omotic from North Omotic and at the same time prove that South Omotic may be considered an independent subbranch. The numbers “one” and “two” also provide an isogloss that confirms the division of South Omotic into Hamer-Karo-Banna and Ari-Bako groups, while the third group i.e. Dime, is related to the former by “one” but to Ari-Bako by “two”. Related to North Omotic is the number “four” (except Dizoid) while numerals “six” to “ten” show a relationship to West Omoto (Basketo etc.) which coincides also in “four”. The number “two” of Hamer-Karo-Banna has the most evident cognate in Male which is spoken north of this group, but most probably Male /l/ corresponds to /n/ in West and Central Omoto, Chara and Gimira. Bako differs from Hamer and Karo in the number “nine” which is etymologically “one subtracted from ten”. Common South Omotic “four” is the strongest link with North Omotic.

And now a synopsis of the basic forms:

1. — *k'oy* etc.: Dizi, Sheko
 — *ikke* etc.: Gongga languages
 — *issino* etc.: Janjero, Chara, Central Omoto, Nao
 — *matti* etc.: Gimira, She, Kachama; Chara in “nine” /?/
 — *pettane* etc.: West Omoto, South Omoto, Oyda
 — *bizzo* etc.: East Omoto, Kachama; and Chara in ‘nine’
 — *kala* etc.: Hamer, Karo, Banna; cf. *wallaqa*; cf. Beja *gāl* (!)
 — *wallaqa* etc.: Ari, Bako, Dime
2. — *tāgn* etc.: Dizoid languages
 — *gutto/gitto*: South Gongga and Anfillo versus North Gongga (cf. Fleming, 1976b, p. 370).
 — *hep*: Janjero
 — *lamma* and (?) *nama* etc.: Gimira, Bencho She; Omoto, South Omotic.
 — *makan* etc.: South Omotic
3. — *kadu* etc.: all North Omotic languages
 — *makam* etc.: all South Omotic languages
4. — *kubm* etc.: Dizoid languages
 — *obda/auda* etc.: all other languages
5. — *uḥḥu* etc.: all North Omotic languages except Anfillo; cf. Hozo *k'witsi*, Sezo *uwisse*, Bambeshi *wusi* (Fleming MS)
 — *amitto*: Anfillo
 — *donk* etc.: all South Omotic languages and Male
 — **puna* etc.: preserved in 6-9 in Central Omoto, Koyra, Chara

6. — *yaku* etc.: Dizoid languages
 - *sapm* etc.: Janjero (?), Gimira, She, Chara, Central and East Omoto
 - *lebe* etc.: West Omoto and South Omotic
 - *širitto* etc.: Gongga
7. — *tubsu* etc.: Dizoid languages, West Omoto, South Omotic
 - *oddu*: Gimira
 - *napm* etc.: Janjero, She, Chara, Central and East Omoto
 - *šabättō* etc.: Kefoid languages
8. — *zyed* etc.: Dizoid languages
 - *nangidin/nangirin*: Janjero
 - *nandirsa*: Chara
 - *nyartu*: She, Gimira(?)
 - *lamakoy* etc.: West Omoto, Hamer, Karo; cf. Male 'seven'
 - *hospuna* etc.: Central Omoto, Koyra
 - *lakkuč*: Zayse
 - *šimittō* etc.: Kefoid languages and Anfillo
 - *qastā'ntamers* etc.: Ari, Bako
9. — *sagil* etc.: Dizoid languages, West Omoto, Hamer, Karo; cf. Male 'eight'
 - *izgin* — Janjero
 - *irste, hirs* etc.: Gimira, She
 - *bizā*: Chara
 - *uddupuna* etc.: Central Omoto, Koyra
 - *tsingō*: Zayse
 - *žēdiye* etc.: Kefoid languages
 - *wolqāntamers* etc.: Ari, Bako
10. — *temma* etc.: all Omotic languages except Gongga; cf. Hamer, Karo and Male
 - *áširō*: Kefa including Mocha; Janjero
 - *tantsā* etc.: Boro, Chara
 - **gidin*: Janjero

Coming back to the problem of the internal genetic classification of the Omotic languages, I can say that the basic numerals confirm the "genealogical tree" presented by Fleming (Fleming 1976, p. 300) in which Janjero is related to the group consisting of Gimira, Chara, Omoto rather than the tree presented by Bender (Bender 1976, p. 4) in which Janjero, Gimira, Omoto and rather enigmatic Mao languages are presented as coordinate branches of "Gimojan" with Chara not indicated at all.

The problem of contact and so-called borrowing is rather clear as far as the Ethiosemitic languages are concerned. As indicated already by Cerulli, Plazikowsky-Brauner and Leslau, Gonga "two" and "six" to "ten" (in Anfillo also "five") are loanwords from Ethiosemitic and in particular from Gurage. The contacts with Nilo-Saharan languages are rather clear: Gonga *ikeo* "one" has been hypothetically connected by Cerulli with e.g. Mekan or Me'en *kon*; cf. also Mursi *raman* "two", *kadu* "three" etc. has been connected by Conti Rossini with NS *dek* (Conti Rossini 1925, p. 3), and Fleming (1976, p. 312) has linked "common" Mao *sīze* "three" with *twasan* in Koman rejecting an East Cushitic tie and apparently not taking into consideration a possible link with Omotic *kazu*, *heza* etc. If a sound correspondence /h/ to /s/ is finally detected, Southern Koman "one" *aseni* (Bender 1971, 275) may be accidental since geographically so distant. In Surma languages "two", "three" and "five" to "ten" are borrowed either from Omotic or Cushitic (cf. Haberland 1966, 95). This contact with Nilo-Saharan, even considering that a number of Omotic numerals do not have etymologies so far, is not surprising in view of the interference between Omotic and Nilo-Saharan, e.g. in pronouns and a part of the verbal morphology. At the same time, it provides some (though not very strong) argument for the much disputed Omotic-Cushitic relationship.

Some Omotic numerals have obviously been borrowed from the neighbouring East Cushitic languages. The number "one" *matti* comes from Highland East Cushitic languages (cf. Conti Rossini, 1925, p. 633; Cerulli 1934, 89-92) though now Gimira has no geographical contact with the speakers of Highland East Cushitic languages. There is also the numeral "one" *ammāt* in Ennemor Gurage which is most probably a loan from Cushitic (on Highland East Cushitic numerals, see Grover Hudson in Bender /ed./ 1976, p. 261; Moreno, 1938, p. 290ff.; Cerulli 1938a, p. 149). It is quite probable that the number "nine" *sagal* etc. and "ten" *tamma* are also loans from East Cushitic (cf. Dolgopolskiy, 1973, p. 52). It is possible that they

9 In Mursi and some other Nilo-Saharan languages "three" is **sizzji* and this is related by Bender (1976, 472) hypothetically to Highland East Cushitic **sase* for example. In any case the position of southern Mao is, at least as I can judge on the basis of the data published by Grottanelli, rather outside Omotic, i.e. it is possible that Southern Mao is not Omotic and certainly not Cushitic at all. There could also be borrowing by Nilo-Saharan from Omotic and this may explain the occurrence of *rama* "two" probably connected rather with Omotic *lama/nama* and not with Cushitic in the Nilo-Saharan Surma (see Bender, 1976, 483 and 542 quoting L. Ricci).

10 Conti Rossini's (1927, 250; cf. Cerulli 1938, 196) hypothesis that *lamakay* may go back to **lama-k-ayd* "twice four" merits some attention.

passed to Nilo-Saharan (e.g. Suri, Me'en etc.; Bender 1976, p. 542; Toselli 1939, p. 37, 141 "*sagen*") from Omotic. But still the possibility that at least "nine" is of common Omotic-Cushitic heritage cannot be totally rejected especially since "nine" occurs in several subbranches of Omotic. The number "eight" *zyed* etc. is a loan from East Cushitic (cf. Arbore *ze*, Tsamay *sezze*, Konso *settē*, Sidamo *sette*, Hadiyya *sadēnto*, Oromo *saddēt*) as well as "seven" *tabza* etc. (cf. Oromo *torba*, Arbore *tuzba*, Somali *todoba* etc.). The problem of the number "six" *leh* etc. is similar to "nine" so that the decision as to whether it is a loanword or of common heritage may be rather a matter of intuition (cf. Dolgopolskiy 1966, p. 62, id., 1973, p. 165; Sasse 1979, p. 22). However since this numeral exists only in neighbouring Basketo and South Omotic, it is most likely a loanword. The common Omotic numeral "four" *aboda/auda* etc. has been given even an Afroasiatic genealogy by Dolgopolskiy 1973, p. 231-2; the same author evidently considers also "ten" and "six" proto-Omoto-Cushitic following Cerulli, 1938, p. 153, but this is rather uncertain though not impossible. Finally there is "two" *lamma/nama* which may be rather of common Omotic-Cushitic heritage. It is interesting that while most East Cushitic languages have initial /l/ like Central Cushitic (Agaw), Dullay (Werizoid), Arbore and Dahalo, but Dasenech has /n/ i.e. *nāma* (see H.-J. Sasse in Bender, ed., 1976, 218), and so also a part of Omotic has /l/ while another part has /n/. Of course the change of /l/ to /n/ may be secondary in both Omotic and in Dasenech. It is significant, perhaps, that the South Omotic languages and East Cushitic Arbore which border on Dasenech have /l/. A similar phonemic repartition is in the number "ten" where both some Omotic and some Cushitic languages have /m/ while other Omotic and Cushitic languages have /b/ — cf. Sasse 1979, p. 25 and 10.

Thus the genetic links with Cushitic numerals (e.g. "two" and less probably "three" and "four") are possible while borrowing from Cushitic (from Highland East Cushitic, Oromo, Dullay and Arbore) is rather certain, at least in some cases as far as numerals "six" to "ten" are concerned. Of course borrowing of some numerals does not exclude the possibility that some others are of common Omotic-Cushitic heritage. It is possible that more will be clear when we have a study of the comparative phonology of Omotic and Cushitic loanwords and when we have more data on Omotic in general. Internal Omotic borrowing between South Omotic and North Omotic is also possible in the case of the numerals "six" to "ten".

As far as the typology of the numeral system is concerned, South Omotic Hamar, Karo, Ari, Bako and North Omotic Chara, Zayse and West Omoto

(but without d'Abbadie's Doko) as well as Janjero have "eight" going back to "two subtracted from ten", but only Ari, Bako, Chara and Janjero have "nine" going back hypothetically to "one subtracted from ten". On the other hand Koyra, Central Ometo and d'Abbadie's Doko have a system based on "five" i.e. "six" going back to "one plus five", "seven" going back to "two plus five", and so on up to "nine". Zayse, Janjero and She have an intermediate position with "nine" and "eight" according to the former system and "six" and "seven" according to the latter system. Male "seven" to "nine" have to be verified. Other languages i.e. Dizoid apparently do not follow any system, the relation of "six" with "one" and "five" being quite uncertain. Actually it is possible that in Dizoid all numerals from "seven" to "ten" are loans from Cushitic and Dolgopolskiy connects even Dizoid "six" *yaku* etc. (see above) genetically with Cushitic, though this is not clear. All this points out to is that, as expected, the numerals "one" to "five" in Omotic are older.

In closing this note I should like to say that numerals are quite important for the internal classification of the Omotic languages while they contribute less to the elucidation of the problem of the external genetic relationship of Omotic, though in light of them a genetic link with Cushitic is much stronger than a suspected link with Nilo-Saharan. Conti Rossini's Kachama (Haruro) and Grottanelli's Northern Mao are quite divergent.

NORTH OMOTIC

<i>Dizoid</i>				<i>Gonga</i>			
Dizi Allan 1976, 381; Toselli 1938, 13	Sheko Conti Rossini 1923; Bender 1971, 262	Nao Conti Rossini 1923; Bender 1971, 262	Anfillo Grottanelli 1940, 103; Bender 1971, 238	Kefa Cerulli 1951, 307; Bender 1971, 239	Mocha Leslau 1959; Bender 1971, 260	Shinasha Schuver (in Grottanelli 1940, 103; 1941, 266	Boro Brauner 1950, 70; Bender 1971, 239
1 <i>k'oy; qoy</i>	<i>koy; k'oy</i>	<i>isin; isn; isin¹</i>	<i>ikko</i>	<i>ikkō; ikko</i>	<i>ikko; ikko</i>	<i>yega, ikka</i>	<i>ikke, ikka</i>
2 <i>tāgn; tag</i>	<i>t'agen; tǎg'n</i>	<i>tagen; tagn</i>	<i>gutto; guto</i>	<i>guttō; gūto</i>	<i>gutto; gūto</i>	<i>gieta, gita</i>	<i>gitte; gittā</i>
3 <i>kādū; kadu; kaddu²</i>	<i>kaddu; kādu; kādem³</i>	<i>kaddu; kādu, kaddō</i>	<i>keḡḡo; kē'djo [?]</i>	<i>kemō; kēymo; kaḡā⁴</i>	<i>kaḡḡo, keḡo</i>	<i>keza, keḡa</i>	<i>kēze; kēzza</i>
4 <i>kūbm; kum</i>	<i>kub'm</i>	<i>kubm</i>	<i>auddo</i>	<i>áuddō</i>	<i>auwiddo</i>	<i>auda, auḡa</i>	<i>áuddē</i>
5 <i>uḡu; uḡu; uḡḡō⁵</i>	<i>uḡu, uḡem</i>	<i>uḡum; uḡu</i>	<i>amitto</i>	<i>uḡḡō</i>	<i>uḡḡo; ūḡā</i>	<i>utsa, uḡa</i>	<i>uḡḡḡē, uḡḡē</i>
6 <i>yākū; yaku</i>	<i>yaku</i>	<i>yakko</i>	<i>sirto</i>	<i>sirittō</i>	<i>siritto</i>	<i>sirta, sirta</i>	<i>sirittē</i>
7 <i>tūsū; tusu</i>	<i>tubsu</i>	<i>tessen, tessēn</i>	<i>ṣabattō</i>	<i>ṣabāttō</i>	<i>ṣābo</i>	<i>sawāte, ṣawata</i>	<i>ṣawātē</i>
8 <i>zyéd; zyed</i>	<i>zyed</i>	<i>zyad</i>	<i>ṣimittō</i>	<i>ṣimittō</i>	<i>ṣimitto</i>	<i>simīta, ṣimata</i>	<i>ṣimittē</i>
9 <i>sāgil; sāgani, sageni</i>	<i>sagen</i>	<i>sagn</i>	<i>yiringo</i>	<i>yīṣiyō</i>	<i>yīṣiyō</i>	<i>ṣēdia, ḡādiyā⁶</i>	<i>ṣēdiyē</i>
10 <i>tāmū; tamu</i>	<i>tam</i>	<i>tamu</i>	<i>aṣirō</i>	<i>áṣirō</i>	<i>áṣiro</i>	<i>teṣa, taṣa</i>	<i>taṣṣē</i>

¹ Cerulli 1938, 57. ² Cerulli 1951, 309. ³ Cerulli 1951, 309. ⁴ Reinisch 1888. ⁵ Cerulli 1951, 309. ⁶ After d'Abbadie.

West Omoto

Janjero Cerulli 1938, 57	Gimira Toselli 1939, 35	She Conti Rossini 1925	Bencho Bender 1971, 260	Chara Cerulli 1938, 151	Basketo Cerulli 1938, 108	Doko Conti Rossini 1927, 248	Doko d'Abbadie (Conti Rossini 1927, 248)	Dollo Conti Rossini 1927, 250
1 <i>issō; issan</i> ¹	<i>matti</i>	<i>mat</i>	<i>māt</i> ¹	<i>issā</i>	<i>fāttān</i>	<i>pettanē</i>	<i>pōtto</i>	<i>pēttān</i>
2 <i>hep</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>nəm</i>	<i>nantā</i>	<i>nam'a</i>	<i>nammē</i>	<i>lāmmā</i>	<i>nām</i>
3 <i>kēz</i>	<i>kaɾu</i>	<i>kaɾ</i>	<i>kaɾ</i>	<i>keɾā</i>	<i>bayɾɾā; bay'd/ɾi</i> ²	<i>oyɾē</i>	<i>hāyɾā</i>	<i>ayɾ</i>
4 <i>atēl</i>	<i>ottu</i>	<i>od</i>		<i>obdā</i>	<i>oyddu</i>	<i>oydē</i>	<i>oydā</i>	<i>oyd</i>
5 <i>ūč</i>	<i>uč'u, uč'u</i>	<i>uč, uč</i>		<i>uč'a</i>	<i>istin</i>	<i>issinē</i>	<i>ečinā</i>	<i>eššen</i>
6 <i>issun</i>	<i>sap</i>	<i>sapm</i>		<i>sāfun, sapma</i>	<i>lehe</i>	<i>lebē</i>	<i>eɾepenā</i>	<i>leb</i>
7 <i>nāfun</i>	<i>oddu</i>	<i>nap</i>		<i>lāpun, lāfun</i>	<i>tabɾā</i>	<i>tabɾā</i>	<i>lāpunā</i>	<i>tāheɾā</i>
8 <i>nangerin</i> <i>nangidin</i>	<i>nars</i>	<i>nyartu</i>		<i>nandirsa,</i> <i>landersa</i>	<i>lamakay</i>	<i>lamabē</i>	<i>hospunā</i>	<i>lāmākāy</i>
9 <i>iɾgin</i>	<i>hirs</i>	<i>irste, irssen</i>		<i>biɾā</i> ³	<i>sagāl</i>	<i>sabakalē</i>	<i>undupunā</i>	<i>sākal</i>
10 <i>assir</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>tam, tām</i>		<i>tantsā, tansā</i>	<i>taba</i>	<i>tabbā</i>	<i>tammā</i>	<i>tā'ba</i>

¹ Bender, 1971, 258, Fleming, MS, *isar*.² Bender 1971, 254.³ Fleming, MS, *biɾa*.

Central Omoto

Male Bender 1971, 255; Da Trento 1941, 206	Oyda Bender 1971, 254	Welamo Moreno 1938, 37; Bender 1971, 252	Welamo Chiomio 1938, 4; Da Trento 1941, 206	Gofa Moreno 1938, 37	Zala Moreno 1938, 37	Malo Moreno 1938, 38	Kullo Allan 1976, 330; Bender 1976, 252	Konta Moreno 1938, 38
1 <i>pete</i>	<i>pēto</i>	<i>issō, istā, issinō, esinō</i>	<i>ista; essua</i>	<i>issi, issino</i>	<i>istā</i>	<i>istā</i>	<i>ita, itw; itta</i>	
2 <i>lem'o; lam'o</i>	<i>nām'i</i>	<i>na'ā; na'a</i>	<i>na'a; naba</i>	<i>nama</i>	<i>na'ā</i>	<i>lamma</i>	<i>naa, laa na'a, la'a?; la'a</i>	<i>na'a</i>
3 <i>bāytso</i>	<i>bāydzī, oyddi</i>	<i>beṛṛā; bēṛa</i>	<i>esa, eza, beṛa</i>	<i>bedṛa</i>	<i>beṛṛā</i>	<i>bēṛa</i>	<i>beṛu; bēṛa</i>	
4 <i>oydo</i>		<i>oidda</i>	<i>oidda, oyda</i>	<i>oyda</i>	<i>oidda</i>	<i>oyda</i>	<i>oyda</i>	
5 <i>dongo</i>		<i>iččaṣa</i>	<i>ičča</i>	<i>iččaṣa</i>	<i>iččā</i>	<i>iččēčča</i>	<i>ičč</i>	<i>iččēč</i>
6 <i>labo</i>		<i>usuppunā, usuffunā</i>	<i>suppuna, suffuna, usuf</i>	<i>usuppunā</i>	<i>usuffunā</i>	<i>usuppunā</i>	<i>osup^huna</i>	
7 <i>lankay¹ (?)</i>		<i>lāppunā</i>	<i>lāppuna, lāffuna</i>	<i>lāppuna</i>	<i>lāffunā</i>	<i>lāppuna</i>	<i>lap^huna</i>	
8 <i>salli¹ (?)</i>		<i>hospunā, hofunā</i>	<i>hōspuna, oṣfuna</i>	<i>hōspuna</i>	<i>hōsfunā</i>	<i>ospuna</i>	<i>hosp^huna</i>	
9 <i>taṛuba¹ (?)</i>		<i>uddufunā uddupunā</i>	<i>uddufuna urtūfuna</i>	<i>uddūfuna</i>	<i>uddufun</i>	<i>uddūfuna</i>	<i>uḷdup^huna</i>	
10 <i>tapo</i>		<i>tammā</i>	<i>tamma</i>	<i>tāmma</i>	<i>tammā</i>	<i>tamma</i>	<i>tamma</i>	

¹ Da Trento, 1941, 206. This must be verified since in the neighbouring Hamar and Karo this is "eight" respectively. Also Male "nine" is suspected (cf. East Cushitic "seven").

East Ometo

	Dache Bender 1971, 253	Dorze Bender 1971, 253; Fleming MS	Zayse Cerulli 1938, 194	Zergulla Bender 1971, 257	Gidicho Bender 1971, 256	Koyra Hayward, MS Bender 1971, 256	Mezo Chiomio 1938, 235	Kachama Conti Rossini 1936, 631
1	<i>isiyno</i>	<i>isīno; ista</i>	<i>biṣṣō</i>	<i>biṣo</i>	<i>bīṣe</i>	<i>biṣṣo; bīdzo</i>	<i>biṣo</i>	<i>biṣṣo</i>
2	<i>nama</i>	<i>nam'a</i>	<i>nām</i>	<i>namʼ</i>	<i>namʼ</i>	<i>lām'a; lamʼ</i>	<i>lambe</i>	<i>sololo</i>
3	<i>hedza</i>	<i>hēdza; heiza</i>	<i>hayts</i>	<i>hayts</i>	<i>hāydzʼ</i>	<i>haydze</i>	<i>haydzi</i>	<i>mīrzo</i>
4		<i>oyt; oyDa</i>				<i>ōyde; oittā¹</i>	<i>woydi</i>	<i>sagūnē</i>
5			<i>isit</i>			<i>itititē, isit</i>	<i>ititi</i>	<i>aysuma</i>
6			<i>izup</i>			<i>izṣuppe</i>	<i>izup</i>	<i>qēb'ē</i>
7			<i>lāp</i>			<i>lāppe</i>	<i>lap</i>	<i>wālā</i>
8			<i>lakkuʼ</i>			<i>baṣṣuppe</i>	<i>azup</i>	<i>bārwaṣā</i>
9			<i>tsingō</i>			<i>odduppe</i>	<i>oddup</i>	<i>māydonārā</i>
10			<i>tām</i>			<i>tāmme</i>	<i>tamm</i>	<i>gačo, gongulā</i>

¹ Cerulli 1938, 109. ² Cerulli 1951, 309.

SOUTH OMOTIC

	Hamer Cerulli 1942, 262	Karo Conti Rossini 1927, 252	Banna Bender 1971, 264	Ari Bender 1971, 263; Bliese, 1982;	Bako Da Trento 1941, 206	Dime Bender 1971, 263; Fleming MS
1	<i>kalo</i>	<i>kallà, kala</i>	<i>ko'la</i>	<i>walleka</i>	<i>wollaqā, ullaq, ellagā</i>	<i>wokel, 5kel</i>
2	<i>lama</i>	<i>lammà, lama</i>	<i>lamma</i>	<i>kasten</i>	<i>k'astèn</i>	<i>k'asten</i>
3	<i>mafan</i>	<i>makàmm</i>	<i>makam</i>	<i>māken</i>	<i>makken</i>	<i>mekem</i>
4	<i>oydi</i>	<i>oydi</i>	<i>oydi</i>	<i>oyddi</i>	<i>oydi</i>	<i>uddu</i>
5	<i>don</i> ¹	<i>dōnn</i> ¹		<i>donq</i>	<i>donk</i>	<i>sinne</i>
6	<i>lah</i>	<i>lhā, lah</i>	<i>lah</i>	<i>lā</i>	<i>la</i>	
7	<i>tobba</i>	<i>tsôbà</i>		<i>tabza</i>	<i>tabze</i>	
8	<i>lankay</i>	<i>lonkay</i>		<i>qastāntamers</i>	<i>kastatamez</i>	
9	<i>sal</i>	<i>sall</i>		<i>wolqāntamers</i>	<i>alkatamez</i>	
10	<i>teppi</i>	<i>tabi</i>		<i>tamma</i>	<i>tommā</i>	

¹ Fleming, MS, *donk*.

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ALPHABET

AMHARIC SCRIPT REFORM EFFORTS

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Amharic uses a script inherited from Ge'ez. The Ge'ez script itself was most probably derived from the cursive version of the South Semitic alphabet (Grohmann, 1918; Ryckmans, 1955; Drewes, 1955) though this theory is disputed by some (Ullendorff, 1955). Sometime in the second half of the fourth century the Ge'ez script underwent an important and lasting reform. This was the introduction of special signs for vocalization of the consonantal script. The authorship and circumstances of this significant reform still remain shrouded in mystery. A fair case has however been made for a possible influence of the Indian Kharoṣṭī system of vocalization (J. Friedrich, 1935; Gelb, 1952). Since the early reform falls within the domain of Ge'ez we will say no more about it here. Suffice it so say that the script which Amharic and some other Ethiopian languages, notably Tigrigna¹, inherited from Ge'ez was already fully vocalized. It had however some important shortcomings for the rendering of Amharic. The periodical efforts, some successful and some not, to weed out these inadequacies, sometimes carried to the point of needless perfectionism, constitute the history of Amharic script reform.

Historical Survey of Reform Efforts

The earliest script reform during the Amharic period dates back to the fourteenth or possibly fifteenth century—that is to say, a century or two after the ascendancy of Amharic as a court language in the reign of Emperor Yekunno Amlak (1270-1285), the first ruler of the “restored Solomonic dynasty”. We know little or nothing of the precise authorship of this reform but there can be no doubt that it came from the clergy who were then as for many centuries afterwards the sole custodians of the written word. The reform consisted of the invention of new symbols chiefly for the palatal

¹ In Romanizing Ethiopian words and names in this article I have been guided by common usage and practicality where the precise form of the word is not germane to the issue at hand. Otherwise I have used Professor Leslau's system which should be familiar to readers of this volume.

sounds of Amharic which were not provided for in the Ge'ez script. Ge'ez itself did not have these sounds. The new symbols were devised in principle by the addition of small horizontal lines to the top of the symbols for the corresponding non-palatal sound. We shall have more to say about this below.

The next reform effort comes several centuries later during the reign of Emperor Menelik II (1889-1913). This was the new alphabet ascribed to personal invention by Emperor Menelik. The Amharic original of the Emperor's chronicle (Gebre-Sellasié, 1967) includes a table of the new alphabet (which, incidentally, the two copies of the French translation I have seen do not) but has no information whatsoever on why the Emperor decided to reform the script, what principles he followed in doing so, whether he had help from any *literati*, or even whether he took any steps to have the new script implemented. Maurice de Coppet in his annotation to the French translation of the Menelik Chronicle, which was published nearly three decades before the Amharic original (Guebre-Sellasié, 1930-32), writes "on nous a du reste affirmé que ce chiffre avait été établi, non par Ménelik, mais par Mèchècha Worqié ...". This same Meshesha Worke is referred to by Emperor Yohannes IV, in a manuscript brought to my attention by Dr. Getatchew Haile (1981), as one "who, after having studied all the languages of the world, is now diligent in learning the language of Satan". It would seem likely then that Meshesha Worke devised the new script and that Emperor Menelik lent his name to the effort perhaps because he saw some need for reform. The fact that the Emperor did not push on with the implementation of the script could conceivably have been due to opposition from the clergy, many of whom, as we shall see below, even now regard the Ethiopian script as a special gift from God not to be tampered with by mere mortals, at least not by the laity.

Following the Menelik effort there was some sporadic discussion of the question of script reform in the early Amharic newspapers such as A'emero and Berhanenna Selam, concerned chiefly with the possible elimination of the "superfluous" letters (letters inherited from Ge'ez but having no distinctive sounds in Amharic) and with the adoption of a special sign for gemination. An Ethiopian scholar of the time, Abba Tekle-Maryam Semharay, who was conversant with both traditional and Western learning, has actually utilized symbols for accent, gemination and the sixth order vowel in his publication (Tekle-Maryam, 1911). His example, as indeed a similar example by Addis Alemayehu many decades later (see below) was never taken up by others.

A strong impetus for script reform came with the introduction of the typewriter into Ethiopia in the early nineteen twenties. The Ethiopian script

had proved unsuitable for use in a typewriter because of the excessive number of symbols. A number of attempts were made to adapt it to that purpose (Anonymous, 1970). In 1924 (Eth. Calendar 1916), Ato Alemu Habtemichael prepared an Amharic typewriter and presented it to Emperor Haile Sellasie (then crown prince). In 1931 (E.C. 1923) Ato Ayyana Birru prepared a prototype Amharic typewriter. The same year Dr. Aleme Work had one made in England. The well-known scholar Aleka Kidane-wold Kifle published a system for the adaptation of the Amharic script to the typewriter. One of the reform proposals of the pre-war period, that of Ato Abbebe Retta, concerned itself more with simplifying the script for new learners than with adapting it to the typewriter. Except for the work of the last two scholars mentioned, which we shall discuss below, we do not have sufficient information of the efforts of these early script reformers to be able to describe their proposals in any detail or to discuss them at any length.

The first truly articulate effort on the reform of the Amharic script appeared in 1948 with the publication of *Fidälän maššašal* ("Improving the Script") by a group that called itself *yätəmbərt wädağotč* ("Lovers of Learning"). The group consisted of Ras Immeru Haile Sellasie, Ato Abbebe Retta and Blatta Merse'e Hazen Wolde Kirkos. The American educator Dr. Frank Laubach who happened to be on a visit to Ethiopia at the time also contributed a few suggestions to the publication. At a later time Professor Wolf Leslau made an extensive commentary on the proposals and added some suggestions of his own in a review article (Leslau, 1953). The reform proposals of the "Lovers of Learning" which, by and large, sought to eliminate superfluous symbols and to regularize the system of vocalization will be discussed in some detail below. None of them ever came close to implementation chiefly because of lack of any enthusiasm for reform on the part of the general public at the time. There was also some active opposition to reform on the part of the clergy.

Thirteen years after the publication of *Fidälän maššašal*, in March of 1961, a new committee was established by order of the Imperial Ministry of Pen which included two of the original "Lovers of Learning" and four other members. The immediate impetus for the establishment of this study committee was the submission of yet another reform proposal by a civil servant named Zewde Gebremedhin. In actual fact the discussions of the group as reflected in their published minutes (Anonymous, 1970) ranged beyond the mere evaluation of Zewde's proposals. The group finally agreed on a system that had an entirely regular system of vocalization and that rejected some of the superfluous letters (see below). The work of this committee too was destined to remain a more or less academic exercise.

Following the dissolution of the Ministry of Pen Committee no new committee was established to deal with the matter of script reform. A number of individuals however contributed proposals and studies dealing with aspects of the problem of script. These include Zeev Raz, a UNESCO expert at the Ministry of Education, who proposed a cursive script for use in speedy handwriting (Raz, undated), and Tekle-maryam Fantaye and Lulseged Alemayyehu, who concerned themselves with the ever-present question of regularizing the system of vocalization. Yiggezu Bistrat, a professional calligrapher who has done much work on ornamental lettering, has also dealt with the question of script reform. Terrefe Raswork, an engineer in what was then the Imperial Board of Telecommunications of Ethiopia has adapted the Amharic script to the telex machine (Terrefe 1966). Ato Addis Alemayyehu, a high government official and a writer, actually implemented some of his own reform proposals in his well-known novel *Faqar 'askä mäqabär* ("Love unto the Grave", Alemayyehu, 1966). Roger Cowley has pointed out inconsistencies in Amharic and has pleaded for orthographic standardization (Cowley, 1967). Many of the established scholars on Ethiopian languages have at one time or another had their say on the question of Amharic script reform. In addition to specific references elsewhere in this article we might mention the individually solicited statements from a number of scholars (among them Leslau, Ullendorff, Gankin and Kassa Gabrehiwot) that are now in the files of the Amharic Language Academy in Addis Ababa. One minor reform gradually took root late in the post-war period without any public discussion. This was the elimination of the two dots (:) formerly used to separate words. It appears that with the spread of printing and typing the standardized and automatic spacing between words made the two dots superfluous.

Description and analysis of reform efforts

The only truly successful and significant reforms of the Ethiopic script so far have been two. The first was the introduction of a system of vocalization and the second the introduction of special symbols for the Amharic palatals².

² The symbol for *hä* with all its vocalic variants (i.e. **ሕ**, **ከ** etc.) and the one for *'ä* (the isolated **አ**) are of course not palatals but are usually grouped with the palatal symbols in discussions of script reform because of the time of their appearance. The set is sometime known as the *arabi* ("Arabic") letters (Leslau, 1961; Ullendorff, 1951). Other less significant but certainly successful reforms have been the addition of the letter **ፑ** and **ፑ** early in the Ge'ez period (perhaps to accommodate Greek or Hellenized words and names).

The first took place during the Ge'ez period and therefore does not fall in our purview. The second we consider hereunder.

Ge'ez has no palatal sounds (see however, Leslau, 1961). As long as Ge'ez was the literary language of Ethiopia no symbols were required to represent such sounds. With the emergence of Amharic as the court language in the thirteenth century a need presumably developed to render Amharic titles and names in the royal chronicles and local hagiographies which continued to be written in Ge'ez. It was during this period that the new signs for the Amharic palatals made their first appearance. The earliest occurrence of a palatal sign so far attested seems to be in a manuscript dated 1434-1468. (Getatchew Haile, 1979)³. The occurrence in question is in the personal name *ṣih māngäsa*. It is interesting to compare this name with a similar one in an earlier manuscript, EMMML no. 1832, which contains the name "*sih debaba*" (i.e. ሲሐ : ደባባ). Could we deduce from this that the palatal signs were still not invented as late as 1280, the date of the manuscript in question? The evidence is not compelling but it is not unreasonable to hypothesize on the basis of the evidence from the two manuscripts cited that the invention of the palatal signs of Amharic may have taken place roughly between 1300 and 1450. The earliest examples of Amharic known to us are the popular songs in praise of Emperor Amda Sion (1314-1344) (Guidi 1889). Though no extant copy of the songs is definitely datable to the Emperor's reign it is known that his reign was one of great literary activity. We may therefore hazard the further tentative guess that the Amharic palatal letters may have originated in the reign of Amda Sion.

The palatal signs, traditionally referred to as the *arabi* letters, a word of uncertain etymology (Leslau, 1961), are made rather uniformly by the addition of a small horizontal line to the top of the symbol for the corresponding non-palatal sound. For a possible precursor of the horizontal line see Ullendorff, 1955. Aside from minor concessions to the shape of the basic letters, the only exception to this general rule is the formation of the symbol for the glottalized palatal stop ɕ, which calls for the addition of small rings to the legs of the basic symbol (see table I).

The complete success of this early reform is not surprising; for without it the writing of Amharic would have been highly unsatisfactory, if not well nigh impossible. It is also worth noting that this reform required the addition of new symbols rather than the elimination or modification of existing ones

³ I am grateful to Dr. Getatchew for bringing this occurrence to my attention. He also informs me that E. Ullendorff has noted this occurrence in his review of Getatchew's catalogue.

De Literis.

Literæ Habessinorum in Amharica lingua eadem sunt ac in Æthiopica, eodemque modo per *septem ordines* secundum vocalum sonos variantur; nisi quod viginti sex characteribus *septem* alios addant, figura & potestate Æthiopicis affines, quos in hac tabella cognoscere poteris.

Tabula literarum Amharicarum.

ä	u	i	ā	ē	ē	ū
ሸ Shā	ሸ Shu	ሸ Shi	ሸ Shā	ሸ Shē	ሸ Shē	ሸ Shū
ቸ Tja	ቸ Tju	ቸ Tji	ቸ Tjā	ቸ Tjē	ቸ Tjē	ቸ Tjo
ኸ Nja	ኸ Nju	ኸ Nji	ኸ Njā	ኸ Njē	ኸ Njē	ኸ Njo
ኸ Cha	ኸ Chu	ኸ Chi	ኸ Chā	ኸ Chē	ኸ Chē	ኸ Cho
ዸ Ja	ዸ Ju	ዸ Ji	ዸ Jā	ዸ Jē	ዸ Jē	ዸ Jo
ዸ Dja	ዸ Dju	ዸ Dji	ዸ Djā	ዸ Djē	ዸ Djē	ዸ Djo
ጸ Tsha	ጸ Tshu	ጸ Tshi	ጸ Tshā	ጸ Tshē	ጸ Tshē	ጸ Tsho

የአማርኛ ፊደል ፡፡

ሸ	ሸ	ሸ	ሸ	ሸ	ሸ	ሸ
ቸ	ቸ	ቸ	ቸ	ቸ	ቸ	ቸ
ኸ	ኸ	ኸ	ኸ	ኸ	ኸ	ኸ
ኸ	ኸ	ኸ	ኸ	ኸ	ኸ	ኸ
ዸ	ዸ	ዸ	ዸ	ዸ	ዸ	ዸ
ዸ	ዸ	ዸ	ዸ	ዸ	ዸ	ዸ
ጸ	ጸ	ጸ	ጸ	ጸ	ጸ	ጸ

Table I

Amharic additions to the syllabary in an early form (*top*, Ludolf, 1698) and in a modern form (*bottom*, Habte-Maryam, 1970).

as did nearly all subsequent reform efforts. This may, in part at least, account for the failure of the latter. Other successful cases of "addition" (rather than "modification" or "elimination" of letters) have been the introduction of a series for "consonant plus *-wa*" (e.g. ሠ ሡ ሢ etc.) and the letters አ ä, ከ hä with its vowel variants, and ጸ (Ital. *g/*) and ቨ vā to accommodate European words (Ludolfo, H. 1698).

With the additional symbols for palatals the Ethiopic syllabary had become quite an adequate medium for the writing of Amharic. The reforms that followed were therefore merely concerned with some further refinements. They aimed at making the script:

- a) *simpler to learn* — by regularizing the vocalization system, rejecting "superfluous" symbols and marking gemination;
- b) *simpler to write* — by making it more of a cursive script; and
- c) *simpler to mechanize* — by reducing the number of independent symbols to fit the standard keyboard of a typewriter or a telex machine.

We might examine the earliest of the modern reform efforts, namely the one attributed to Emperor Menelik, in light of the aims cited above. In the absence of any recorded discussion or commentary on the Menelik syllabary we have to rely mainly on internal evidence from the proposed syllabary to learn what the aim of the author might have been in designing it (see table II). The author has sought to make the syllabary easier to learn by making the vocalization affixes completely uniform and by reducing the number of basic symbols. He achieved this reduction in a number of ways. Firstly he eliminated the "superfluous" symbols inherited from Ge'ez (ሐ ሑ ሒ ሓ) and the symbols for labialized consonants (ከ ሀ ሁ ሂ) which he apparently believed, and not without reason, not to be strictly necessary for the writing of Amharic. Secondly, he derived the palatal symbols from their non-palatal counterparts by the mere addition of a diacritic (in this case an apostrophe at the top left of the base letter). He thus reduced the number of basic symbols from thirty-five to twenty—a reduction of over forty percent. The author also sought to make the letters easier and faster to write by making them truly cursive. Each of the letters can be written with one stroke without lifting the pen and generally without retracing any part of the letter. Not surprisingly, the similarity in shape between the Menelik script and the script proposed more than three quarters of a century later by Zeev Raz (which script is avowedly cursive) is a striking one.

There is no record that Menelik ever attempted to have this ingenious new script implemented on any scale. Had he done so the chances of success would probably have been slim not only for the sociological reasons

mentioned earlier (opposition from the conservative and then much more powerful clergy) but also for some important structural shortcomings of the script itself. One of such shortcomings is the serious lack of distinctiveness between several pairs of symbols. Note particularly the great similarity between the symbols for **፬** and **፭** (nos. 3 and 4 on table), for **ተ** and **ደ** (nos. 8 and 15) and for **ገ** and **ፈ** (nos. 16 and 19). The minor and sometimes hardly perceptible differences between symbols are bound to disappear in freehand writing leading to serious ambiguity. Another important shortcoming is that the symbols proposed are in many cases so unnecessarily divergent in shape from the existing symbols (e.g. nos. 10, 11 and 17 through 20) that the totality looks more like a newly invented script than the reform of an existing one. Not only does this detract from the visual and psychological acceptability of the proposal but it also forgoes the important advantage of the transfer of previously acquired skills and knowledge for the already literate sector of the population. Menelik's proposal was nevertheless an important step in the history of reform efforts in that it reflects an awareness of many of the problems that latter would-be reformers have tackled. It attempted the regularization of the system of vocalization; it proposed the elimination of the superfluous letters and attempted to make the symbols cursive. Although it tampered more than was necessary with the shape of the letter and perhaps overdid itself in relegating the all-too-important palatals to a minor diacritic, it did on the whole deal with the problem of reform in a manner that is rational in principle.

Among the group of reformers whose primary aim was to adapt the Amharic script to the typewriter, the only one on whose proposals we have some information is Aleka Kidane-Wold Kifle (Kidane-Wold 1956). His proposal was to retain all the basic symbols (the first orders) of the Ethiopic script including the symbols for the palatals and the labiovelars and the superfluous symbols. Vocalization would then be effected by using the six variants of **አ** and by **ዋ**. He would also retain the numerals "one" **፩** to "nine" **፩**, eliminating the top and bottom bars and using the symbol for ten as a cipher thus adapting the numerals to the so-called "arabic" system. This would result in thirty-seven consonant symbols, seven vowel symbols and ten numerals. With the addition of sixteen partly Ethiopian and partly Western punctuation marks the total comes to seventy symbols—about the number that can be accommodated on the double-shift keyboard of a standard typewriter. Although this may appear to be a satisfactory solution on the surface it is beset by a number of difficulties. The first-order symbol for instance is given in this system two distinct values which are not always disambiguated by context. Thus **በ** would stand for both *bä* and *b*. To remedy

፳፮

፳፻፲፱ ፡ ምዕራብ ፡

ከዚያም ፡ አንኮበር ፡ ወርደው ፡ ከረምቱን ፡ ከተማዎን ፡ ሲያድሱ ፡
ከረሙ ፡ በዚያም ፡ ጊዜ ፡ ከልቡናዎ ፡ አንቅተው ፡ እንግዳ ፡ ፈደል ፡
ጸፉ ፡ ፈደሉም ፡ ይህ ፡ ነው * ፡

1.	h	ሀ	ሀ	ሀ	ሀ	ሀ	ሀ	ሀ :
2.	l	ለ	ለ	ለ	ለ	ለ	ለ	ለ :
3.	m	ጠ	ጠ	ጠ	ጠ	ጠ	ጠ	ጠ :
4.	s	ሠ	ሠ	ሠ	ሠ	ሠ	ሠ	ሠ : ሸ : ሸ
5.	r	ረ	ረ	ረ	ረ	ረ	ረ	ረ :
6.	q	ረ	ረ	ረ	ረ	ረ	ረ	ረ :
7.	b	ባ	ባ	ባ	ባ	ባ	ባ	ባ :
8.	t	ቲ	ቲ	ቲ	ቲ	ቲ	ቲ	ቲ : ቸ : ቸ
9.	n	ን	ን	ን	ን	ን	ን	ን : ኘ : ኘ
10.	ጎ	ጎ	ጎ	ጎ	ጎ	ጎ	ጎ	ጎ :
11.	k	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ	ከ :
12.	w	ወ	ወ	ወ	ወ	ወ	ወ	ወ :
13.	z	ሀ	ሀ	ሀ	ሀ	ሀ	ሀ	ሀ : ዘ : ዘ
14.	y	ሀ	ሀ	ሀ	ሀ	ሀ	ሀ	ሀ :
15.	d	ደ	ደ	ደ	ደ	ደ	ደ	ደ : ሸ : ሸ
16.	g	ደ	ደ	ደ	ደ	ደ	ደ	ደ :
17.	ገ	ደ	ደ	ደ	ደ	ደ	ደ	ደ : ጠ : ጠ
18.	s	ደ	ደ	ደ	ደ	ደ	ደ	ደ :
19.	f	ፈ	ፈ	ፈ	ፈ	ፈ	ፈ	ፈ :
20.	p	ፈ	ፈ	ፈ	ፈ	ፈ	ፈ	ፈ :

* ይህ ፡ ፈደል ፡ የተቀረበው ፡ ሙሉ ፡ ደቡብ ፡ ከዋናው ፡ የታሪክ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ ላይ ፡ እን
ሻተው ፡ በፈረንሳይኛ ፡ በጽሑፍ ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡ ላይ ፡ ነው ፡

Table II: The Menelik Syllabary

this the author had to add a special symbol (") to mark any vowel sign that is meant to be read independently rather than with the preceding first order symbol which would now be read with its proper *ä* vowel. For example **ለኢጠእ** would be *lit* but **ለኢየእበእ** would be *läiyyob*; **ሀኢደዋእ** would be *bedwal* while **ሀኢደዋላ** would be *bedäwal*. A corollary of this rule is that the sixth order vowel (እ) represents not only the high central vowel but also the absence of any vowel—leading to the anomalous and confusing situation of sometimes adding a vowel symbol to mark the *absence* of a vowel. This system retains all the symbols that are superfluous to Amharic. No justification is given for this unless it is to be understood that the proposed typewriter is meant to serve for the writing of Ge'ez as well as Amharic. If so, it can only be countered that this is an unnecessary burden as the typewriting needs for Ge'ez are now few and getting fewer all the time. Furthermore Kidane-Wold's system shares the problems of all systems that propose separate vowel signs rather than affixes for vocalization. They nearly double the amount of space required for any piece of writing. Besides, because of the radical change from a syllabic to an alphabetic system they reduce the entire literate population to a merely quasi-literate status—at least for a short period. On the whole, it is not a matter of regret that the Kidane Wold system did not gain acceptance.

The next major effort at reforming the Ethiopian alphabet was that of the "Lovers of Learning" (henceforth LL). The LL group was made up of individuals who had previously concerned themselves in one way or another with the question of script reform. The group was assembled at the initiative of Abbebe Retta in 1946 (Eth. Cal. 1938) with the purpose of discussing each other's ideas and perhaps arriving at some common ground. Though this purpose was never realized, a tentative agreement was reached by the group that the idea of using Latin characters in an auxiliary capacity to the unreformed Ethiopian script should be seriously considered for implementation (Lovers of Learning, 1948). Nevertheless, all the recommendations discussed by the group were published for further public discussion. These recommendations are briefly discussed below as LL-I through LL-V.

LL-I is a recommendation of Ras Imru Haile Sellasie as submitted to the study group through Ato Abbebe Retta. The features of LL-I are as follows:

- 1) Thirty-one of the first order symbols of the syllabary are to be retained.
- 2) The superfluous letters (**ሐጎሠዐ**) are to be dropped.
- 3) The first order symbols are to signify both consonant with vowel *ä* and consonant without any vowel.
- 4) The second through the seventh orders of letter እ are to serve as discreet vowel symbols for the six remaining vowel phonemes of Amharic.

LL-II is a recommendation of Abbebe Retta himself and has the following features:

- 1) Only twenty-one of the first order symbols are to be retained.
- 2) The "superfluous" symbols, the palatal symbols and the labialized consonant symbols are to be dropped.
- 3) The palatals are to be indicated by the addition of a diacritic to the symbols of the non-palatal sounds⁴. The labialized consonants are to be indicated by the addition of **ፌ** to the appropriate non-labialized letter.
- 4) The first symbols are to represent vowelless consonants with the high central vowel.
- 5) Six out of the seven orders of **አ** (the sixth **አ** being dropped) are to serve as the discreet vowel symbols of the system; the first order **አ** is to stand for the mid-central vowel *ä* and not for the low central vowel *a* as in the traditional system.
- 6) Gemination is to be indicated by doubling of the consonant symbol.

LL-III is an alternative recommendation submitted by Abbebe Retta and shares the same features as LL-II except for the following important differences:

- 1) The first order symbols retain the value they have in the traditional system. That is, they represent consonant with vowel *ä*.
- 2) The other six vowels are indicated by diacritic affixes uniformly applied to all the basic symbols as follows:

ፀ ፑ ፒ ፓ ፔ ፕ ፖ

LL-IV, submitted by Blatta Merse'e Hazen Wolde Kirkos, recommends the retention of the unaltered Ethiopic alphabet for general purposes and the adoption of the Latin script for certain "modern" uses. Sounds peculiar to Amharic would generally be indicated as follows in the Latin script.

- 1) Glottalized consonants by a superscript "v"; e.g. *t* for **ጥ**
- 2) Palatals by a circumflex; e.g. *í* for **ሸ**
- 3) Labiovelars by the insertion of "u"; e.g. *gue* for **ጒ**
- 4) Gemination by doubling of the consonant symbol.
- 5) The seven vowel phonemes according to the following example: **በ** (be), **ቡ** (bu), **ቢ** (bi), **ባ** (ba), **ቤ** (bé), **ብ** (b or bê) and **ቦ** (bo).

⁴ Possibly due to some typographical difficulties the nature of the diacritic is not indicated in the publication. It is obvious however from the chart given that some diacritic was intended.

LL-V, submitted by Dr. Laubach, is the same as LL-III, the second recommendation of Abbebe Retta except that it retains all the thirty-six first order symbols and uses slightly different diacritic affixes all attached on the left. Thus:

ᐃ ᐃ ᐃ ᐃ ᐃ ᐃ ᐃ

Professor W. Leslau has later suggested a modification of this system using ᐃ for the fifth order and ᐃ for the sixth order (Leslau, W. 1953).

Following the publication of the *Fidälän maššasäl* by the LL group there was a hiatus of about thirteen years in the formal discussion of the question of script reform.

The reform question was formally taken up again in March 1961 when a new committee was set up by order of the Ministry of Pen under the chairmanship of Ato Abbebe Retta, a one-time member of the now defunct LL group. The express aim of this committee was to consider a reform proposal submitted by Zewde Gebremedhin. There was little that was new in his proposal. In its vocalization system it differed from Abbebe Retta's earlier proposal (LL-III) only in using a small sublineal vertical line on the right for the fourth order instead of his horizontal line on the left. Nevertheless, the committee held five lengthy meetings and used the occasion to examine in detail all reform proposals made until then (except for the Menelik script which they did not mention) and to agree finally on what they believed to be the best way to reform the Ethiopian script. Their final choice coincides with Abbebe Retta's LL-III except that the symbols for palatals were retained. The minutes of their meetings were published in the *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* (Anonymous, 1970) with a lengthy introduction and a summary of their final decision. According to the proponents, the benefits that would supposedly accrue to the nation with the acceptance of the proposed reform are of millennial dimensions (see below). However, no official action was ever taken to implement their proposals.

Of the later reform proposals we need comment perhaps only about those made by Addis Alemayehu, Tekle-Maryam Fantaye and Zeev Raz. Addis Alemayehu (1966) dropped the "superfluous" letters and those for the labialized sounds, substituting for the latter a combination of the symbol for the non-labialized sound and the appropriate order of "ᐃ". He also used a superscript dot to mark gemination though he did not apply this consistently. His initiative was commended in the daily papers but his example was never followed. Tekle-Maryam Fantaye proposed a system with discreet vowels. For consonants he used the first order symbols and for vowels the "ᐃ"-series without the cross bar. Zeev Raz (undated, *circa* 1964) proposed a cursive

system strangely similar to the Menelik script (see above) to which however he does not refer at all. He has not attempted to reduce the number of letters (except for making the palatal symbols uniformly derivative) or to regularize the vocalization. His proposals have not found acceptance anywhere.

Why reform the Amharic Script

Although expressed in different ways by different authors the criticism of the existing Amharic script can be reduced to five principal points.

1. *Overabundance of symbols.* The existence of about 270 symbols is said to be a major drawback because this makes the script difficult to learn and too cumbersome to use in machines such as the typewriter and telex. The fact that many of the symbols inherited from Ge'ez do not have a distinct phonetic value in Amharic is believed to add to the learning difficulty and to inflate the number of symbols unnecessarily.

2. *Irregular vocalization.* Although vocalization is indicated by the addition of fairly regular signs to the basic symbols there are nevertheless very many exceptions some of which are imposed by the shape of the basic symbol itself. This is believed to make the script more difficult to learn and more unwieldy for use in machines.

3. *The absence of a sign for gemination* is believed by some of the critics to lead to serious confusion for the reader.

4. *The double value of the sixth order.* The sign of the sixth order indicates both a vowelless consonant and a consonant with the high central vowel. Not many even notice this shortcoming but some of those who do believe that it creates serious difficulties in reading.

5. *The non-cursive nature of the script* has appeared to some to be an important defect because it leads to slow freehand writing in an age when speed is essential.

The would-be reformers have held that the removal of these deficiencies of the script will lead to untold benefits for the country. Some of the claims as to these benefits have been obviously overstated. As an example of the more ardent claims I quote at some length in my own translation from the report of the last Alphabet Reform Committee (Anonymous, 1970).

1. – The number of symbols in the present Amharic script is not less than 271. In the reformed script however there are only 27 consonants and 2 vowel symbols⁵ giving a total of only 29.
2. This means that a man who would need nine months to learn the older script would now need only one month – and would thus save eightfold or 89⁰/₁₀ of his time and use it for other purposes.
4. The time needed for composing plates at printing presses, for learning to type, and for manufacturing type would be cut by 89⁰/₁₀ and thus provide a shortcut for the objectives of work and education.
6. – It is obvious that the time needed for consulting dictionaries and telephone directories will be cut by 89⁰/₁₀ and thus lead to greater efficiency.
7. The time needed to teach students to read or to typewrite will be cut by 89⁰/₁₀ – and lead to a saving of 89⁰/₁₀ in teacher salaries (sic!)
9. In the political sphere – the Ethiopian script as the only script native to Africa will, if simplified and regularized, find acceptance in other African countries and thus promote the modern concept of Pan-Africanism.

The belief that once you reduce the number of symbols by 89⁰/₁₀, if that indeed is what the proposed system does, then everything from learning time to teacher salaries will benefit at a pro-rata saving of 89⁰/₁₀ is too naive to require any refutation here.

In sharp contrast to those who have seen script reform as a panacea to all ills there are those who have viewed reform as an insidious tool of the devil designed to rob Mother Ethiopia of her God-given gift. A noted old guard *literatus* with strong clerical affiliations has expressed his unqualified opposition to any reform thus:

“Each country has a symbol and an alphabet. Whenever a powerful enemy comes from outside and destroys the government and violates the boundary, the first sign of the victor is to destroy the symbol and the alphabet and thereby the language of the conquered nation”. (Asress Yeniesew, 1959, p. 63).

“Unless the system of the Ethiopic alphabet is preserved it will mean the destruction of the symbol of Ethiopian freedom” (Ibid p. 241).

5 It is misleading to say that there are only two vowel symbols (i.e. a small dash and a ring) because such a claim ignores the fact that each of these symbols is attached to different parts of the basic symbols to signify different vowels.

“God drew Enos into a vision as he did Moses and gave him the alphabet to clarify and magnify the law and the commandments as glasses for the eye of understanding” (Ibid p. 257).

The last quotation refers to the Ethiopian Church tradition based on pseudoepigraphic literature, that the alphabet first appeared displayed on the surface of the firmament in a revelation to Enos, son of Seth and grandson of Adam (Habte-Maryam, 1970, p. 17).

Script reform in Ethiopia as indeed in most other countries is thus not a merely technical question to be settled by experts but a question with broad social implications that sometimes fall beyond the pale of rational discourse (Berry 1958, 1977 and Fishman 1977)⁶. Not all the opposition to reform has however been of the crankish variety. Dr. Getatchew Haile has expressed his reasoned opposition to script reform on the ground mainly that available resources are better invested in developing better teaching methods for the existing script than in attempting to eliminate whatever minor deficiencies there might be (Getatchew Haile, 1966-7).

A Critique of Reform Efforts

How serious indeed are the deficiencies ascribed to the present Amharic script? The overabundance of symbols is presented in a misleading fashion by those who claim that there are about 270 symbols. Although this is true in the trivial sense that there are that many discreet symbols in the syllabary it ignores the very important fact that there is a high degree of regular patterning. The script consists of a limited number of basic symbols each with generally six rather regularly derived variants to indicate various consonant-vowel combinations. To get the true number of symbols therefore we should count the basic symbols and the various formatives. On this basis we have 26 basic symbols and 3 formatives for the first order, 3 formatives for the second, 4 for the third, 5 for the fourth, 4 for the fifth, 15 for the sixth, and 6 for the seventh, giving us a total number of 66 distinct symbols for the Amharic script. The number may vary a little depending on which formative you count as same and which as different. However you may count, the number cannot be considered excessive by any standards. In a syllabic script any number significantly less than this would either leave too many important features unsignified or make it necessary to attach several

⁶ The first version of this article was prepared for the Fishman volume cited here. Ethiopian circumstances of the time made it impossible for me to complete the manuscript on time. I am nevertheless grateful to professor Fishman for giving the initial impetus for this article.

phonetic values to certain symbols. It is doubtful in any case whether the number of symbols in itself constitutes a serious learning problem even if we accept the inflated figure of 270. Yuen Ren Chao has estimated that the optimum number of symbols for a script may be "probably about 200 monosyllabic symbols, such that a string of 'seven plus or minus two of them can be easily grasped in one span of attention'" (Chao, 1968). The claim that an overabundance of symbols in the Amharic script makes it especially difficult to learn seems to be without any firm basis. As to the claim that this renders it unsuitable for use in machines there is no better refutation than that both a serviceable typewriter and a reasonably satisfactory telex machine are now in existence and in use. In any case, where it is at all possible to adapt the machines to the script it is certainly less socially disruptive to do that than to try to adapt a long entrenched script to the machines.

The irregularity of the vocalization signs is no doubt an impediment to the learning of the script but the case must not be overstated. The number of signs is truly excessive only in the case of the sixth order vowels where there are fifteen different signs. All the other orders have signs that range between three and six signs each, some of which are only slightly different from each other. All things considered the irregularity in the vocalization of Amharic pales into insignificance when compared to the irregularities in the spelling of languages like English and French. This is not to say that some rationalization of the vocalization could not improve the Ethiopic script but to restore a sense of perspective to the often exaggerated portrayals of its mild shortcomings.

The absence of a sign for gemination is hardly ever a source of confusion for anyone who speaks the language. Where there are two possible readings for a word resulting from the absence of a sign of gemination then the context in which they occur nearly always disambiguates the issue. In real situations few and far between are the cases where even context fails to resolve the ambiguity. The addition of a special sign for gemination would therefore only create more practical problems that it would solve. For non-speakers of Amharic however, the addition of a gemination sign in primers and lexicons could be of some help at the initial stages of learning.

The fact that the sixth order stands for both a vowelless consonant and a consonant with the high central vowel (the *shewa na'* and *shewa nah* of Hebrew) is also of no practical concern to the speaker of Amharic because it results in no ambiguity that context cannot resolve. In Amharic as in Hebrew a number of rules govern most of the occurrences of the two forms limiting even further the possible areas of confusion. This is true of initial, final and geminate medial consonants.

Conclusion

Most efforts in script reform in Ethiopia seem to have tackled problems that were largely imaginary or were not compelling enough to justify the social cost of script reform. It is therefore not hard to understand why most of them failed. The two that did succeed, namely the introduction of vocalization signs in the pre-Amharic period and the introduction of derived symbols for the Amharic palatal sounds in the fourteenth century seem to have answered real and pressing needs. Furthermore they did not involve drastic reshaping of existing symbols. Sociological factors have played an important role in determining success and failures in Ethiopian script reform. The two successful reforms of the past were initiated and implemented by the church at a time when it had a monopolistic control of learning and the written word. Modern reform efforts have emanated from non-clerical sources and have at times assumed a posture of confrontation vis-à-vis the church establishment which, while no longer in a monopolistic position, nevertheless still exercises a decisive influence in such matters. With the establishment of the Amharic Language Academy under governmental authority a third important factor has come into play.

A conclusion that emerges from our investigation is that a radical script reform is *not* an imperative necessity for Amharic. A mere "streamlining" of the script could make it significantly easier to use if it could have behind it a legitimacy conferred by a broad consensus that includes the Language Academy, the Church, and the Ministry of Education. The streamlining would involve the rejection of the "superfluous" letters inherited from Geez, the regularization of some of the vocalization signs (primarily those of the sixth order vowel) and the restricted use of a gemination sign in Amharic primers for non-speakers of the language. The syllabic nature of the script should by all means be retained and the obsession with perfect regularity in vocalization should be tempered by practicality. A gemination sign has no place in normal writing for literate Amharic speakers as it would only serve to clutter up the page. A sign to distinguish between a quiescent and mobile *shewa* would definitely be superfluous in normal writing. To make the script more suitable for machines it would seem to be far less disruptive to tamper with the machines than to tamper with the script. Greater attention to machines could perhaps also lead to the development of a more economical typeface than the one now normally used. Imagine the cost in paper and printer's ink if everything in, say English, including newspapers and magazines were printed in boldface as Amharic now in effect is. The efforts at cursivization of the script have so far not yielded any viable system. This

problem is perhaps one that is best left to spontaneous developments in calligraphic style. These developments have already given rise to some cursive styles that are gaining greater acceptance.

The Ethiopian case provides one more illustration if such were needed, that script reform calls not only for a competent professional assessment of the technical aspects of the script but also for a careful weighing of these against the psychological and socio-political factors that have a bearing on the written word and all that it stands for.

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LES ORIGINES DE L'ÉCRITURE ÉTHIOPIENNE

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Si on excepte les peuples riverains de la Méditerranée, l'Éthiopie est le seul pays africain à avoir connu l'écriture depuis l'Antiquité, probablement depuis la seconde moitié du cinquième siècle avant J.C.

L'écriture éthiopienne fait partie de la vaste famille des écritures sud-sémitiques qui étaient jadis en usage en Arabie (thamoudéen, sudarabique, lihyanite etc.) toutes remplacées par un alphabet nordsémitique, l'arabe; la seule exception est l'écriture éthiopienne, qui a survécu jusqu'à nos jours.

L'alphabet éthiopien est originaire de l'Arabie du Sud. Vers le milieu du V^e siècle avant notre ère deux variétés d'alphabets étaient en usage en Arabie du Sud, une qu'on appelle «cursive», l'autre «monumentale». L'écriture cursive est la forme primitive et ordinaire. De nombreux graffites ont été trouvés en Arabie du Sud, mais peu ont été publiés jusqu'à maintenant, de sorte qu'il n'est pas encore possible de se faire une idée nette de l'évolution de l'écriture cursive en Arabie méridionale.

L'alphabet monumental est une écriture créée à partir du cursif, régularisée suivant des normes strictes pour la forme, la symétrie et la composition, soigneusement gravée par des artisans, utilisée comme monument et sur des monuments, et destinée à être exposée en public.

Ces deux écritures, cursive et monumentale, se rencontrent aussi en Éthiopie. La paléographie montre que l'écriture monumentale a dû être introduite en Éthiopie peu de temps après sa création en Arabie du Sud, durant la seconde moitié du V^e siècle avant notre ère, selon la chronologie la plus communément admise actuellement. Déjà en 1956 A. J. Drewes a constaté que nous avons affaire à deux groupes d'inscriptions. La langue du premier groupe est du sabéen, et les auteurs sont des Sabéens; par leurs inscriptions nous savons que certains étaient originaires de Marib, d'autres de Hadaqan au nord de Sana'a.

La langue du second groupe d'inscriptions présente un certain nombre de différences avec le sabéen, qui font pressentir des faits qu'on trouve plus tard en guèze. Il est clair que les auteurs n'étaient pas des Sabéens, mais sans doute des autochtones. Notons que les inscriptions des quatre rois «éthiopiens» connus sont toutes rédigées dans cette langue.

À côté de ces inscriptions monumentales nous trouvons aussi de nombreux textes en cursive. Les premières inscriptions sudarabiques découvertes en Éthiopie étaient en écriture monumentale. Au temps de Littmann on en connaissait une dizaine, presque toutes fragmentaires. Littmann releva aussi quelques graffites en cursive sudarabique. Depuis une trentaine d'années environ, d'autres inscriptions monumentales furent découvertes, mais aussi de nombreux textes en cursive. Au début on pensait que ces textes cursifs éthiopiens représentaient une espèce de monumental dégénéré et étaient à peu près tous postérieurs aux inscriptions monumentales. Cette opinion est à modifier. Certains de ces textes sont sans doute au moins aussi anciens que les premières inscriptions monumentales; et cette écriture cursive, qui se rencontre dans des graffites rupestres, sur de la poterie, sur des objets en bronze, ne dérive pas du monumental; entre autres indices, on constate que certaines lettres ont des formes archaïques qui n'existent pas dans le monumental et n'en peuvent pas dériver.

Quand et comment cet alphabet cursif a-t-il été introduit en Éthiopie, nous l'ignorons encore. Même s'il n'est pas à dériver de l'alphabet monumental, on pourrait supposer que les mêmes Sabéens qui amenèrent le monumental introduisirent également le cursif. Mais ce n'est pas certain. D'abord ces immigrants sabéens semblent bien avoir été en nombre réduit; et avec leur disparition l'écriture monumentale, elle, disparaît, tandis que l'écriture cursive se maintient. Ensuite, ces graffites sont concentrés dans l'Akkele-Guzay, en Erythrée orientale, en des endroits où, à l'exception de Matara, la présence des Sabéens n'est pas documentée, tandis que dans les régions plus à l'ouest où la présence de Sabéens est bien attestée, rien, ou presque rien, n'a encore été découvert. Enfin, ni la langue, ni l'onomastique de ces textes n'est spécifiquement sabéenne. L'explication nous échappe encore. Est-ce que cette écriture cursive fut introduite en Éthiopie par des immigrants venus de l'Arabie à une époque antérieure, ou est-elle le résultat de contacts des Éthiopiens avec la rive est de la Mer Rouge? En d'autres mots, s'agit-il d'une importation ou d'un emprunt? Pour l'alphabet monumental nous savons qu'il fut importé par des immigrants venus du royaume de Saba; nous savons maintenant que certains au-moins étaient des maçons ou des sculpteurs, et il est possible qu'ils étaient surtout au service du roi.

De toute façon, à partir du milieu du V^e siècle avant J.-C. ou peu après nous trouvons, à côté de l'écriture cursive, des exemples sporadiques d'inscriptions monumentales; celles-ci disparaissent quand disparaissent les Sabéens, après une centaine d'années au plus, mais l'écriture cursive continue. L'alphabet monumental n'avait apparemment que des emplois limités. Des quelques 50 ou 60 inscriptions monumentales connues, une quinzaine ont des Sabéens

comme auteurs; au moins 13 sont des inscriptions royales, et 7 autres s'y rattachent probablement. Les auteurs d'une dizaine d'autres sont des »Éthiopiens«; le reste est constitué par des fragments inclassables. Il semble bien que l'alphabet monumental était une espèce d'écriture de prestige, réservée pour certains usages et à certaines gens, et cet impact limité était sans doute une des causes pour sa rapide disparition, une fois que les Sabéens avaient disparu.

Durant la seconde moitié du II^e siècle de notre ère, l'écriture éthiopienne commence à émerger de l'écriture cursive. D.H. Müller en 1893, et E. Littmann en 1913¹, ont affirmé que l'écriture éthiopienne dérive de l'écriture monumentale sudarabique par une réforme intentionnelle. Il est vrai qu'à cette époque, peu d'exemples de textes cursifs étaient connus, et en plus Littmann était peut-être influencé par le fait que le roi Ezana, au IV^e siècle, a laissé quelques inscriptions doublées d'une version écrite en caractères sudarabiques, bien que la langue soit du guèze. Cependant en 1915 Grohmann² était arrivé à la conclusion que l'origine de l'écriture éthiopienne était à chercher dans une écriture cursive; mais d'une façon générale c'est l'opinion de Littmann qui prévalut.

À l'époque où Littmann situe la création de l'écriture éthiopienne, il y avait au moins 500 ans que l'alphabet monumental sudarabique avait disparu en Éthiopie. Le modèle qu'auraient choisi les Ethiopiens aurait donc été l'alphabet sudarabique contemporain. Mais il est difficile d'expliquer la forme de certaines lettres éthiopiennes à partir de ce modèle, tandis qu'on peut les rapprocher sans difficulté des formes cursives.

Depuis le milieu du II^e siècle de notre ère, quand les lettres commencent à évoluer dans le sens des formes éthiopiennes, jusque vers le milieu du IV^e siècle, où sont introduites les marques vocaliques, nous pouvons maintenant suivre l'évolution suffisamment pour établir une séquence. Avec l'introduction des marques vocaliques la forme définitive des lettres éthiopiennes est atteinte; par la suite ce qui va changer, c'est le style de l'écriture, non la forme des lettres.

Les voyelles n'ont pas été notées comme des lettres indépendantes. Le signe, qui auparavant valait une consonne, à prononcer avec la voyelle requise par le contexte, a été pris comme forme de base et notait une consonne suivie

1 D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Abessinien*, Denkschriften der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. Hist. Kl., Wien, 1894.

Deutsche Aksum-Expedition, vol. IV, E. Littmann, *Sabäische, Griechische und Altäthiopische Inschriften*, Berlin, 1913.

2 A. Grohmann, *Über den Ursprung und die Entwicklung der äthiopischen Schrift*, Archiv für Schriftkunde, I, 1915.

d'une voyelle *a*; les autres voyelles sont indiquées soit par une modification de la forme de la lettre, soit par l'adjonction d'une marque diacritique: l'alphabet consonantique est ainsi devenu un syllabaire, chaque signe notant une consonne suivie d'une voyelle ou de zéro. Évidemment ceci a amené une multiplication des formes; mais cette difficulté est quand-même considérablement réduite du fait que les changements sont systématiques, justement parce que la base du syllabaire est un alphabet consonnantique. En plus, l'écriture syllabique éthiopienne est capable de noter les sons de la langue avec une précision très grande.

Au moment où l'écriture éthiopienne est déjà constituée, il y a quelques exemples où une graphie monumentale sudarabique est employée pour écrire du guèze; mais cet usage semble restreint à la cour royale. Nous en connaissons quelques exemples pour Ezana, au IV^e siècle, et pour Kaleb et son fils W'ZB au VI^e.

Une inscription trouvée en Erythrée, dans le Qohayn, une région du Seraé oriental, reste mystérieuse. Elle est écrite en un alphabet sudarabique assez similaire à celui employé au IV^e siècle à la cour d'Aksum, ce qui est déjà surprenant. Plus surprenant est le fait que la langue est inconnue. Ce n'est ni du sudarabique, ni du guèze, ni en fait du sémitique.

Quelques mots sur l'ordre des lettres. Pour le nordsémitique il est connu; notre «alphabet» ou ABC en dérive. Pour le sudsémitique on ne connaissait que l'ordre éthiopien, qui est différent, et qui n'était pas attesté avant le Moyen-Age. Il y a une trentaine d'années, les fouilles à Beihan, au Yémen du Sud, ont révélé un alphabet sudarabique incomplet; d'autres exemples ont été découvert depuis, de sorte que l'ordre sudarabique est maintenant assez bien connu. Il est intéressant de noter que les quatre premières lettres sont les mêmes que dans l'ordre éthiopien, *h/ħ m*; mais la suite est différente. Il y a deux ans il fut découvert qu'un graffite trouvé à Dakhanomo, en Erythrée, publié en 1959, mais resté incompréhensible, représente un alphabet sudarabique presque complet, semblable à ceux trouvés en Arabie³. Quelques mois après il s'est avéré qu'un autre graffite de Dakhanomo, également publié en 1959 et resté incompréhensible, fournit, dans ses parties conservées, une partie de l'alphabet éthiopien. Dans la première ligne on lit la séquence *hlħmšrsqbt*; la seconde ligne est en grande partie détruite, mais il subsiste un groupe: *y*, puis une lettre maintenant disparue, ensuite *g* et *t*. Ceci correspondrait à la séquence *y [d] g t*. Même si dans les parties maintenant disparues il a pu y avoir

3 L. Ricci, *Iscrizioni rupestri dell'Eritrea*, Rassegna di Studi Etiopici, vol. XV, 1959; N° 7.

A. J. Drewes et R. Schneider, *L'alphabet sudarabique du Dakhanomo*, Raydān, III, 1980, p. 31 ss.

l'une ou l'autre divergence, ceci correspond à l'ordre des lettres de l'alphabet éthiopien, et prouve que cet ordre est ancien, remontant peut-être à la fin du III^e, début du IV^e siècle.

HISTORY

KING FĀSILIDAS, ABUNA MARQOS AND ABĒTO GALĀWDĒWOS

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The long reign of king Fāsiladas (1632-1667) is undoubtedly crucial for the Ethiopian history of the XVIIth and also the XVIIIth centuries. Yet, a monograph of this important period has not yet been written and, it would seem, for good reasons. First, the contemporary sources are limited. Apart from the indispensable—although often biased—reports of the Western Roman Catholic missionaries¹, we have at our disposal only the archives of the Dutch East India Company², al-Ḥaymī's *Sīrat al-Ḥabasha*³ and the few data provided by Ethiopian sources⁴. Secondly, and more important, these sources have not as yet been compared with each other.

In order to make a first step towards a critical study of Fāsiladas's time, it seems useful to draw attention to the stories of abuna Marqos and Abēto Galāwdēwos as told by al-Ḥaymī and by the Catholic missionaries, respectively. This small contribution to our knowledge of Ethiopian history after 1632 is offered to Professor Leslau as a token of the author's esteem for his achievements in the whole range of Ethiopian Studies.

Neither of the two sources mentioned above is objective. The attitude of the Catholic missionaries is well-known. In their eyes, Fāsiladas was the great enemy who had put an end to Roman Catholic influence in the country. They could not but interpret anything he did, or was said to have done, as being directed against the Roman Catholic faith and its missionaries. Their writings therefore have to be used with great care. This does not however mean that everything they say is a priori to be rejected. A number of details may be

¹ C. Beccari, *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales Inediti a Saeculo XI I ad XIX*. 15 vols., Rome 1903-1913. Photomechanical reimpr. Brussels 1969. In the following quoted as *Rerum*.

² E. van Donzel, *Foreign Relations of Ethiopia 1642-1700*. Leiden 1979.

³ F. E. Peiser (ed.), *Der Gesandtschaftsbericht des Hasan ben Ahmed El-Ḥaymī* (sic). Berlin 1894. In the following quoted as *Sīra*. A new translation by the present author is in preparation.

⁴ René Basset, *Études sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie* in *Journal Asiatique*, série 7 (1881), tome 17 (1881), 315-434, tome 18 (1881), 93-183, 285-389; Fr. Béguinot, *La Cronaca Abbreviata d'Abissinia*. Rome 1904; I. Guidi, *Le liste dei Metropolitani d'Abissinia*. Rome 1899; J. Perruchon, *Le règne de Fasiladas (Alam-Sagad), de 1632 à 1667*, in: *Revue Sémitique d'Épigraphie et d'Histoire Ancienne*, v (1897), 360-72; vi (1898), 84-92.

very correct, but it is hard to discover the truth in a context which reveals a mentality fiercely opposed to the king, and, for that matter, to the abuna and the Ethiopian orthodox church as a whole.

Al-Ḥaymī's case was different, but he could not be objective either. He left the Yemen with great expectations, intentionally caused by Fāsiladas himself, that the Ethiopian king was interested in Islam. The king's intentions were however of quite a different nature⁵. He did not want to become a Muslim, but wished to open a trading-route at Baylūl, the small port on the Red Sea ca. 50 km. north of Asab, which was free from Turkish control. In order to achieve this, he needed fire-arms which could be obtained from the Imām of Yemen. The latter however would only be interested in Ethiopian internal affairs if he was approached on a religious basis. And so Fāsiladas made him believe that he was interested in Islam⁶. This so-called "secret of the king" caused the Imām to send a mission to Ethiopia, headed by al-Ḥaymī. Before reaching Gondar, the Yemenite ambassador heard the stories about abuna Marqos and abēto Galāwdēwos and he saw in the king's behaviour towards them a sign "that the king would embrace Islam"⁷. Later he was to discover that "the thunderous cloud", i.e. the prospect of Fāsiladas becoming a Muslim, turned out to be "a rainless one", i.e. an empty promise⁸. It is quite understandable that al-Ḥaymī "lowered a curtain before the king and closed himself off from him"⁹. His disappointment was no less than that of the Western missionaries. The latter, notwithstanding their strong feelings against the king, could not complain about any deceit on his part, his attitude toward them having been very clear from 1632 onwards. Al-Ḥaymī, however, must have felt cheated. The king had used Islam, most sacred to him and the Imām, as a decoy, which was a severe blow to the faithful Yemenite *kādī*. No wonder that he remarks: "These Amharas are well-known for their determined cunning and for being sagacious in planning ways of strategems"¹⁰.

Yet one has the impression that al-Ḥaymī, in his *Sīra*, was less taken away by his disappointment than the Roman Catholic missionaries. He seems to have been able to write in a more detached way than the Westerners.

⁵ *Foreign Relations*, 9-12.

⁶ *Ibid.* 5-6.

⁷ *Sīra*, 61.

⁸ *Sīra*, 63.

⁹ *Sīra*, 44.

¹⁰ *Sīra*, 62.

Abuna Marqos

The story of abuna Marqos is told by al-Ḥaymī as follows¹¹. During his twelve years in office, the abuna had gathered great wealth and had become self-assured. He had also won the esteem of the nobles and was liked by the soldiers and the people. Consequently, Fāsiladas had become jealous and wanted to put him out of the way. An opportunity was found when Marqos assaulted a Muslim who was his personal servant, robbed him of his possessions and even “ripped away his coverings” i.e. seduced his wife. The Muslim, after some difficulty, brought his case before the king. Fāsiladas, who had been looking for such an occasion, summoned his ministers one by one and informed the *ēčāgē*. At a court meeting it was decided that accusations against the abuna could be brought forward by the inhabitants of Gondar at a public gathering. Many men and women stood up to testify against the abuna, and some of the king’s women declared in public that they had taken part with him in “debauchery” and, on Easter Sunday, in “shameful abominations”. These accusations were noted down by monks and, in order to be carried to the Patriarch in Alexandria, translated into Arabic by al-Sharīf Muḥammad ibn Mūsā from Bukhāra, an apostate from Islam who had served as al-Ḥaymī’s interpreter during his audiences with the king. The majority of the ministers and notables wanted the abuna to be killed, but the king imprisoned him “on an island in the Nile”. The Patriarch then appointed a new abuna. Al-Ḥaymī learned these details from a certain Khāṭirūs, the Arabic-speaking superior of a religious community, established on the “recreation grounds” outside Gondar where the Abuna used to go. Although a pupil of Marqos, Khāṭirūs censured the latter scathingly for his actions.

The Western authors have some more details about the abuna’s conduct. Bernardus Nogueira¹² writes: “The Abuna led groups of dancing girls, who are skilled in the performance of Herodias’s daughter and have no shame, and is even said to take delight in “vino, in Sodomae proelis expresso”. When this was divulged by those whom he used to violate petulantly, he became execrable to everybody, whereas before he had been respected by his people. According to Alphonso Mendez¹³, Christian and Muslim merchants from Ethiopia arriving at Mokha and a Greek from Istanbul who was a domestic of the abuna, related that the latter “because of his abnormal and

¹¹ *Sīra*, 57-9.

¹² *Rerum*, IX, 382. On Bernardus Nogueira, see *Rerum*, Index (vol. xv), s.v. Nogueira.

¹³ *Rerum*, IX, 428-30.

manifest infamous deeds" had been deposed and that another abuna had been asked for in Egypt. Marqos had been "playing his own zither together with the tambourine players and the dancing girls, regularly singing and playing with them promiscuously, and acting as a priest of Venus, not of God". Prince Galāwdēwos, comparing his behaviour with that of the Roman "praesules", had spoken out against him, thus provoking the abuna's and the king's wrath.

From Mendez's remark that the abuna's sense of shame was lulled after Galāwdēwos's fall, it would seem that the prince was banished—or killed—before the deposition of Marqos. On the other hand, it was Galāwdēwos who had sent for abuna Yohannes as the successor to abuna Marqos, while the king wanted abuna Mikael¹⁴. Since both Mendez and Torquato Parisiani (see below) state explicitly that Galāwdēwos was murdered in 1646, we must assume that the deposition of the abuna and the fall of the prince took place in this year.

Mendez then goes on: "Apart from the large group of common (*vulgarium*) women whom he used to entertain, the abuna extended his libido to married women and to catamites (*pueros cinaedulos et catamitos*), of whom he kept a very great (*ingentem*) number. Passing his entire day and the nights with them, he disregarded his office and did not deign to look at or to address word to the dignitaries and governors who came to his house, in order not to interrupt that depraved intercourse". The rumour of the abuna's dissolute life spread everywhere and the *ē'āgē*, calling about one hundred of his servant boys, forced them to tell him what they knew about their master and the women. The boys named "about three hundred married and as many unmarried women to whom they served as errand-boys (*nuntii*). Many of these women, when summoned, confessed his turpitude openly ... The same boys and other youngsters bore witness to the abuna's sodomy (*posticam procaciam*)". Marqos was then sent into exile on a mountain opposite to that where Sela Kristos had been banished¹⁵. Mendez does not mention abuna Yohannes, and names abuna Mikael as the successor to Marqos.

The deposition of Abuna Marqos is confirmed by other sources. *Khodja Murād* related in Batavia¹⁶ that abuna Marqos, the patron of Petrus Heyling of Lübeck, "fell into disgrace with the emperor, was attacked by the

14 Basset, *Études*, in *J.* 18 (1881), 288 and note 291; Guidi, *Liste*, 12; James Bruce, *Travels to discover the Source of the Nile, in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1772 and 1773*. 5 vols. Edinburgh 1790, ii, 346.

15 See *Rerum*, Index s.v. Sella Christos (p. 313a).

16 *Foreign Relations*, 99.

common people and put into prison". Consecrated by the Patriarch of Alexandria towards the middle of 1634, he had set out for Ethiopia before the end of the year, accompanied by Heyling¹⁷. He arrived in the fourth year of the reign of Fāsiladas¹⁸, i.e. between June 1635 and June 1636, and was deposed before al-Ḥaymī's arrival in Gondar on March 20, 1648. Thus the latter's information that the abuna had been in office for about twelve years is correct, Ludolf's date of 1651¹⁹ being wrong. The news of the deposition reached the Portuguese in Mokha in August 1649²⁰.

Abēto Galāwdēwos

Abēto Galāwdēwos, whose story is somehow linked to that of abuna Marqos, was the youngest son of king Susneyos and queen Wäld-Sehlā (Selṭān Mogasā), and the only full brother of Fāsiladas. Born ca. 1608²¹, he had been present at the solemn reception of Alphonso Mendez at the Ethiopian court²², had become a Roman Catholic and was friendly to the Jesuit fathers²³. His tendency towards the religion of the Westerners must not have been very strong for, after Ethiopia had returned to the orthodox faith, he took possession of Mendez's house in Depsan (near Anfrac)²⁴ and sentenced three Catholic priests to death²⁵. On the other hand, Mendez relates²⁶ that he and his mother, although "durissimi sanctae fidei Romanae insectatores", requested Fāsiladas to restore the Roman faith after the devastating invasion of Tigre by the Gallas in 1641.

According to al-Ḥaymī²⁷, Susneyos before his death recommended to

17 J. Ludolf, *Ad suam historiam Aethiopicam antehac editam Commentarius*. Frankfurt a.M. 1691, 554; Mich. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus in quatuor patriarchatus digestus; quo exhibentur ecclesiae patriarchae caeterique praesules totius Orientis*. 3 vols, Paris 1740, ii, 658; *Rerum*. Index s.v. Marqos, abuna.

18 Basset, *Études*, in JA 18 (1881), 287.

19 J. Ludolf, *Historia Aethiopica*, Frankfurt a.M. 1681, L. III, C. 7²⁵.

20 Lobo-Legrand, *Voyage = Voyage historique d'Abyssinie du R.P. Jerome Lobo, de la Compagnie de Jésus, Traduite (sic) du Portugais, continuée et augmentée de plusieurs Dissertations, Lettres et Mémoires*, par M. Le Grand, Paris-La Haye 1728, 153.

21 *Rerum*, XII, 70.

22 *Rerum*, VIII, 143.

23 *Rerum*, XII, 70.

24 *Rerum*, IX, 156; cp. *ibid.* Index s.v. Depsan.

25 *Rerum*, VII, 405.

26 *Rerum*, IX, 321.

27 *Sīra*, 61-3.

Fāsiladas not to confine Galāwdēwos to the *amba nagast*²⁸, but to keep him at the court as a minister. Fāsiladas complied with this rather unusual request and put his brother in charge of military affairs. The prince gradually became arrogant and independent, and it was reported to the king that he wanted to dethrone him. So Fāsiladas tried to lay hands on Galāwdēwos, but succeeded only after a long time. "At dead of night, a group of intrepid, brave and strong men" imprisoned him. At the pleading of their mother, the king spared his brother's life and banished him to "an island of the Nile". Nobody heard any more about him, and so people thought that the king had murdered his brother.

The reports of the Western authors, who give more details about Galāwdēwos's fate, suggest that the latter's rebellion was directly connected with the religious question which still hovered over the country.

In his *Relatio de statu Aethiopiae ann. 1647-1649*²⁹, the Jesuit Torquato Parisiani, who wrote in 1649, related that in 1646 (*trè anni sono*) Fāsiladas's youngest brother and other chiefs "moved by the zeal of public good and of Christianity", decided to depose the emperor, to put his brother (Galāwdēwos) on the throne and to recall the Roman Catholic priests. The king, informed by the abuna "heretico scismatico", summoned his brother "che subito, senza essamine di testimonii et atti giudiciarii, in presenza sua comandò alli suoi schiavi soffocarlo con una tovaglia, di che morì". Then, "per sviare ogni speranza alli Porthoghesi e maestri della fede romana d'entrare in Etiopia, et alli nativi in Etiopia di chiamarli", Fāsiladas decided that he and his whole empire would become Muslim. So one day he called a servant of his "di costumi depravati e di setta moro" and informed him in secret about his intention to ask the Imām for "un maestro di autorità e dotto nella setta di Maffamede" who should instruct his people in Islam. With slaves, eunuchs, gold and other matters of great value, the Muslim servant left Ethiopia in August 1647 without telling anyone why and where he was going. He was accompanied by an Ethiopian Christian with whom he quarelled whether presents should be given to the governor of Mokha. The Christian, who maintained that the presents were destined for the Imām only, was put into prison for three days by the Muslim ambassador and afterwards looked for an occasion to revenge himself. In Mokha the ambassador made it public that the Ethiopian king wished to become a Muslim and revealed the aim of his mission. In Ṣan'ā' he was received with great honour by Imām

28 Possibly Ambasal, for Gēṣēn had been destroyed by Grāñ in 1539, and Wāhñī was established by Fāsiladas only in 1647, see *Foreign Relations*, 193 n. 22, 224 n. 32.

29 *Rerum*, XIII, 333-45.

Ismā'il. Accompanied by the "maestro che domandava della setta di Maffamede", and with rich presents, he went back to Mokha. For fear of the Turks he left, not for Masawwa', but for "Asab" where he arrived in October 1647. From there the Christian went ahead and informed the monks and notables about the king's intentions. "The monks and through them the whole people" said to the king that he would not be recognized any more as sovereign if he persisted in his plans. The "maestro della setta di Maffamede" was received with great honour by the king but "the people, on the contrary, did not rest day and night to affront him in every possible way, setting fire twice to his house and all his books and trying to kill him, but they did not succeed since the "maestro" was very much on the alert". The king had the Ethiopian ambassador imprisoned for a couple of days, under the pretext that he had brought "quel maestro" without his order, and declared that he had not taken such a resolution (as to become a Muslim), that on the contrary he abhorred Islam. The situation calmed down and the king sent "il maestro" back to Arabia where he arrived in February 1649. Torquato then adds "In order that "il maestro" might understand that he (the king), notwithstanding this (departure), would not fail to embrace the sect of Muḥammad, he honoured him greatly when he left Ethiopia and presented him with much gold and many slaves"³⁰. The mother of the king "fece anco gran carezze al maestro donandogli fra l'altre cose un ricco vestimento".

The death of Galāwdēwos

Whereas al-Ḥaymī says that prince Galāwdēwos was banished and heard of no more, the sources collected by Beccari state that he was murdered. According to Torquato, he was suffocated with a napkin. Mendez relates³¹ that Fāsilidas had him beheaded (*obtruncavit*) or, according to others, suffocated (*fauces linteo elisit*). This information is based on a letter of Bernard Nogueira, dated 11 March 1647³². Mendez later adds that the story of the murder of Galāwdēwos, as told by "a plebeian but honest woman who had fled from Ethiopia" and by Bernard Nogueira, was "rather obscure and confused". He therefore asked Bernhard, his vicar-general in Ethiopia, to

³⁰ "Acciò che vedesse non mancar per esso d'abbracciar la setta di Maffamede, all'uscir di Etiopia gli fece molti honori et diede molto oro e molti schiavi". (*Rerum*, XIII, 340).

³¹ *Rerum*, VIII, 333.

³² *Rerum*, IX, 381.

relate Galāwdēwos's story and the way he died (*causam et modum*) shortly and clearly (*strictim et diserte*). Bernard then sent the following information³³.

Galāwdēwos was beloved by everybody, except the monks, who hated him because of a rumour according to which he was about to take over the reign from his brother Fāsiladas. The Portuguese would then come back, the Alexandrian creed buried and the Roman faith restored, like in the days of his father Susneyos. Galāwdēwos did not think much of the monks "often disclosing and expanding before many people their infamous deeds and execrable manners and those of the abuna". And so they excited the king against him. Nogueira had heard this from a certain "Ludovicus", an Agau who was a Catholic at the time, brother of a Johannes Anbessa who was a great friend of the emperor and also known to Mendez³⁴. Later, Ludovicus turned orthodox and told the emperor everything prince Galāwdēwos had said to him in secret. The king then summoned the prince to the court under the pretext of discussing a public matter (*publici negotii specie*). Suspecting no harm, Galāwdēwos arrived and was received by the king "with the blandishments of simulated love". He was invited to a separate room "so that, away from witnesses, we might talk there about the matter for which I have made you come". There the king had kept ready "some brawny and intrepid young men" (*iuvenes aliquot torosos et audaces*), who put the prince's hands and feet in irons and threw him into a tower. Within three days, all the children of Galāwdēwos were imprisoned. Then the prince was shown to the people of the royal camp, and the herald cried: "Look at Claudius (Galāwdēwos), the manifest conspirator of treason and enormous crimes against the legitimate faith of Alexandria and Our crown. For he tried to send envoys to Rome, India and Portugal in order to invite the Portuguese whose faith We have condemned and whom We have expelled from Our territory. Give your opinion about what must be done with him". The people cried that he should be put to death. The following night Galāwdēwos was beheaded and his head sent to Ganata Iyasus³⁵, to be buried in the tomb of his father Susneyos.

According to Bernard Nogueira, many people thought that Galāwdēwos was a true Roman Catholic. He relates that he had expelled from his house Adrianus Andradius and Petrus Oina, two Portuguese in his service, when they had turned orthodox. Another Portuguese, Emmanuel Nogueira from Gambela, a son of Damianus Nogueira, had been flogged and forbidden access to the prince's house after he had become orthodox.

³³ *Rerum*, IX, 373.

³⁴ Cp. *Rerum*, XIII, 101.

³⁵ See *Foreign Relations*, 193 n. 23.

After mentioning the names of Galāwdēwos's friends who suffered from the king's wrath, Bernard Nogueira relates the mission to "Imam Ismael, Felicis Arabiae regem, iura dantem in urbe Senaar (sic = Ṣan'ā)", as it is told by Torquato.

If we compare Torquato's *Relatio* with the information provided by the letters exchanged between Fāsiladas and the Imāms of Yemen before al-Ḥaymī's journey³⁶, and by the latter's *Sīra*, the following remarks can be made.

The first letter of Fāsiladas to the Imām dates from Shawwāl 1051/January 1642, and the first Ethiopian mission, led by al-Ḥādjdj Sālim b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, arrived at Shahāra in Ramaḍān 1052/1643. The king's decision to enter into contact with the Imām can therefore not be brought in direct connection with Galāwdēwos's rebellion which, as Torquato himself states, came to a head only in 1646. In his letter of 1642, Fāsiladas "requested a man from among the notables of the Imām to come to him"³⁷, not in order to become a Muslim but to enter into negotiations about opening a trading-route at the port of Baylūl. In 1057/1647 Sālim arrived again in the Yemen. The latter was indeed a Muslim³⁸, but there is no indication whatsoever that he was "di cosumi depravati" as Torquato has it. The Roman Catholic priest must have given the envoy this epithet for the simple reason that he was a Muslim. Sālim—if indeed he is meant by Torquato—cannot have left Ethiopia in August 1647, for, according to al-Ḥaymī, the second Ethiopian mission arrived at Shahāra in Muḥarram or Ṣafar 1057/February or March 1647³⁹. Besides, al-Ḥaymī, apparently the "maestro di auttorità et dotto nella setta di Maffamede", left Shahāra, in the company of Sālim, on 1st Djumāda al-ukhrā 1057/4 July 1647⁴⁰. Sālim thus must have left Ethiopia sometime in 1646. Since in 1642 the journey from Gondar to Shahāra took him eleven months⁴¹, it seems that we should correct "August 1647" to "August 1646" at the very least.

Lobo-Legrand⁴² confirms that al-Ḥādjdj Sālim was accompanied by a Christian and that the latter suffered a bad treatment at the hands of the

³⁶ To be published in my forthcoming translation of al-Ḥaymī's *Sīra*.

³⁷ *Sīra*, 3.

³⁸ *Sīra*, 2, 4.

³⁹ *Foreign Relations*, 5 and n. 19.

⁴⁰ *Sīra*, 10.

⁴¹ Ambrosiana ms. ar. 115, fol. 118^v = al-Djarmūzī, *al-Djawhara al-munīra fi djumal min 'uḥūn al-sīra*, containing the *Sīra* of Imām al-Mu'ayyad billāh Muḥammad b. al-Manṣūr billāh al-Kāsim (reigned 1029/1620 - 1054/1644).

⁴² *Voyage*, 148.

Muslims in Yemen. The same source also says that it was the Christian envoy who spread the word that Fāsiladas wished to islamicize Ethiopia. Al-Ḥaymī too refers to this in his *Sīra*⁴³. The rumour about Fāsiladas's pretended intentions of becoming a Muslim, which, according to Torquato, was started by Sālīm in Mokha, was in any case strengthened by the latter's remark to Imām al-Mutawakkil 'alā Allāh Ismā'īl b. al-Manṣūr billāh al-Kāsim (1054/1644 - 1079/ 1668): "I think that the king wants to embrace Islam"⁴⁴. Sālīm was indeed well received by the Imām, not in Ṣan'ā' however but in Shahāra. Al-Ḥaymī confirms that the mission left Mokha not for Masawwa' but for Baylūl, for fear of the Turks⁴⁵, but they arrived there on 17 Sha'bān 1057/17 September 1647.

The Yemenite author does not mention any quarrel between the king and his people about the royal intentions to become a Muslim. He knew the king's plans much better than the people did. The enmity of the Gondarese towards the mission from Yemen, which reflects perhaps the feelings of the people about the rumour, is however quite clear from al-Ḥaymī's account, and the two fire-incidents are fully related in his *Sīra*⁴⁶. On the other hand, if we believe al-Ḥaymī—and why should we not—it is not true that he left Ethiopia in the way described by Torquato. The king certainly did not show any interest in Islam and no present, whether for the Yemenite ambassador or for the Imām, is mentioned in the *Sīra*, let alone "much gold and many slaves". Nor does al-Ḥaymī refer to any contact with the queen-mother who, according to Lobo-Legrand⁴⁷, was a grand-daughter of a Muslim woman and had a great penchant for Islam. If this had taken place, he would certainly have talked about it, for a better case in point could hardly be imagined. Finally, al-Ḥaymī returned to Shahāra not in February but on 19 March 1649.

Conclusion

The story of abuna Marqos is clear enough. Although the accusation of sodomy is not found in al-Ḥaymī's *Sīra*, there seems little doubt that the abuna was deposed because of his dissolute conduct. Al-Ḥaymī's remark that Fāsiladas acted against him also out of jealousy can not be confirmed from

⁴³ *Sīra*, 35.

⁴⁴ *Sīra*, 6.

⁴⁵ *Sīra*, 11.

⁴⁶ *Sīra*, 51, 55.

⁴⁷ *Voyage*, 148.

other sources. The abuna's opposition to Galāwdēwos, who had criticized his conduct, apparently had not made him an ally of the king, who was opposed to his brother for quite different reasons.

The position of Galāwdēwos seems to have been more complex. His rebellion against the king probably originated in his strong position at the court. It was quite exceptional that such a close relative of the king and potential rebel was not banished to the *amba nagast*, and, on top of that, was put in charge of military affairs. Susneyos's recommendation can hardly have been the only reason for this quite uncommon royal behaviour, but the sources do not provide us with another one. In any case, his great influence on affairs may well have led Galāwdēwos to arrogance and independence, as al-Ḥaymī remarks. The prince's hatred of abuna Marqos and the monks may have been another incentive for him to consider the possibility of using the Portuguese and, by implication, the Roman Catholic faith to arrive at his political aims. If so, his calculations were ill-inspired for the court as a whole, the monks and the majority of the people, were too strongly opposed to the foreigners and their faith to go along with him in that scheme. Moreover, by acting in that way, he gave Fāsiladas every possible opportunity to make full use of the strong anti-Catholic feelings of the people in order to get rid of his brother, as he indeed did by exposing him in the royal camp. The question of how to deal with the invading Gallas may have been a third reason for serious discrepancy between the two brothers.

On the other hand, the Jesuit thesis according to which the rebellion of Galāwdēwos was directly connected with Fāsiladas's contacts with the Imāms of the Yemen—explained as a wish to become a Muslim—, must be rejected. Al-Ḥaymī's *Sīra* does not leave any doubt that the king's intentions were completely different from those which Torquato Parisiani, Mendez and Bernard Nogueira ascribe to him. The Western priests were led more by their feelings against the king and their dislike for Islam⁴⁸ than by a sincere endeavour to discover the truth behind the king's actions. The fact that they were no impartial historians but greatly disappointed missionaries is no excuse. It must however be remarked that Fāsiladas had caused an imbroglio, misleading even the Imām of the Yemen.

48 Cp. Torquato Parisiani: "questa mala razza (= Muslims) non manca in Etiopia", *Rerum*, XIII, 337.

FRANCE'S ABANDONMENT OF ETHIOPIA TO ITALY, 1928-1935

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In *La Décadence* (Paris, 1979), Jean-Baptiste Duroselle claims that during a conversation “*seul à seul*” with Mussolini from midnight to 1:00 AM on 7 January 1935, Pierre Laval agreed to French economic disinterest in Ethiopia but not to any Italian military adventure. According to Duroselle, Mussolini invented the “free hand” as part of the etiological charter for the restored Roman Empire¹. Yet, Duroselle’s rendering of the 1935-1936 crisis certainly reveals that “From France, the Emperor [Haile Sellasie I, r. 1930-1974] had little to hope for after the Laval-Mussolini accords of January 1935”, to use the words of Gontran de Juniac, the monarch’s recent biographer and Paris’s ambassador in Ethiopia from 1960-1965². One witness outside the door of the French Embassy’s White Room, where the mysterious *tête à tête* transpired, credits Laval with then conceding economic primacy to be followed by an Italian protectorate³. Pierre Laval’s biographer and private secretary for fifteen years, Alfred Mallet, emphasizes the premier’s often repeated assertion that he abandoned Ethiopia to Italy’s lire but not to its legions⁴. Laval himself claimed that he “urged Mussolini not to resort to force He committed the blunder of going to war. He started war against my will and my solemn protest”⁵. Nevertheless, if the premier advised peace, his behavior on 7 January 1935, led to the Italo-Ethiopian war⁶.

Laval’s abdication of Ethiopia stemmed from his deep concern for France’s security and not, as Vansittart would like us to believe, from perverse criminality and opportunism⁷. The Englishman was malicious to assert that “when Laval sold Abyssinia to Italy he must have known that he was thereby

1 Jean Baptiste Duroselle, *La Décadence* (Paris, 1979), pp. 132-33.

2 Gontran de Juniac, *Le Dernier Roi des Rois: l'Éthiopie de Haile Selassie* (Paris, 1979), p. 125.

3 Jean-Paul Garnier, “Autour d’un Accord”, *La Revue de Paris*, 68 (1961), p. 112.

4 Alfred Mallet, *Pierre Laval*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1954), I, p. 102-03.

5 Pierre Laval, *The Unpublished Diary of Pierre Laval*, (London, 1948), p. 34.

6 Most scholarly writers agree. For a characteristic treatment, see Charles O. Richardson, “The Rome Accords of January 1935 and the Coming of the Italian-Ethiopia War”, *The Historian*, Vol. 41 (Nov. 1978), pp. 41 ff.; cf. Paul Reynaud, *La France a sauvé l’Europe*, Vol. 1 (Paris, 1947), p. 157.

7 Lord Vansittart, *Lessons of My Life* (New York, 1943), pp. 37-39.

selling Austria to Germany", and inevitably pushing Mussolini and Hitler toward the Axis. The British bureaucrat underestimated the impact of London's subsequent policy as forcing an alignment of black and brown shirt and ignored Laval's reasonable view that a Franco-Italian military alliance, a major part of the 1935-agreement, was necessary "to defend Italy and France against a German invasion of Austria. This was of paramount importance; as long as Italy was France's ally we had a bridge leading to all those countries of western and eastern Europe which were then our allies"⁸. When viewed this way, and with the Nazi threat increasingly evident, France's national interest in 1935 demanded the sacrifice of Ethiopia, a possibility first raised in the Quai d'Orsay in 1928, even if some Frenchmen privately had considered the option earlier⁹.

Throughout the twenties, France's position of predominance in Ethiopia had eroded as Ras Tafari's (regent, 1916-28; king, 1928-30; and as Haile Sellassie I, emperor, 1930-74) internal policies greatly increased cash-cropping, and Ethiopia joined the world economy. The country's ruling classes became a profit-conscious oligarchy which demanded greater internal security and more efficient communications. Addis Ababa had been unable to acquire enough capital in London, Paris, and Rome to build a modern infrastructure and could not evade Europe's post-war arms embargo. In line with the developing economy and the growing need for arms, Tafari broadened Ethiopia's international relations, particularly in the direction of Japan and the United States¹⁰. Merchants in Addis Ababa also diversified international purchases in line with external developments and the availability of foreign exchange, and even the country's students were parcelled out to various European countries and the United States, as were government jobs¹¹. By 1928, France was losing its primacy in Ethiopian trade; Gallic culture was not so dominant; and fewer Frenchmen were being hired for expatriate positions in the central administration. Paris reacted by undertaking a

⁸ Laval, *Diary*, 34.

⁹ General Maurice Gamelin, *Servir*, Vol. 2 (Paris, 1946), p. 163.

¹⁰ Southard to SS, Addis Ababa, 2 June 1928, United States National Archives, Records of the Departments of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of Ethiopia (Abyssinia), 1910-29, Microcopy, roll 2; "L'Éthiopie et le Japon", *Correspondence d'Éthiopie*, 5 (21 July 1927), 2. Given superficial similarities between the two countries, Ethiopians were fascinated by Japan's economic success and progress. Blattengeta Herui, Ethiopia's long-time foreign minister, visited the country and wrote a glowing account of his experiences, *Mahdärä barhan bagärä Ĵapan* (*The Case of Light, the Country of Japan*) (Addis Ababa, 1924, Eth. Calendar).

¹¹ H. G. Marcus, "The Infrastructure of the Italo-Ethiopian Crisis: Haile Sellassie, the Solomonic Empire, and the World Economy, 1935-36", *Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Ethiopian Studies*, (Chicago, 1980).

reevaluation which uncovered attitudes that underlay subsequent French decisions about Ethiopia.

One might indeed characterize such thinking as the official mind of the Quai d'Orsay, although some scholars might rejoin that during the twenties and thirties, ministerial leadership changed so frequently that there could be no consistency of policy. They fail to appreciate, however, that the Quai's permanent staff developed and recommended policies to transient political appointees who gratefully adopted them. In the Ethiopian case, officialdom sustained a strikingly uniform set of ideas, which dominated thinking about Haile Sellassie's empire from at least 1928 through the *dénouement* of 1935-36. When Laval proffered Italy a "free hand" in Ethiopia, he was not acting in any opportunistic or extraordinary fashion, but fulfilling a policy evolved by permanent officials.

In January 1928, an internal Quai d'Orsay memorandum had investigated the possibility of trading France's interests in Ethiopia for Italy's rights in Tunisia. Its author commented rhetorically that: "It might be objected that in thus allowing Italy *a free hand* [my italics] ... we renounce ... our traditional policy which has always been to support Abyssinia against the avarice of the two other limitrophe powers, notably the Italians". In self-rebuttal, he explained that:

all the marks of sympathy which we have shown these last years toward Abyssinia, all the efforts we have expended in its favor ... have not received for us any gesture of recognition. To the contrary, it seems that at no time have our interests been more maltreated than at the present. Might we not therefore be justified in ceasing to compromise ourselves, without benefits, for this country, and, if we can obtain from Italy other areas of certain advantage ... benefit from the position we possess in Ethiopia from the international point of view ¹².

France's alienation grew stronger in early 1931, when depression-ridden Ethiopia sensibly raised import duties on luxury goods, on which a hefty 30% sales tax was also levied. Since most of the items were French-produced, Paris's plenipotentiary was irate. Hitherto a staunch proponent of France's putative role as Ethiopia's protector, M. Reffye dolefully reasoned that Haile Sellassie's policies would drive Rome and Paris together; he believed the emperor assumed Gallic amity "an axiom, and that, thanks to this sentiment, our country is obliged to always give, without getting anything in return";

¹² "Au sujet des relations Franco-Italiennes en Abyssinie", 12 Jan. 1928, Archives of the Quai d'Orsay, K-Série, Afrique, 1918-1940, Ethiopie, Affaires générales, 1928, vol. 19.

but he hoped that the monarch could be taught that Ethiopia is not "the center of the world, that it only plays a peripheral role in the relations between great powers and that it is above all France which up to now has been the principal safeguarder of its independence"¹³. Significantly, the 1928-memo, word-for-word, shows up again, this time masquerading as a "Note pour le ministre"¹⁴. The French were moving toward a new policy, and on 20 April 1931, the Quai d'Orsay cabled its ambassador in Rome seeking his advice on the Ethiopian question.

Count Beaumarchais responded that he did not believe that Haile Sellassie would be able, by himself and using only Ethiopia's resources, to develop the country to the point of civilization. He also considered that Italy's nationalistic energies would be dissipated more harmlessly in building an Ethiopian colony than by entering into the intrigues and uncertainties of European great-power politics. If Mussolini would not be satisfied with one-third of Ethiopia, as stipulated in the (Anglo-Franco-Italian) Tripartite Treaty of 1906¹⁵, then "we must hold out the bright prospect of an exceptionable situation in the whole Empire ... [and] we should disinterest ourselves in Ethiopia's future". Beaumarchais realized that abandonment of France's involvement, except for the profitable railway, would upset public opinion, but he reckoned that Rome's friendship "is worth a sacrifice and I would be disposed to think that it is in Ethiopia where the sacrifice would be the least costly as much for our self-respect as for our [European] interests". Tactically, he realized that Paris could not raise the matter, since a *volte-face* would be embarrassing politically; it was up to the Italians to "ask us to let them have a *free hand* in Abyssinia"¹⁶.

Meanwhile, the French legation fought a losing battle to preserve Paris's position in Haile Sellassie's Empire. Minister Reffye continued to grumble about the failure of French goods to retain their markets in Ethiopia; he was positively acid about Addis Ababa's arbitrary efforts to reduce the salaries of his compatriots to the levels of Russian emigrés; and he was indignant that an increasing number of positions fell to non-Frenchmen¹⁷. The diplomat

¹³ Reffye to Minister, Addis Ababa, 2 April 1931, d42, AQO, K-Afrique, Ethiopie, Relations et Conventions Commerciales, tarifs douaniers, Vol. 135.

¹⁴ Note pour le ministre, 10 March 1931, AQO, K-Afrique, Projet d'alliance entre la France et l'Ethiopie, Vol. 62.

¹⁵ H. G. Marcus, "A Preliminary History of the Tripartite Treaty of December 12, 1906", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, 2 (1964).

¹⁶ Beaumarchais to Briand, Rome, 25 April 1931, AQO, K-Afrique, Projet d'alliance entre la France et l'Ethiopie, Vol. 62. Italics mine.

¹⁷ Reffye to Minister, Addis Ababa, 8 Jan. 1932, d6, *ibid*.

nevertheless argued strongly that France's position ought to be maintained as a bargaining chip in any future negotiations with Italy, so that Paris would not "meet with a response from our neighbor that what we pretend to give them in exchange [for their rights in Tunisia] no longer has value". He foresaw negotiations because the Italians were implementing a hard line in Ethiopia, and he knew the Quai would not counter "to the point of compromising the peaceful relations between our two countries"¹⁸.

Haile Sellassie and his close associates, most of them French-educated or French-speaking, were made aware of Paris's alienation by the increasingly melancholic and aloof Minister Reffye. They gradually came to realize that French abandonment would leave the country open to Italian aggression, and they therefore sought to restore the *status quo ante* by negotiating a Franco-Ethiopian treaty of alliance, the provisions of which would resolve the nagging economic questions. The legation received the *démarche* positively, pleased that Haile Sellassie wanted to restore French primacy; but the Quai d'Orsay spurned the offer, instructing Reffye to explain that it had abandoned the idea of alliances in favor of arbitration and conciliation pacts under the auspices of the League of Nations¹⁹.

The minister was advised confidentially that France would undertake no action in Ethiopia which would disrupt "the equilibrium of our general policies and disturb England and Italy"; neither did it seek another entangling alliance; nor did it want to invest scarce resources in a country governed "so capriciously by a self-serving oligarchy"²⁰. When Reffye attempted to marshal a loan for Ethiopia to purchase weapons and to pursue Haile Sellassie's ambitious road-building scheme and to arrange a duty-free-zone in Jibuti, neither Paris nor the protectorate government were willing to cooperate. Finally, when the emperor desperately asked for a secret treaty guaranteeing Ethiopia's independence, the Quai d'Orsay flatly refused²¹. Thus, mid-1932 is the time when France really abandoned Ethiopia to the Italians, a fact which when sensed, sent Addis Ababa scrambling for support in London,

¹⁸ Reffye to Minister, Addis Ababa, 9 Nov., 1932, d222, AQO, K-Afrique, Correspondance Générale politique, Vol. 59.

¹⁹ Reffye to Minister, Addis Ababa, 9 March, 1932, c38-41; 16 March 1932, d65; 14 April 1932, c70; and Military attaché, "Étude sommaire du refus ou de l'acceptation des offres d'alliance faites par l'Ethiopie à la France, Addis Ababa, 5 April 1932, AQO, K-Afrique", *Projet d'alliance entre la France et l'Ethiopie*, Vol. 62.

²⁰ Tardieu to Reffye, Paris, 2 May 1932, c55-60, *ibid*.

²¹ Reffye to Minister, Addis Ababa, 13 May 1932, d111; Reffye to minister, 24 May 1932, c108-09; and Tardieu to Reffye, Paris, 26 May 1932, c76, *ibid*. Also AQO, K-Afrique, *France-Ethiopie, Projet d'alliance entre la France et l'Ethiopie* Vol. 63.

Washington, and Tokyo, and which stimulated Rome to undertake the forward policy which led to the Italo-Ethiopian War of 1935-36.

There were, of course, other reasons for the Italian shift. Since 1914, when Addis Ababa had massed troops on the Eritrean border, to exploit Italy's presumed entry into the war as one of the Central Powers, Rome had developed a paranoid fear of an Ethiopian attack on its colonies²². Consequently, when in 1931-32, the emperor moved into the Ogaden in force—to establish garrisons, to assert Addis Ababa's sovereignty, and to counter infiltration from Italian Somaliland—Rome's latent fears revived and authorities became hypersensitive about colonial security. Besides, Italian policy in Ethiopia was in disarray: the vaunted Dessie-Assab route, as previewed in the 1928 Italo-Ethiopian Treaty of Friendship and Arbitration²³, was real only on surveyors' maps; and instead of paramountcy in the Ethiopian economy, another object of the 1928-agreement, Italians were becoming less important and were even being excluded from participating in development projects. Since profits and primacy were lacking, the Italian plenipotentiary, Marquise Gaetano Paterno, sought new instructions in light of his warning that Haile Sellassie's policies were succeeding in creating a strong Ethiopian state.

However limited Ethiopian development was between 1928, when Tafari became king, and 1935, when the crisis intervened, it was impressive to Italians in Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somaliland, who knew and understood African problems. They watched the Solomonic state begin to establish a national highway system radiating from Addis Ababa, where the emperor was paving roads, building the city's first electoral plant, and improving tele-communications to the provinces and the world. They observed the promotion of modern fiscal and administrative practices in the central government by an increasing number of educated young returnees. The onlookers also beheld the arrival of European military and police officers who were to train a modern army and constabulary. And in 1931, they read with interest Ethiopia's liberal-bourgeois, Japanese-style constitution which established a two-house consultative legislature.

These strong assertions of centralized power were capped in 1931-32, by Addis Ababa's categorical assumption of power over hitherto semi-autonomous Gojjam and Jimma. In other provinces, Haile Sellassie degraded

22 For an excellent example, see Roberto Cimmaruta, *Ual Ual* (Milan, 1936), 48; Esmonde M. Robertson also makes this point in *Mussolini as Empire-BUILDER* (London, 1977), p. 28.

23 Giuseppe Vedovato, "Gli Accordi Italo-Etiopici dell'agosto 1928", *Rivista di Studi Politici Internazionali*, XXII (1955).

traditional authority by interjecting crown officials into the process of administration, nowhere more marked than in the frontier province of Tigre, where Ras Seyoum lost control over customs revenues. Finally, Addis Ababa began to establish government schools, post offices, and hospitals in the provinces, although often he used missionaries, even Italians, to finance and staff them²⁴. Thus, in Rome, on 21 January 1932, Paterno, the ministers of foreign affairs and colonies, and other high functionaries could warn Mussolini that:

The progressive strengthening of the [Ethiopian] Empire as a unitary state and the able foreign policy of the Emperor, which aims *inter alia* to establish economic relations with the Americans and the Japanese, not only dismisses the possibility by the shaping of an internal situation which would permit us to benefit ultimately from ... our policy in Ethiopia, but also represents the establishment of a threat, today only potential, tomorrow perhaps developed, towards our East African Colonies, territories which are considered by the Ethiopians as *terrae irridentae*.

The co-authors were also quick to point out that Ethiopia had abandoned its reliance upon France, a change which might make Paris more receptive to overtures from Rome²⁵.

In a subsequent memorandum, Paterno observed that only strong measures would stop the erosion of the Italian position. Such a course of action:

necessarily presupposes the preparation of an Italo-European diplomatic situation such as to permit us at the right time to create or provoke the *casus* which might allow us also to confront the Abyssinian question internationally A program, which presupposes a strong policy, while today an essentially political program, inevitably becomes in its execution an essentially military program²⁶.

The arch-imperialist Raffaele Guariglia, undersecretary in the foreign ministry, agreed, since he considered that all great nations needed colonies and that obtaining them was unfortunately bloody but necessary business²⁷. Developing his ideas, the undersecretary stressed that "Ethiopia was being civilized, armed, and united through the exceptional ability of the present

²⁴ Marcus, "Infrastructure", *passim*.

²⁵ *Relazione per sua eccellenza il Capo del Governo*, Rome, 12 Jan 1932, Archivio Storico of the Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Serie Affari Politici, 1931-35, busta 21.

²⁶ Paterno, *Schematico Riassunto della Situazione Etiopica*, 19 Aug. 1932, *ibid.*, busta 6.

²⁷ *Relazione Guariglia*, 19 Feb. 1932, *ibid.*, busta 13. After World War II, he wrote that, even in light of subsequent events, he would not change one comma of the memo, and, to his death, he remained an unrepentent imperialist. See R. Guariglia *Ricordi, 1922-1946* (Naples, 1950), p. 50.

emperor ... [Thus] for us he represents an increasingly grave obstacle and a threat to our colonies". He observed that even if colonial expansion were not a consideration, the menace of Haile Sellassie had to be eliminated. Realistically, however, he cautioned that the Ethiopian question could not be resolved without France's agreement; while London's acquiescence was important, an abortive 1925-agreement already had demonstrated Britain's willingness at least to concede economic primacy in return for guarantees concerning Nile sources and affluents in Ethiopia²⁸.

As for Paris, alienation from Ethiopia and the paramountcy of France's security in Europe already were working in Italy's favor. In July 1931, conversations in France between Foreign Ministers Dino Grandi and Pierre Laval convinced Guariglia that the Quai d'Orsay was leaning toward the idea of permitting Rome "a free hand" over most of Ethiopia, in return for Italy's special rights in Tunisia²⁹. Thus, the logic of the identical memoranda of 1928 and 1931 dominated the course of events in the Horn of Africa. Ironically, Ethiopia was largely responsible for helping to bring its own house down, although Haile Sellassie could never have foreseen that his efforts to modernize his nation and to broaden its international and economic relations would cause France drastically to alter its policy toward Addis Ababa.

In light of the proceeding analysis, it is reasonable to argue that between midnight and 1:00 AM on 7 January 1935, Pierre Laval implemented a new but cleverly calculated French policy in regard to Rome's aspirations in Ethiopia. In return for relatively unimportant Italian concessions in Tunisia and strategic cooperation in Europe—the real aim of Laval's machinations—the Frenchman sacrificed inconsequential interests in Ethiopia to the point of abandoning the Solomonic state to fascism. Subsequent protestations that he had merely conceded economic primacy to Italy boil down to sophistry; primary responsibility for Ethiopia's abandonment must be given to anonymous officials in the Quai d'Orsay, who, after 1928, considered France's diminishing interests in Ethiopia logically expendable, a hostage to European national and geo-political needs.

28 Relazione Guariglia sull'Etiopia, 27 Aug. 1932, ASEA, Serie Affari politici, busta 13. Concerning the 1925 Anglo-Italian Agreement, See Antoinette Ladgarola, "The Anglo-Italian Agreement of 1925: Mussolini's 'carte blanche' for War Against Ethiopia", *Northeast African Studies*, 1, 1, (1979).

29 Renzo de Felice, *Mussolini, il Duce, Gli Anni del Consenso*, (Turin, 1974), p. 397-98. Grandi to Mussolini; 25 July 1931, Archivio Centrale de stato, Rome, Grandi Papers, F3/SF2; Tyrrell to Henderson, Paris, 1 Aug. 1931, FO371/15255. I want to express my thanks to Peter C. Kent of the University of New Brunswick for having made these items available to me.

OBI: AN HEROIC GURAGE PRAISE CHANT

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This praise-chant, known as *wäyäg*, is typical of secular chants composed about chiefs, famous warriors, and other prominent tribesmen, whose heroic deeds have become legendary in the history of the tribe. *Wäyäg* compositions are intended to glorify the clan or tribe through its warrior-heroes, whose collective achievements have assured the group's independence, or enabled it to extend hegemony over other clans or tribes. This style of *wäyäg* is to evoke imagery of warriors ambling astride their favorite war-horses, galloping into battle, then attacking the enemy, and finally retreating and celebrating victory.

- Obi, gəbarahä sänäfwim!
le yäšäraem alläfwim;
eyasra yäḲwätäre alläfwim;
Ḳwätär täḲwänçaçe alläfwim;
5 Yabḱəl täDesänä alläfwim;
ahäm badäghwän žäng tänäfwim;
Zəme Čäha čanom alläfwim;
ahäm badäghwän žäng tänäfwim.
Həme Ənor wawəm alläfwim;
10 Ənor yaməst wärär gälläfwim!
Näne Gwäməyä kwänäm alläfwim;
Gwäməyä bira təfər gälläfwim!
Ğəma Kella wärəm alläfwim;
Kella bira təfər gälläfwim!
15 Obi, gəmbarahä sänäfwim!
häçe Mwähər wärəm alläfwim;
Mwähər bira təfər gälläfwim!
Obi, gəmbarahä sänäfwim!
oy, səma gänä!
20 səma səbat gänä:
Mätär bəDesanä,
ḱəra dəDəbanä,
bahä mwan ammwana?

- mwanäm säbat gänä!
 25 Čäha Mwägämänä;
 Ğögär Tärgus dänä.
 Gwəra, Danfwa mwanä;
 Amya, Gäma mwanä.
 Nəgwəs Naği mwanä;
 30 Ato Šəkur mwanä.
 Əšta mər yəbräma?
 bahuš angäbanä!
 Zärma bokyär kätä,
 ete nəgäbanä?
 35 kätam məzämäzäm,
 ete nəgäbanä?
 Säbo billatänä!
 yägaz billatänä!
 yarəb təbätänä!
 40 säfär tigäwe,
 yəsrat billatänä!
 bəgän yəzräkwī kar,
 zəkka yayo danä!
 Wəbra be təčänä?
 45 Žəp be təčänä?
 borba bagaz dänä!

Obi: An Heroic Gurage Praise Chant

Oh Obi¹, your face inspired fear!
 Thanks to you, they passed through² Šärar³;
 they passed through Kwätär⁴;
 they passed through Kwätär and Kwänčača⁵;
 5 they passed through Abkəl and Desänä⁶;

¹ Obi, the principal hero of this praise chant.

² The impersonal phrase “they passed through” refers to the soldiers under Obi’s command who, according to legend, are said to have pillaged village after village in war campaigns.

³ Šärär, the dominant political clan in Äža. Here the clan’s name is used to refer to the entire tribal district.

⁴⁻⁵ Two major clans of the Čäha tribe.

⁶ I am unable to identify these place names.

- they were saved by the bridge⁷ you built.
 Here in Čäha they also passed through;
 they were saved by the bridge you built.
 There in Ənor they also passed through;
 10 Ənor was whipped⁸ five times!
 Up there in Gwämära⁹ they also passed through;
 Gwämära was whipped with raw leather!
 They passed through Kella in Ğamma¹⁰;
 Kella was whipped with raw leather!
 15 Oh Obi, your face inspired fear!
 They passed through, way up there in Mwähər¹¹;
 Mwähər was whipped with raw leather!
 Oh Obi, your face inspired fear!
 Yes, listen oh country¹²!
 20 Listen all the seven countries:
 In Mätär, in Desänä¹³;
 up there in Däbanä;
 was there anyone not jealous of thee?
 The seven countries were jealous of thee!
 25 Čäha and Mwägämänä¹⁴;
 Ğəgär and Yärgusdan¹⁵.

- 7 The praising of Obi in lines 1-6 as a great military strategist is underscored in the phrase "saved by the bridge", *badäghwän*, lit. "by the passage which you cleared". This alludes to the fighting manoeuvre of deploying soldiers to form a phalanx to break through the enemy's defence, i.e., to build a bridge over which the army can pass.
- 8 "whipped" here means "subdued", not military defeat.
- 9 Gwämära, one of the politically autonomous clans of Čäha, has often been mistakenly listed by writers as a "tribe", perhaps because Gwämära forms a distinct dialect group of the Western Gurage languages. See W. Leslau, *Ethiopic Documents: Gurage* (1950), p. 11.
- 10 This line is perhaps a gross exaggeration of Obi's military exploits, implying that he led an army against the Kella, of the Ğamma Galla (Oromo) kingdom in southwestern Ethiopia. Kella is not identified as one of the clans of Ğamma in G. W. B. Huntingford, *The Galla of Ethiopia* (1955), E. Haberland, *Galla Süd-Athiopiens* (1963), or H. S. Lewis, *A Galla Monarchy* (1965).
- 11 Mwähər is the northernmost of the Western Gurage grouping.
- 12 Lines 19-20: the common oratorical form used when addressing one's self to a tribal body; thus "seven countries" (*səbat gänä*) here means the "seven houses of Gurage".
- 13 The place names in line 21 cannot be identified; Däbana (line 22) perhaps refers to a district in eastern Äža.
- 14 Mwägämänä: a politically dominant clan in Čäha.
- 15 Major lineages of the Mwägämänä clan. See W. Shack, *The Gurage: A People of the Ensete Culture* (1966); W. Shack and H-M. Marcos, *Gods and Heroes: Oral Traditions of the Gurage of Ethiopia* (1974).

- In Gwəra, Danfwa was envious¹⁶;
 in Aməya, Gäma was envious¹⁷.
 King Naḡi was envious¹⁸;
 30 Ato Šəkur was envious.
 What do women say?
 We do not want you to marry us!
 Men trembled in their wəkyär¹⁹,
 saying where shall we hide?
 35 They were trembling and trembling,
 saying where shall we hide?
 Oh was he knowledgeable!
 What a war tactician!
 What a wager of battle!
 40 And when in towns²⁰,
 what knowledge of law!
 and in tribal assemblies,
 what a wise judge!
 Who begot this brave?
 45 Who begot this lion?
 The brave *Agaz*²¹!

16 Gwəra: a maximal lineage district of the Mwägämänä.

17 Aməya: the same as n. 15, 16 above. Gäma is not identified.

18 Lines 29-30: Naḡi of Gwəra died in Eyand, a village near Yäbrite, during the Italian occupation of Ethiopia. His son, Zägra, a guerilla fighter noted for his bravery and heroics, led the raid which sacked the Italian Catholic mission in Əmdəbər. He was subsequently captured and executed. Ato Šəkur (line 30) perhaps refers to *Balambaras* Šəkur of Aməya.

19 Customarily, men of the village congregate nightly in small groups, meeting in each homestead in turn, for discussion of common concerns. These informal gatherings are called *wəkyär*. See Shack, 1966, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-4.

20 *säfar*, an Amharic loan word, is here translated as "towns". The specific meaning, "military camp", fails to convey the essence of the word's usage in this and the next line - 41.

21 *Agaz*: the highest military title a warrior could earn signified that the enemies killed numbered at least one hundred. When warfare was rife most Gurage chiefs had this honorific title bestowed upon them for conspicuous bravery. However, the *Agaz* referred to in this line is the father of the hero, Obi. On political status associated with military titles see Shack, 1966, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-7; Shack and Marcos, 1974.

LE MARIAGE ÉTHIOPIEN D'ARNAULD D'ABBADIE

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Préparant en 1955 la publication du «Journal de voyage» d'Antoine d'Abbadie¹ j'y découvrais la note suivante:

«La dot d'une dame veuve de rang wäyzäro qu'on proposa à mon frère dans le Gojam comprenait: terres patrimoniales donnant 50 tchan (40 hectolitres) de blé; 2. bestiaux; 3. une mule; 4. selle ornée de cuir rouge; 4. [sic] 3 ou 4 esclaves; 5. 10 filles et 5 à 6 domestiques mâles; 6. un eunuque; 7. parasol; 8. bourriques de charge; 9. alga et son cuir; 10. bagues et bracelets en argent et en corne; 11. mäntaves; 12. quelques wantcha; 13. corne pour le tädj; 14. qöl pour id.; 15. faucille; 16. 2 chemises, 3 kwaré, une paire de pantalons pour la mule, qu'on ne lave jamais; 17. vase travaillé en paille pour le beurre à oindre la tête tous les matins; 18. rasoir pour l'öms; 19. bournous blanc; 20. paire de souliers qui durent 6 à 7 ans; 20 [sic] peigne en argent à trois dents; 21. sait faire le chero, du vulnérable, guérit des malades, et fait engraisser n'importe quel homme en moins de deux mois»².

Je n'ai jusqu'ici retrouvé nulle part ailleurs d'allusion à ce projet de mariage et ignore s'il fut suivi d'effet; mais la pudeur de mise à l'époque fait que nous ne sommes guère informés sur la vie amoureuse d'Arnauld d'Abbadie en Éthiopie, pas plus d'ailleurs que sur celle de James Bruce avant lui par exemple. Or l'édition des papiers inédits d'Arnauld d'Abbadie à laquelle se consacre Madame Jeanne-Marie Allier³ lui a permis d'entrer en relations avec les descendants du voyageur français, dont elle reçut des informations intéressantes qu'elle a eu l'obligeance de me communiquer.

¹ Laquelle publication ne put avoir lieu, l'éditeur s'étant dérobé sans préavis.

² Cf. Fragments du *Journal de l'oyage* d'Antoine d'Abbadie, présentés et annotés par Joseph Tubiana, *Cahiers de l'Afrique et l'Asie*, V, 1959, p. 319. «Wäyzäro» signifie noble; ce terme s'appliquait aussi bien aux hommes qu'aux femmes à l'époque. Un «alga» est un lit; le «cuir» est une peau de bœuf tannée tenant lieu de matelas. Les «mäntaves» sont des tapis. Un «wantcha» est un gobelet de corne. Le «tädj», c'est l'hydromel, transporté dans des grandes cornes de bœuf ou de buffle. Une «qöl» est un récipient fait d'une gourde évidée. Le «kwaré» est une tige de coton blanche à bande rouge. «öms» désigne le sexe féminin. Le «chero» est une bouillie de farines mêlées de légumineuses diverses.

³ Arnauld d'Abbadie, *Douze ans de séjour dans la Haute-Éthiopie (Abyssinie)*. Réédition anastatique du t. I et première édition du t. II. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1980. Le t. III est actuellement en cours d'impression.

Selon la tradition familiale Arnauld d'Abbadie aurait contracté mariage en Éthiopie avec une femme de l'aristocratie du nom de Wälättä-Rufa'el, parente (peut-être une cousine) du dāgazmač G^wošu qui, on s'en souvient, régnait sur le Godjam à l'époque⁴. Était-ce cette veuve dont Antoine décrit quelque peu malicieusement la dot et les talents?

Toujours selon la tradition familiale, Arnauld aurait eu deux enfants de ce mariage éthiopien: un garçon et une fille. Cette dernière, Maïten de Kaizowane, aurait été emmenée par son père à Beyrouth, pour y être éduquée par des religieuses. Elle y mourut prématurément et y est enterrée. Pourquoi au Liban? Arnauld y avait, semble-t-il, des relations qui mériteraient d'être éclaircies⁵. Il y a, parmi les papiers déposés à la Bibliothèque Vaticane, quelques feuillets consacrés aux grandes familles du Liban, qui contiennent peut-être des informations intéressantes pour le spécialiste.

Quant au garçon, prénommé Mikaël (comme son père), il fut laissé à sa mère éthiopienne. Arnauld, ou Mikaël, comme il se faisait appeler en

4 «Pendant son long séjour là-bas il s'était marié avec une indigène, parente de Dedjatz Guocho et qui se nommait Welleta-Rafael.», Mémoires inédits de Madame Angèle de Lasteurie du Saillant, fille d'Arnauld.

5 Lorsqu'il rentre en France en compagnie de son frère Charles, fin 1848, Arnauld emmène avec lui sa fille. Il s'arrête à Beyrouth et y confie l'enfant aux Sœurs de Saint Vincent de Paul pour qu'elle soit élevée «en catholique et en française». La date de 1853, retenue par la tradition familiale pour la remise de la petite fille au couvent de Beyrouth, contredit cette information. Elle est vraisemblable, en ce sens qu'on voit mal le couvent recevoir un bébé d'un an ou deux à peine, tandis qu'en 1853 la petite fille doit avoir environ six ans. Mais alors on doit se demander ce qui s'est passé entre temps: depuis la sortie d'Éthiopie cinq ans s'étaient écoulés. L'année suivante, en décembre 1864, Arnauld épouse Elisabeth West Young.

Arnauld avait dû mettre sa future femme au courant, puisque leur fille Angèle écrit dans ses Mémoires inédits: «Ma mère serait aussi heureuse qu'une petite Maïten lui serait confiée un jour, mais elle ne l'a jamais connue. Très vite après leur mariage la jeune fille mourut et mes parents s'occupèrent ensemble de la tombe qui fut commandée et existe encore à Beyrouth. Deux de mes frères ont eu l'occasion de se la faire indiquer par une religieuse qui avait connue l'enfant Éthiopienne et l'inscription portait: Maïten de Kaizowane». (Faut-il supposer Kesrouan?) Pourquoi la jeune fille ne portait-elle pas le nom de son père? Toujours selon sa fille, à partir de 1855, après son second voyage en Éthiopie, Arnauld était plus attiré par l'Orient que par Paris: «il séjourna plusieurs fois au Caire ou à Beyrouth chez les frères Riskallah et Dominique Khadra. C'est là qu'il se lia avec un célèbre maronite, Joseph Kharam. Celui-ci était l'âme de la révolte qui eut lieu dans le Liban contre les Druses en 1860». La jeune Maïten mourut, dit la tradition familiale, à l'âge de dix-huit ans, peu après le second mariage de son père, alors que la nouvelle Madame Arnauld d'Abbadie avait l'intention de la faire venir en France pour s'occuper d'elle. Si son décès remonte à 1865 elle serait née vers 1847, et c'est ainsi que nous avons supputé qu'elle avait dû quitter l'Éthiopie à l'âge d'un ou deux ans au plus.

Éthiopie, ayant conçu de sérieux doutes sur la fidélité de sa femme, était convaincu que cet enfant n'était pas son fils et ne voulut jamais le reconnaître. Il ne s'en occupa pas⁶. La fille était l'aînée des deux.

La réalité de ce mariage éthiopien ne peut faire de doute. En effet, lorsqu'Arnauld voulut épouser la jeune américaine Elizabeth West Young, il prit soin de s'assurer de la nullité de son premier mariage⁷. Cela suffit à prouver l'importance juridique et religieuse qu'il attachait à ce mariage, dont on ignore dans quelles formes il fut contracté⁸.

6 La fille d'Arnauld écrit: «Il arriva qu'au retour d'une de ses campagnes certains confidents, ou malveillants ou avertis, lui révélèrent que le fils de Welleta-Rafael n'était pas le sien. Cette délation devait se terminer par une rupture. Welleta eut beau se défendre contre ce qu'elle jurait être une calomnie, mon père refusa d'accepter le petit Mikaël comme son fils. Il le laisserait à sa mère et emporterait au loin sa fille. Ayant juré avec solennité qu'elle n'était pas coupable, Welleta-Rafael mit toute sa maison en deuil et se fit raser ses cheveux, comme font seules les veuves suivant l'usage du pays».

7 C'est du moins ce qui a été dit à Madame Allier. Mais peut-être n'est-on pas allé jusqu'à Rome. En effet Angèle d'Abbadie a écrit: «Mon père avait lui-même pensé qu'un sérieux obstacle l'empêchait de faire une demande en mariage puisqu'il s'estimait marié. C'est le père Olivaint qui décida à ce sujet et lui enleva toute hésitation». Il s'agit du jésuite qui fut fusillé par la Commune.

8 Monsieur Salvatore Tedeschi, qui a bien voulu relire cet article me communique les observations suivantes: «Ce mariage devait être, sauf erreur, un mariage *mixta religio* et non pas *disparitas cultus*». En droit canon actuel, le mariage est assujéti à des «conditions», ou «obstacles», ou «empêchements». On distingue des conditions *dirimentes* («dirimantes») et des conditions *impedientes* («empêchantes»). Les premières sont plus graves. a) Les *dirimentes* sont celles qui enlèvent ou annulent à la racine toute volonté au mariage et le rendent *invalidus* (non valide, nul depuis le début). Parmi ces *dirimentes* il y a la *cultus disparitas* (différence de religion) c'est-à-dire le mariage entre une personne baptisée dans l'église catholique et une personne non baptisée. b) Les *impedientes* sont celles qui, tout en s'opposant en principe au mariage, ne le rendent pas *invalidus* si elles sont violées (le mariage est *illicitus*, mais pas nul); parmi ces conditions il y a la *mixta religio* c'est-à-dire le mariage entre une personne catholique et une personne appartenant à une secte hérétique ou schismatique (une personne non catholique mais chrétienne). On peut donc aisément obtenir (sous certaines conditions) une dispense de respecter une condition *impediens*; en l'absence de la dispense, le mariage n'est pas *invalidus* mais simplement *illicitus*; il peut donc être *sanatus* par la suite, c'est-à-dire régularisé; la *sanatio*, «régularisation», le rend parfait avec effet rétroactif *ab initio*, c'est-à-dire depuis le jour de la célébration. Quand le droit canon parle d'un mariage *illicitus* à cause de *mixta religio* il se réfère en principe à un mariage célébré par un prêtre catholique. Cette règle cependant souffre plusieurs exceptions; en particulier le droit canon reconnaît comme étant simplement *illicitus* le mariage *mixta religio* d'un catholique célébré dans certains pays d'Orient par un ministre d'un culte chrétien; le cas le plus fréquent et le plus connu est celui du mariage d'un catholique célébré en Orient par un prêtre orthodoxe (Grèce, Turquie, etc.) mais il y en a d'autres (il existe une jurisprudence ample, touffue et ... souvent variable). Ce mariage n'est donc pas *invalidus*.

Pour en venir à notre cas, j'ignore quelle était la jurisprudence vers le milieu du XIX^e

Retrouver la trace en Éthiopie de ce fils réel ou supposé d'Arnauld d'Abbadie apparaît comme quasiment impossible, compte-tenu de l'usage éthiopien de désigner une personne par son prénom suivi (parfois précédé) de celui de son père. À la troisième génération on ne sait plus qui est qui. Le nom du grand-père a disparu.

Je n'avais aucun espoir de découvrir de nouvelles informations sur ce garçon lorsque le hasard, plus d'un an après ces révélations, me favorisa. Mon savant ami Salvatore Tedeschi attirait mon attention sur l'ouvrage assez rare d'un voyageur français, le capitaine Alexandre Girard, qui voyagea au Tigré dans les années 1868-1869⁹, et me montrait à Rome l'exemplaire qui était entre ses mains, lorsque le feuilletant je tombais sur le récit d'un repas offert à Girard par le botaniste Schimper, qui s'était fixé en Éthiopie :

« Parmi les convives se trouvait un jeune homme de seize à dix-huit ans, dont le teint était presque blanc ; c'était le fils d'un Européen dont le nom est célèbre parmi les explorateurs de l'Abyssinie. Ce jeune homme, nommé Ouold-Mikael, avait de très bonnes manières ; il se ressentait de son origine ; il me semblait que j'allais l'entendre me parler français, tellement sa pensée se peignait lisiblement dans ses yeux. Pauvre jeune homme ! son père est rentré en Europe, et ne s'occupe plus de lui ».

Reprenons l'information : le père de ce jeune métis est un Français, d'excellente famille, explorateur de l'Éthiopie *célèbre en 1868*. Il a abandonné son fils lorsqu'il est reparti pour l'Europe, *avant 1868*. Le garçon se nomme Wäldä Mikael, ce qui est plus normal en Éthiopie que Mikael tout court, mais Mikael peut s'employer seul (cf. le fameux Ras Mikael du Tigré) ; l'expression guèze signifie « fils de Saint Michel » mais littéralement peut se comprendre, par jeu de mots, « fils de Michel ».

Est-ce le fils d'Arnauld d'Abbadie ? Cela est bien possible, mais son âge fait problème. En effet Arnauld-Mikael a quitté l'Éthiopie vers la fin de 1848 ; son fils devrait avoir une vingtaine d'années. Peut-être Girard n'a-t-il pas évalué correctement l'âge du jeune homme : plutôt 18 à 20 ans que 16 à 18 ? Il

siècle et nous ignorons dans quelles formes a été célébré le mariage éthiopien d'Arnauld. Dès lors surgit une question : Arnauld a-t-il vraiment fait valoir à Rome l'argument de la *mixta religio* (mariage d'un catholique avec une schismatique éthiopienne) ? N'est-il pas plus probable qu'il a demandé une véritable déclaration de nullité de son mariage éthiopien en invoquant la violation d'un des très nombreux (il y en a une quinzaine) empêchements connus par le droit canon ? ».

9 Capitaine Alexandre Girard, *Souvenirs d'un voyage en Abyssinie (1868-1869)*, Le Caire, Librairie Nouvelle Ebner, 1873. Cf. Fumagalli, n. 316. Le passage cité se trouve p. 235. La Bibliothèque de l'École des Langues Orientales, 4 rue de Lille, à Paris, possède un exemplaire de l'ouvrage.

est toujours très difficile d'évaluer l'âge de quelqu'un et en particulier des jeunes Éthiopiens qui paraissent souvent plus jeunes que leur âge.

Arnauld est revenu en Éthiopie vers 1850 ou 1851, la date est imprécise¹⁰. A-t-il franchi le Täkkäze? Sa fille Angèle dit que oui, mais Arnauld semble bien dire que non (cf. *carte* 15, f. 810-811): «Les miens — dit Arnauld — avaient exigé de moi au moment de mon départ de France une promesse de ne pas traverser volontairement le fleuve du Tacazzé». Est-il allé seulement jusqu'au bord du fleuve, sans le traverser? Il a pu de toute façon se rendre chez Schimper à Adoua à l'aller ou sur le chemin du retour. C'est la route. A-t-il revu sa femme au cours de ce voyage? celle-ci pouvait se trouver au Tigré, ou s'y être rendue spécialement.

Parlons un peu de Schimper. Le naturaliste allemand est entré en Éthiopie en 1837. Il y est mort, à Adoua, en octobre 1874. Il a eu largement le temps de connaître les frères d'Abbadie, arrivés peu de temps après; leurs relations ont pu se resserrer lorsque Schimper se convertit au catholicisme en 1843. Il épousa ensuite une Éthiopienne, catholique elle aussi¹¹. Son foyer était donc un foyer mixte. On lui attribue quinze enfants, métis, comme les enfants d'Arnauld. Après le départ de son mari, la femme d'Arnauld était-elle allée attendre son retour auprès des Schimper? Lorsque le refus d'Arnauld de reconnaître son fils lui fut signifié, n'a-t-elle pas préféré confier l'éducation du jeune métis aux Schimper, catholiques, chez qui il se trouvait moins isolé, que de s'en occuper elle-même?

Autant de questions qui risquent de rester à jamais sans réponse, mais qu'il faut bien se poser. Un autre aspect intéressant des choses, qui, lui, pourra sans doute être élucidé, c'est le rapport de Schimper avec les Saint-Simoniens. Il était venu en aide aux médecins français Petit et Quartin-Dillon, qui faisaient partie de la mission dirigée par Théophile Lefèbvre. Ce

¹⁰ Les Mémoires de Madame A. de Lasteyrie du Saillant situent ce retour en Éthiopie en l'année 1853. Arnauld a franchi le Täkkäze lorsqu'il apprend que G^{wo}osu vient de périr dans la bataille qu'il livrait à Gur Amba au futur Théodore. Ce combat eu lieu le 27 novembre 1852, sauf erreur.

¹¹ Au début du tome I^{er} des *Douze ans*, Arnauld parle de Schimper sans le nommer. Il y a six Européens à Adoua: un tailleur grec, un officier allemand, trois missionnaires protestants également allemands, entretenus par la Société biblique anglaise, et un naturaliste allemand, envoyé par une société scientifique de son pays (p. 6). Après l'ordre d'expulsion des missionnaires protestants, l'officier et le naturaliste sont également chassés. Cependant «à force d'instances, ce dernier obtint un sursis; il abjura ensuite le protestantisme, pour adopter la croyance eutychnienne, et il vit encore dans le pays, où il s'est marié.» (p. 19). Wilhelm Schimper, si l'on en croit Arnauld, serait donc passé par l'orthodoxie avant d'être converti au catholicisme par Mgr De Jacobis. Schimper et Arnauld avaient en commun d'avoir vécu en Algérie.

dernier était selon toute vraisemblance adepte des thèses saint-simoniennes et les frères d'Abbadie, ardents catholiques, ne le portaient pas dans leur cœur. Alexandre Girard aussi devait être dans la mouvance saint-simonienne ¹².

Toutes ces recherches de détail n'en constitueront pas moins des contributions utiles à l'histoire de l'exploration — et donc de la connaissance — de l'Éthiopie. Peut-être l'attention attirée sur le jeune Wäldä-Mikael permettra-t-elle de repérer des informations passées jusqu'ici inaperçues ¹³.

¹² Sur les Saints-Simoniens en Afrique du Nord on se reportera aux savants travaux de l'historien Marcel Emerit et, pour le sujet qui nous intéresse, à ses articles «Les explorations saint-simoniennes en Afrique Orientale et sur la route des Indes», (*Revue Africaine*, Alger, 1943, p. 93-116) et «Le premier projet d'établissement français sur la Côte des Somalis» (*Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer*, 1963, p. 179-196). La faible compilation de Richard Pankhurst: «The Saint Simonians and Ethiopia», *Proceedings of the IIIrd International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, t. I, Addis Ababa, 1969, p. 169-223, traite surtout des activités des voyageurs français Combes et Tamisier, dont elle résume longuement le récit de voyage. Madame Allier a découvert récemment qu'Arnauld avait des Saint-Simoniens dans ses relations. Algérie, Égypte, Levant, Éthiopie: autant de pays où Arnauld a vécu et où les Saint-Simoniens étaient actifs. Rappelons enfin que des lettres des frères d'Abbadie à des Saint-Simoniens se trouvent à la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal et signalons encore l'article de M. Emerit «Diplomates et explorateurs saint-simoniens», (*Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, 1975, p. 397-415).

¹³ Les Saint-Simoniens, qui cherchaient la *Mère* en Orient, s'intéressaient donc aux femmes. Et si on essaie de préciser le regard qu'Arnauld posait sur les femmes, il est constant que les portraits qu'il en fait sont aussi détaillés que ceux qu'il a faits des hommes, mais son attention ne néglige jamais leur beauté. Par exemple: «Les femmes [de Moussawa], strictement voilées, sont souvent d'une rare beauté et d'une très grande élégance de formes.», *Douze ans*, t. I, p. 9-10. «Mon hôte, qui parlait un peu l'arabe, me pria de visiter sa femme malade. (...) Je ne pus rien comprendre à la maladie de mon hôtesse; je vis seulement qu'elle était jeune et remarquablement jolie ...», *ibid.*, t. I, p. 30-31. «... sur ces hauts plateaux l'on trouve plus fréquemment les femmes du teint clair, mat, légèrement doré, se rapprochant, comme il a été dit, du teint européen.», *ibid.*, t. I, p. 97. «Les femmes des kouallas passent pour être les plus jolies, les plus attrayantes et savoir se draper avec le plus de coquetterie dans la toge; leur éclat est précoce, mais peu durable; leur accortise, la beauté de leur regard, la gracieuse souplesse de leur démarche, la perfection de leurs formes et la mobilité de leur caractère justifient, du reste, la jalousie proverbiale de leurs maris. Les femmes des deugas, plus grandes, plus fortes, sont moins avenantes, moins gracieuses, moins fécondes, dit-on, mais plus laborieuses, plus économes, moins fantasques et plus soumises; belles plutôt que jolies, elles passent pour exercer des séductions moins entraînant que les femmes des kouallas, mais elles conquièrent dans la famille une prépondérance plus durable.», *ibid.*, t. I, p. 99-100. «Ailleurs, apparaît à mule, une femme tout enveloppée de sa toge: on ne voit d'elle que ses grands et beaux yeux; des suivants à pied l'entourent et pressent la marche, tant ils craignent la rencontre de quelque cavalier trop curieux.», *ibid.*, t. I, p. 107-108.

On pourrait multiplier les citations de ce genre (toujours dans le t. I: p. 193-194; 204-205; 273; 325; 412-419; 422; 435; 527; 556; 588; etc. etc.).

On a peine à se refuser d'admettre qu'Arnauld avait du goût pour les femmes. C'est lui-

même qui note, en parlant de Bərru: «Il parlait religion, philosophie, guerre, poésie, chasse, médecine; d'amour fort peu.» (*ibid.*, I, p. 485).

C'est lui-même qui rapporte que lorsqu'il se présente au Ras Ali à Däbrä Tabor, celui-ci essaie de le retenir auprès de lui en lui disant: «Arrête-toi ici, vis avec moi; tu auras des chevaux, une femme, des pays à gouverner ...» (*ibid.*, t. I, p. 196). Même discours quelques années plus tard, tenu à Arnould par le Dägač Yasu: «Nous sommes moins beaux diseurs qu'en Godjam, mais tu trouveras parmi nous de fiers cavaliers capables d'amitié sincère, des hommes pleins de prud'homie, des femmes belles et de rians pays à gouverner.» (*id.*, t. III, inédit, ch. I).

Voilà ce qui pouvait séduire Arnould.

ANTHROPOLOGY

GAMBO'S STORY -- A MYTHICAL TRADITION FROM MALE (S-W ETHIOPIA)

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Members of the Frobenius Institute travelled to visit the Male in 1950/51. Short reports have already appeared by Ad. E. Jensen on the social life and religion, by Elisabeth Pauli on the material culture and economy and by Willy Schulz-Weidner on the physical anthropology¹. The results of Donald Donham's longer studies (he spent almost one year there in 1974/75) have unfortunately not been published yet.

The Male live on the southwestern edge of Ethiopia, where the cool, moist high plateaus finally plunge into the hot, dry savannas. Their general culture contains many elements that they share with other peoples to the west and northwest (Ari, Dime, Dizi etc.) which Ad. E. Jensen has designated "ancient peoples"². This applies particularly to material property, with political structures strongly influenced by the Ometo peoples living to the east (e.g. the Kamba). In 1951 religious beliefs were still characterized by older ideas and traditions, of which the myth presented here is a vivid example.

The Male grow their crops on terraces and small fields hacked out of the bush. Their main crops are sorghum bicolor (mä'y), Zea maize (gombutso) and Eleusine coracana (barči), and include the cabbage tree (*Moringa steneopetala*, halako), typical of southern Ethiopian terrace cultivation. The climate is too dry for most of the other plants endemic to Ethiopia. Animal husbandry (cattle, fat-tailed sheeps and goats) also plays an important role.

In 1950/51 I tried over a short period of weeks to record the main features of the Male language in an unpublished study. The Male language belongs to the Ometo family of languages, but is—like the languages of the Tšara, the Basketto group or the Oyda—far removed from Common Ometo, which is understood without difficulty by speakers from the Dauro people in the north to the Kamba in the south, and from the Dorze in the east to the Gofa in the west³. I cannot say with certainty whether the Marta, directly to the east of

¹ Ad. E. Jensen 1959, Elisabeth Pauli 1959, Willy Schulz-Weidner 1952.

² "Altvölker", cf. Haberland 1981, p. 123.

³ Cf. Moreno 1938.

the Male, speak the same language, or whether their language resembles that of the Kamba.

The text reproduced here was dictated and explained to me in January, 1951 by Digga Erika, a priest and wise man. (It was included in abridged form by Ad. E. Jensen in his Male report)⁴. I am giving it here in its original form because it is source material for a virtually unknown language⁵. It also provides interesting evidence that the religious beliefs of these "ancient peoples" also differ considerably from the common Ethiopian culture. Unfortunately, such examples of genuine "ancient" myths—Digga Erika dictated a series of others to us—were already rare in south Ethiopia by the beginning of the Fifties, surviving only in stories of the supernatural origins and fates of the first priest-kings and dynastic founders⁶. This narration is, however, also extremely important because it presents a piece of mythical "reality" from another context; and because of the immediacy of its language, with its direct speech, unadorned view of right and wrong, and depth of feeling, giving us a marvelous insight into the character of this people.

The story is centered around a force which is seen by southern Ethiopian farmers as a supernatural power: the life-giving rain, on which men, animals and plants depend for their very existence. Rain sacrifices are accordingly the most important of all ceremonies. The hero of the myth is Gambo, a charismatic personality. Terribly humiliated and wronged by the chief, who should have been maintaining order but instead perpetrates a grave injustice, Gambo leaves his home in Male which, through his supernatural power, he brings to the brink of destruction by preventing rain. Famines, loss of livestock and harvest failures resulting from drought were not infrequent events in Ethiopia, extending up to the great famine in Wollo, which was a contributory cause in the overthrow of the last emperor. Such disasters were often attributed to the moral incapacity of the rulers to maintain a proper balance in the world. Gambo also demonstrates his charisma by his gift of the miraculous increase of grain and water to his friend Šade, and by his power over the snakes, the embodiments of fertility, the phallic principle, rain and sperm. When his secret is penetrated and the Male—represented by the elders and wise men—beg his forgiveness, he returns to his ruined farm and saves his people—again in a miraculous way. Then he retreats into private life and lives out his days as a normal man. It would seem that

⁴ In Jensen 1959, pp. 300 et seq.

⁵ Some vocabulary of the Male language can be found in Trento 1941.

⁶ So for example in Jensen 1959, pp. 35, 169 et seq, 297 et seq, 317.

Gambo belonged to a family that had lived in the region before the advent of the usurping dynasty. Miraculous deeds, such as the increase of water, preventing or causing rain, creating new springs by striking the ground or rock with a stick (like Moses) figure frequently in southern Ethiopian tradition⁷. However, such acts almost always represent the revelation of the charisma of previously concealed miracle-workers, who are then generally acclaimed and become rulers and founders of dynasties. In this way, the myths serve to legitimate these rulers. Here, however, possession of charisma does not affect political power. These are ideas—also met with among neighbouring peoples—which do not link priesthood and power over nature and the elements with political rule. Here we see the dominance of moral and religious categories which are unknown to this exclusive degree in the structures of the secular state, late arrivals in southern Ethiopia.

Text and Translation

Gambo-ko	tārik-kē ⁸	Məna	kāti ⁹	gaḍe ¹⁰
Gambo's	story-is [this].	In old times	a chief	a ceremony
maḡäne.	Gaḍe	maḡao	iya-ko	wudurnay
he performed.	The ceremony	performing	him-with	girls
mizābi	lam'o	āni ¹¹	Lam'ontsi	kāti
beautiful	two	were.	These two	[for] the chief's
				tribute
maḍo	āni.	Iya	maḍo-ro	izata
labour	were.	He	work-for	them
				he employed.
Ēkazā		wola	hanti	maḍo
After	he employed [them]	together	going [to the]	work
worked.				they
				maḡäne.

⁷ Haberland 1975, pp. 30 et seq, Haberland 1983.

⁸ Here the Amharic word *tarik* has been taken over. Story is *baysi* in Male.

⁹ *Kāti* is the title given by the Ometo peoples to a chief, head of a people or king. Sago was the eighth *kāti* in a series of 17 chiefs which reaches up to the present day and begins with the mythical Maläka, who is supposed to have come from Bussa near Gidole and took the chieftainship from the Simari who had previously ruled in Male.

¹⁰ *Gaḍe* is a special sacrificial ceremony, about which nothing else was known.

¹¹ I.e. Gambo had two very beautiful daughters.

¹² Apparently they were helping erect a special fence around a holy place.

kudāne. Kudazā bay fätte Šāde-ko¹⁷ āni. Šāde-ko
 perished. While they perished cow one Šāde-from was. Šāde-of
 mara-fa bay dāndāne gūte. Dāndi watsi uški
 house-from the cow went in the morning. Going water having
 mukāne. Watso uški mukao,
 drunk it returned. Water having drunk [and] having come back,
 šeškāne. Šežo zagao: "Hanna bay aygo
 it urinated. The urine having seen [Šade said]: "This cow what
 uški šeḳay?" Hatsa lam'o workao
 having drunk it urinates?" Then two [days] having passed
 dāndāne. Dāndao watsi uškāne mukāne gāntsa.
 it went [again]. Having gone water it drank [and] it came back.
 Mukao gūte šeḳāne. "Hanna ba aygo
 Having come in the mourning it urinated. "This cow which
 watsi wo-fa deynḳi uški mukay?" Hizi gazā
 water where-from finding [and] drinking it came?" Thus saying
 gūte fuḳa uḱka tukāne.
 in the morning a bunch [of straw] [at] the tail [of the cow] he bound.
 Uḱka tukao gūte kēškāne. Dāndāne
 [At] the tail after he bound in the morning he started. He went
 dāndi gafao fuḳo kērao, fuḳo
 after he went a while the straws [the cow] after it let fall, the straws
 sa'a kērazā iza zagi, zagi, dāndi,
 on the ground after they fell he seeing, seeing, going,
 hantante hantante Banni gēlāne. Banni gēlanto
 he went [and] he went in Banna he entered. In Banna after he
 izi gāntso bay'alo kobəsao mukāne.
 entered he behind this cow which had made tracks he came.
 Watso-woro¹⁸ gēlāne. Bay uškante gēlāne.
 Water-river it entered. The cow while it drank he entered [in the

¹⁷ Šade was an old friend of Gambo's.

¹⁸ W'oro is the dry bed of a river, which becomes watso-("water") woro when it fills up in the rainy season. Even after the rainy season, pools remain in the river bed, forming important water-holes.

Ahari ba'a watsa āni. "Watso tāna-fero
 water too]. Then the cow in the water was. "Water myself-for
 uške, uške!" Miškao ahari kēškāne.
 I will drink, I will drink!" After being satisfied then he went out.
 Boko-da Gambo-ko wāra kumāne. Gambo-ko wāra biya
 Pasture-in Gambo's goats many were. Gambo's goats all
 sārkokē¹⁹, wāro zagao: "Hay Gambo
 ear-marks [they had], the goats after he saw: "These Gambo's
 wāro aygo musē?" Šauki dē'āne: Gambo
 goats what made them come [to here]?" A little he rested: Gambo
 mukāne! Mukazā Šāde: "Nēna ayge musay?"
 came ! After he came [he asked] Šāde: "You who had brought?"
 "Tšosi tāna musāne." Hizi gene. Äkki fē-mārē
 "God me brought [here]." Thus he said. Now to-the house
 dāndāne. Fē-māra dānda'a, āla ušāne,
 they went. To-the house after he went, beer he caused him to drink,
 dagatsia ušāne. Ziro fēškāne,
 mead^{19a} he caused him to drink. The next day he remained,
 hinto fēškāne, haytso iza workāne.
 the day after tomorrow he remained, three [days] he he stayed.
 Iza hatsi bälāmo naškāne yekao²⁰:
 He now [to] the friend [whom] he loved weeping [he said]:
 "Ta nātē kudāne ta aygo muzanday?" Hizi gene,
 "My children perish I what shall let them eat?" Thus he said,
 hizi gazao: mā'y kōbōna uçao ingāne:
 thus after he said: sorghum a handful scooping he gave:
 "ēki dāndao, tāna kēzife! Nē, kēzeto,
 "Taking [it] away, of myself don't tell! You, if you will tell,

19 The Male clip their animals' ears as marks of ownership and as signs of sacrifice (cf. Pauli 1959, ill. 45,2 et seq).

19a Mead is drunk only on very special occasions.

20 Gambo and Šade wept with emotion when they met and when they parted.

haykandane!"²¹ Hizi gene. Watso gusi nay
 you will die!" Thus he said. Water [in] a little gourd [for] the
 ingäne²², ingao: "Hanno watsälo čoro
 children he gave, after he gave [he said]: "This water cistern
 gädä wahe! Čoro äto-da wahe! Čoro
 in the middle pour! [In] the cistern hole-in pour! [In] the cistern
 wahao, mä'ontsi otō fūfō kolotsi-da
 after you poured, these sorghum [-grains] a pot big [and] wide-in
 wahe! Haytso workao otō karo buli zage!" Hizi
 pour! Three [days] waiting pot lid opening see!" Thus
 gene²³. Mä'əla kobono wuči kolotsi-da wahäne.
 he said. This sorghum a handful taking wide-in [pot] he poured.
 Haytso workäne. Haytso workazā: karo
 Three [days] he waited. Three [days] having waited: the lid
 buläne, karo bulazā: otō kumäne. Otō
 he opened, the lid after having opened: the pot full was. The pot
 kumazā watso gusi eki mukätsi
 after it was full water [from] the gourd [which] he had brought
 čoro wahäne: watsäla šauko guso
 [in] the cistern he poured: this water [this] little [from] the gourd
 wahazā watso čoro kumäne. Ahari watso
 after he poured [it] [this] water the cistern filled. Now water
 uškäne. Uški nanganti.²⁴ Mä'əlo katsi
 they drank. Having drunk they recovered. Sorghum cooked
 muäne. Ba'a watso uškäne. Izata atsi-ko mära
 they ate. The cows water drank. They [in] the men's house
 uški nanganti. Kāti mära äläne: "Šāde
 drinking they rested. [In] the chief's house they called: "Šāde

²¹ Curse.

²² The Male have cisterns in their farms of various sizes, often tidily lined and edged with stones (cf Jensen 1959, table 26,5).

²³ Šāde then returned home.

²⁴ "They recovered, they gained new strength".

mä'y muane! mä'y muane!" Izi kāti māra-fa
 sorghum eats! sorghum he eats!" Him chief's house-from
 älätsi atsi musäne. Mukäne. Mukazā:
 calling a man caused [him] to come. He came. After he came [the
 chief said]: "Šāde, nē mä'y muane!" "Ta kāti, mä'y
 chief said]: "Šāde, you sorghum eat!" "My chief, sorghum
 muwāsē!" "Nē mä'y muane!" "Ē'e kātiyo muwāse;
 I did not eat!" "You sorghum eat!" "No o chief I did not eat;
 mä'y ayga-fa deynki muanday?" Hizi gene.
 sorghum where-from finding should I eat?" Thus he said.
 "Čake!" "Ēy'e, ta muwāse kāti hayko!"²⁵ gene.
 "Swear!" "No, I did not eat [by] the chief's death!" he said.
 Hizi gazā bay šukäne. Aško iza
 Thus after he said a cow he [the chief] slaughtered. The meat him
 muzäne²⁶. Aško muzi gafao, kafäne²⁷:
 he made eat. The meat after having made [him] eat, he watched:
 "Manni²⁸ kafuwāte!" hizi gene. Hatsa rori gəntsa
 "Potters watch [him]!" thus he said. Now the day following
 lam'i muzäne. Šio arkāne.
 twice he made [him] eat. [The urge to] defecate seized [him].
 Šio arkazā kayzi-da aḍāne.
 After [the urge] to defecate had seized [him] bush-in he went.
 Aḍazā gəntso kafäne. Kafanti
 After he went again they watched [him]. During they watched [him]
 šī'äne. Šī'aza, šio kološo-do
 he defecated. After he defecated, the excrement a piece of a broken

25 The Male swore—like most Ethiopians—by the death of an important person: "May the chief die (if I do not speak the truth)!".

26 He gave him meat to eat in order to expedite the passing of sorghum. Sorghum on its own leads to sluggish bowel movements, but fat meat speeds up digestion.

27 The chief had Šade watched.

28 The potters in Male—as throughout Ethiopia—are members of a particular ("despised") caste. (The same was true of hunters, tanners and smiths.) They were under the special command of the kings and chiefs and provided their bodyguard, "police" and executioners.

ekäne, eki kāti-bārto mukäne²⁹.
 gourd-in they put, taking [it] the chief-in front of they came.
 Mukazā šio zagao: "Mä'y tuway? Nē
 After they came the excrement seeing: "Sorghum is [this] not? You
 muwatsi? Mä'y tuway?" Hizi gene.
 [what] did you eat? Sorghum is [this] not?" Thus he said.
 "Ta nē bodandane!" gene. "Nē mä'o eki bēzo-fa
 "I you will kill!" he said. "You sorghum taking place-from
 tam kēze! Kēza'a, tāni nē wodandane!" Hizi gene.
 me tell! If you don't tell, I you will kill!" Thus he said.
 "Ta wozigē kēzanday? Nē tāna wodandane, hangotsia
 "I what should I tell? You me will kill, the other one
 tāna wodandane! Tam ayge koškanday?"³⁰ "Ayga-fa
 me will kill! For me what I should do well?" "Where-from
 nē mä'y ekay?" hizi gene. "Ta gōda, Gambo
 you sorghum did take?" thus he said. "My lord, Gambo's
 māreka-fa ekäne." Hizi gene. "Gambo? Wokazay?"
 house-from I took." Thus he said. "Gambo? Where is he?"
 "Banka³¹ āni." "Dānduāte čīmi!"³² Dāndao
 "In Banka he is". "Go [you] old men! After you have gone
 samuāte³³ kayšuāte!" Hizi gene.
 [to Gambo] [the ground] kiss [and] plead with him!" Thus he said.
 Hizi gazao, čima dāndāne. Dāndao
 Thus after he said, the old men went. After they went
 kayšāne. Kayšazā iskäne³⁴.
 they pleaded [with him]. After they pleaded he refused [to hear them].

29 "they brought".

30 "What should I do for the best?"

31 This is a locality in Banna.

32 "Old men", i.e. old, experienced men were sent as intermediaries.

33 Surprisingly the Amharic word for kissing (*samā*) is used here. The Male word is *ulint*.

34 Or *itšāne*.

Iskazā may gəntsa mukäne, gəntsa mukazā
 After he refused now again they came, again after they came,
 may gəntsa dakäne. Gəntsa dakao
 now again he sent [them back]. Again having sent [them back]
 may kayšäne kayšäne. “Bakkali
 now they pleaded [and] pleaded. [Gambo asked:] “Is it true [that]
 kāti əntsi dakīya?” “Nuna kāti dakäne.” “Kāti ənti
 the chief you did send?” “Us the chief sent.” “Kāti you
 tšilo dakīya?” Nay tuko³⁵ faḳäne.
 truly did he send?” The son [of Gambo] coffee poured [in a gourd].
 “Faḳi gura yewuāte!”³⁶
 “During you pour for the [ringshaped] stand call [the snakes]!”
 Hizi gene. Kaiya-fe šošihatsi buki mukäne.
 Thus he said. Bush-from these snake[s] assembling they came.
 Hizi buki, guri māhi dēäne. Tuko-ando³⁷
 Thus assembling, a stand forming they sat. Coffee-gourd
 šarile izo-ko tuko faḳäne. Faḳazā šoyäle
 this new one him-of coffee he poured. After he poured the snakes
 guri māhi getsäne.
 a stand forming he put [the gourd in the middle of the stand].
 Getsazā toko ando-ko gula getsäne.
 After he put the head [of a snake] the gourd-of the handle he put.
 “Tšilo ənti mukiātato eki uškuāte!”³⁸ “Nū
 “[If] truly you came [as messengers] [then] taking drink!” “We

³⁵ Among the Male—as among other peoples in southwest Ethiopia—the liquor from infused, dried coffee leaves was an old ritual drink.

³⁶ Gambo, like many priests (cf. Haberland 1963, pp. 158, 163) in southern Ethiopia, had power over snakes and could call them:—“Here, boys”—and they would come. Here they form the ring, otherwise made from grass or strips of bark, in which the gourds and other round vessels were placed to stop them tipping over.

³⁷ *Anda* is a gourd halved lengthways, a popular drinking vessel (cf. Pauli 1959, ill. 17,1).

³⁸ After the snakes had formed the ring, one of them coiled itself round the stem and reared its head over the edge of the vessel. Gambo said: “If you are really genuine ambassadors, you must have the confidence to drink!” If they had been liars, the snakes would have bitten them.

ekandane" gazā tšilo gazā tuko-ande
 shall take" if [somebody] said [and if] the truth he said coffee-gourd

gədəfa toko šišāne. Šišao uškāne
 from the head [the snake] raised. After it raised [the messenger]

Uškao: "Hanno salowoytsi³⁹
 drank. After they drank [Gambo said]: "From today on the eighth day

ta mukandane. Mä'y tāna baykāto,
 I will come [to forgive]. [If] the sorghum through me spoils,

ba'a tāna kudāto, tāni hanno salowoytsi-da
 the cattle through me perishes, [then] I from today the eighth [day]-on

mukandane Ēnti asa buki gafao tāko
 I will come. You the people collecting have finished of me

ba'o gēli fətsuāte! Tamia dāndeana
 compound entering clean [it]! The fire [which as] I went away

gāra āni, tamo ätswāte!
 in the interior of the house was, [this] fire [newly] kindle!

Ta dāndanti lä'y lam'o mā'āne⁴⁰, tāni tamo
 I when I will come years two have been, [since] I fire

nāba gatsāne; ätswāte! Gāra
 [on] the hearth left; kindle [it again]! The interior of the house

tāko kaysi mā'ätsi." Hizi gene. Salowoytso
 of me wilderness it became." Thus he said. The eighth [day]

gafāne. Gafazā himābo gūte ami
 came. After it came on this date in the morning early⁴¹

čarānča žibare gumāne farānga-ko nēroflan.
 in the heaven wind made noise [like] Europeans-of aeroplane.

Čarānča gumao: bay, wāri, maray, asi
 [In] the heaven after it made noise: cows, goats, sheep, men

³⁹ This eighth day, i.e. after a week, is a "recent" element in Male culture.

⁴⁰ "It is two years since I left".

⁴¹ *Ami* is the night, *gūte ami* the very early morning.

After he had moved to Banna, there was a time of drought in Male, and the land was destroyed. Sorghum withered, the livestock died of thirst. The people sat and said: "What should we do?" Where Gambo lived, there was enough water, his animals multiplied, but the animals of the Male died of thirst. While they were dying of thirst, there was a cow of Šade (a friend of Gambo). One morning, it left Šade's house and went to Gambo's property. There it drank water, and came back. When it came back, it pissed. When he saw the piss, Šade said: "Where has the cow drunk water to be able to piss?" Two days later, the cow went away again, drank and came back. After it had returned, it pissed again. "Where has this cow found water?" Šade asked. The next morning he tied a bundle of straw to the cow's tail and tracked her by following the straws that fell. He went on and on until he came to Banna. He followed the cow's spoor. The cow came to a river bed where there was water and went in. While the cow was drinking, he went to the river bed too. "I want to drink too, I want to drink!" When he had slaked his thirst, he went further. In the meadow were Gambo's goats. They carried Gambo's ear-mark. When Šade saw the goats, he said: "Who brought Gambo's goats here?" He rested for a while, and then Gambo came. He asked Šade: "Who brought you here?" "God brought me here," said Šade. They went to Gambo's house, and Gambo gave him sorghum beer and mead to drink. Šade stayed there the next day and the next, he stayed for three nights. Then, weeping, he said to his beloved friend: "My children are dying, what can I give them to eat?" When he said this, Gambo gave him a handful of sorghum: "Take this with you, but do not tell anyone about it! If you tell anyone, you will die!" That is what Gambo said. He poured water for Šade's children into a gourd and said: "When you come home, pour this water into the middle of your well. Then put the sorghum grains into a large, broad pot. Wait for three days, then remove the lid from the pot and see what is there!" This is what Gambo said.

(Šade went back home.) He took the handful of sorghum grains and put them in a large pot. After he had waited for three days, he took off the lid. The pot was full of sorghum. When the pot was full, he poured the water that he had brought in the gourd into the middle of the well. The small quantity of water that he had brought with him in the gourd filled the well. Then they drank the water. After they had drunk, they recovered their strength. They boiled the sorghum and ate it. The cows drank. They sat in the men's lodge, drank and rested.

In the chief's house, the people said: "Šade is eating sorghum, Šade is eating sorghum!" They called him to the chief's house. When he had come, the chief said: "Šade, you are eating sorghum!" "My chief, I have not eaten

any sorghum!" "You are eating sorghum!" "No, no, my chief, I have not eaten any sorghum—where should I get sorghum?" "Swear!" said the chief. "No, I have not eaten any sorghum, by the chief's death!" he said. When he had said this, the chief had a cow slaughtered. He made him eat the meat. After he had made him eat, he had him watched: "Potters, watch him!" he said. On the next day again he made him eat meat twice. Šade was seized by the urge to defecate. He went into the wood, the potters followed and kept watch on him. He defecated. They gathered the stools in the pieces of a gourd and brought them to the chief. When he saw the stools, he said: "Is not this sorghum? What have you eaten, and what have you passed? I will kill you!" he said. "Tell me where you got the sorghum? If you do not tell me, I will kill you!" he said. (Šade thought:) "What am I to say? You want to kill me, and the other one will kill me! What should I do for the best?" "Where did you get the sorghum?" he asked. "Lord, I got the sorghum in Gambo's house," he said at last. "Gambo? Where is he?" "He is in Banka". (The chief then began to organise an attempt at a reconciliation with Gambo).

"Go, elders and wise men. When you come to Gambo, kiss the ground and beg him for forgiveness!" said the chief. When he had said this, the elders went to Gambo. They begged him, but he refused to listen to them. When he had refused, they came again, and again he sent them back. After he had sent them back, they came again and begged him repeatedly. (Finally Gambo said:) "Is it really true, that the chief sent you?" "The chief has really sent us." "Did the chief really send you?" "Yes, the chief really sent us!" Gambo's son poured coffee into half of a gourd. "While you are pouring, call the snakes to form a ring to set the gourd in!" he said. The snakes came from the bush and assembled, and formed a ring to set the gourd in. Then he poured the coffee into the new gourd. After he had poured it, he set the gourd in the ring formed by the snakes. He laid the head of a snake on the handle of the gourd. "If you have really come as ambassadors, then take the gourd and drink!" If anyone said: "I shall take the gourd", and spoke the truth, the snake raised its head, (looked at him and did nothing). After all the ambassadors had drunk, Gambo said: "In eight days from now I shall come to forgive. If the sorghum has withered on my account and the livestock have died of thirst on my account, then I shall come eight days from now. Gather the people, go to my farm and make it tidy. When I went away, there was fire in the house, light it again! It is two years since there was fire in my house, light it again. My house has become a wilderness in this time". That is what he said.

When he came on the eighth day, early in the morning there was a rushing noise of wind in the sky. Early in the morning, the wind made a noise in the sky like a European's aeroplane: cows, goats, sheep, people, they all made a noise in the sky and fell to the earth. They entered into the houses (and filled the wasted land). The land was saved. Cows dropped calves, the rain rained. After it had rained again, after all this had happened, the land was saved. That is Gambo's story. The word "tariki" ("story" in the Amharic language) we call "haysi". That is the end.

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SPIRIT POSSESSION IN ETHIOPIA: AN ESSAY IN INTERPRETATION¹

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An early paper by Wolf Leslau concerned the phenomenon of spirit possession in Ethiopia (Leslau 1949). The article was based on his own experiences among the Falasha near Gondar in 1947 and dealt primarily with the argot utilized by those possessed by *zar* spirits. In it Leslau recounted a "rationalistic explanation of the zar institution" which was given to him by an educated Ethiopian in Paris. That explanation attributed the phenomenon to the frustrations and restrictions upon women who, in reaction, "invented the existence of the zar" (1949: 205).

In view of the relative frequency with which women are possessed by spirits in Ethiopia and elsewhere it is not unreasonable that some variation of this "folk explanation", involving deprivation and low status, has come to be the preferred one in social science as well. I. M. Lewis has made it the central point in his writings on spirit possession in the Horn of Africa and elsewhere (1966; 1969; 1971), and it has even become "text book wisdom". For example, Cohen and Eames (1982: 248-250) cite a case from Trinidad, described by Mischel and Mischel (1958), which sounds strikingly like *zar* possession in Ethiopia. They use this case to illustrate I. M. Lewis's contention that such spirit possession represents "oblique social protest" by women and low status men.

In this paper I shall attempt to broaden the discussion to deal with a wider range of manifestations of spirit possession in Ethiopia. Although *zar* possession is surely the best known and reported form of spirit possession in Ethiopia, there are a good many other types, and the importance of possession goes well beyond protest by unhappy individuals.

Spirit possession is found throughout Ethiopia, among many, if not most, of its peoples. It was reported, during the 1960's and 1970's, among the: Amhara (Gondar, Menz), Qemant, Oromo (Shoa, Wellega, Arsi, Guji,

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Jimma, Borana of Isiolo [Dahl]), Sidamo, Konso, Kafa, Gurage, Somali, and others. Although belief in spirits and their ability to possess humans is ancient, there is good evidence indicating that, contrary to the expectations of evolutionist or "modernization" theory, it was spreading and becoming more significant throughout the twentieth century. Haberland (1963), Knutsson (1967), H. S. Lewis (1970a), Hallpike (1972), Hinnant (n.d.), Hamer (n.d.) all report an increase in frequency and importance in the areas they studied. (There is evidence that it is spreading also in the Sudan, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, and elsewhere—not to mention Brazil and other parts of the New World).

A number of explanations have been suggested to account for these manifestations of "ecstatic religion" in Ethiopia. Most of them cite deprivation of one sort or another as the basis of most kinds of possession. These are psycho-social explanations, which hold that socially induced deprivation, low status, or feelings of inadequacy or inferiority produce psychological reactions in individuals which become manifest in the odd, but socially acceptable, behaviors which accompany spirit possession. Aside from the psychological effects of this behavior, it is argued that there are rewards to be received from society, in terms of attention, improved treatment, the company of fellow sufferers ("group therapy"), perhaps enhanced status, or the opportunity to earn money and prestige as a *bala-zar*, or other practitioner of the spirit religion.

Most prominent of the explanations in the literature are those by Messing and I. M. Lewis, which point to situations in which women who are socially disenfranchised, or men of "downtrodden categories" (I. M. Lewis 1971: 32), or men with "frustrated status ambition" (Messing 1958: 1125) are possessed by spirits. Similarly, William Shack has argued that one form of Gurage spirit possession involves men suffering from anxiety related to hunger, due to the institutionalized deprivation of food (1971).

John Hamer (n.d.) accounts for one form of spirit possessing among the Sidamo by *group* deprivation, and he considers that type (which Knutsson and I would call the "*k'allu* institution") to be millenarian in nature. Hamer also reports individual possession, involving women and low status men, which he relates to individual deprivation. On the other hand, Jan Brøgger who also worked among the Sidamo disagrees, for he found that it occurred among well-off men with high prestige. He prefers a different psychological explanation, seeing spirit possession as an outlet for "aggressive impulses" which may not otherwise be released within Sidamo society (1975: 289). (Gamst suggests a similar functional explanation for possession among the Qemant. He calls it a "social and psychological mechanism for maintenance of

social cohesion and preservation of the group" through the release from frustrations and the redirection of hostilities [1969: 48]).

The other major attempt at explanation is also basically "functional", but more descriptive than "causal". I. M. Lewis considers that the types of possession which he calls "central possession cults" present systems of morality, especially in "highly atomized societies" (1971: 34). Having come to the fore as "mainline religions", they "become the mystical idiom in terms of which men of substance compete for positions of power and authority in society at large. (33)". Knutsson, whose study of the *k'allu* institution among the Mech'a Oromo Lewis uses, argues that this spirit possession complex offers the Mech'a social system a "final authority" to replace earlier ones which were lost.

Discussion and analysis of spirit possession, in short, has centered primarily around the problem of cause and of individual participation, due to deprivation of one sort or another. To a lesser extent writers have considered the classification, or typology, of spirit possession manifestations. (Cf. Todd, 1979-80; Torrey 1970). With few exceptions most discussions have been societally specific rather than comparative, and largely functionalist, seeking explanations in terms of "need"—either individual or societal.

In this paper I want to suggest some alternative perspectives which may offer complementary or different insights. I shall do this (a) by viewing spirit possession as a widespread areal phenomenon, and not from the vantage point of any single society or culture; (b) by stressing, *instead* of "function" and "need": ideas, belief, imagination, invention, imitation, action, and ambition.

Spirit possession rests on an idea and a belief, the idea and the belief that there are incorporeal beings in the universe which are capable of, and interested in, seizing the bodies of human beings and using them for their own purposes. The spirits can do make themselves manifest to humans in various ways, and interact with them. Because they are "super-natural" and invisible they are, however, mysterious and not really knowable, and thus the idea can be elaborated in an extraordinary number of ways. The idea is susceptible to many interpretations, elaborations, and uses, and it, and all that pertains to the spirits can spread from one group to another.

In the beginning was the idea. It may be quite true that possession by the spirits can serve the needs of a victimized wife, or an individual "of uncertain gender", or an ambitious man or woman trying to improve his or her economic or political situation, but it is not justifiable to seize upon these as "the cause" of the institution. The idea must pre-exist. And in this case the idea of the spirits, and of their powers and their concern with humankind is clearly one which has the ability to inspire concern and perhaps hope or dread

in humans, and leads them to spend considerable energy and ingenuity in their attempts to deal with them. (This is recognized by the Mischels, who wrote [1958: 258], "Even though our approach has been to infer reinforcements [for spirit possession] on a rational and primarily external basis, it is important to keep in mind that for the participants, 'possession by the god [is] the supreme religious experience' [Herskovits 1941: 215]").

In twentieth century Ethiopia the idea of spirit possession was clearly a *productive* idea (in the linguists' sense, as a "productive derivation")—one capable of remarkable spread and elaboration, of many uses and variations.

"*Types*" of possession. It is not possible to isolate just a few types of spirit possession, even in Ethiopia, so subtle and many are the variations and combinations. I want to suggest a few *variations*, but not a "typology", in order to give some sense of the range of possibilities, as these are revealed in the literature and in my fieldwork.

(a) Possession of an individual man or woman by an evil or troublesome spirit, perhaps called some variant of *setana* (shaytan, zitana, shetana, [Shetani among the Segeju of Tanzania (Gray 1969)] or *jinn*, seems to be encountered almost everywhere. The spirits are usually considered evil and must be exorcised, anathematized (Morton 1976, Messing 1958, Hinnant n.d.), for they cannot be otherwise controlled, and they cause disruption, physical and mental illness, and misery. They are uncontrollable and unpredictable.

(b) In *zar* possession, in theory, an individual is possessed by a spirit which cannot or should not or need not be exorcized but may be and must be appeased, bribed, perhaps reasoned with, to give temporary respite. Spirits like the *zar* may return regularly, at possession ceremonies, perhaps annually, and extract promises and material rewards from their human "horses". The spirit is not usually considered to be evil, but may not be too good, either. In some cases of *zar* possession the spirit behaves badly; in others, the spirit may be protesting wrong behavior on the part of the human "horse" or some other member of the immediate community.

(In a further complication, sometimes an individual may show symptoms of possession which are not, in fact, due to actual possession by *set'ana* or *zar*, but to punishment, being "caught", for wrong behavior, by a spirit. That is, there is no actual possession [Morton 1975: 75]).

(c) Apparently this form of spirit can sometimes pass to the status of a guardian spirit, a *wuk'abi*, as some groups call it. (Morton, Messing, Reminick). Such a guardian spirit may protect an individual, or a family,

lineage, a community. (Cf. Reminick on Menz Amhara *adbar*). In some Oromo areas there are *ayan-abba*, "the spirit of the father", who act as guardian spirits of lineage groups. Orent (1969) reports a similar phenomenon in Kafa. There are many variations here, too, in how these spirits are envisioned, how they are inherited, and what they do, and often these shade into "seer" or *k'allu*-like phenomenon.

In these cases we have moved from evil, troublesome, capricious spirits in the first "types" to ones which, though fierce when aroused, are basically good, helpful to humans, and concerned with morality and right conduct.

(d) "Seer", or *k'allu* type. (Torrey 1970, cf.). In this kind of possession basically good spirits (*ayana* among the Oromo) periodically possess particular men and women, not just anyone, as is the case with *set'ana* and *zar*, and aid the *k'allu* or *k'alliti* or *bale wuqabi* (Morton) to act as a medium, to help other human beings. People in trouble come to the seer at a time when she or he is possessed by a spirit in order to seek information and diagnosis of their ills; to speak to the spirits directly and beg forgiveness for the evil deeds for which they are being punished; to plead for help in all manner of affairs: court cases, conflicts with more powerful opponents (including landowners), the recovery of lost or stolen livestock, the birth of children, illness.

These spirits are basically good and are concerned with right conduct (as I. M. Lewis has suggested). They may be helpers of the oppressed and the unfortunate, avengers of wrongs, and guardians of morality. They may be "seen as operating as agents for men vis-à-vis (God)" ... (Morton 1975: 76), while the *k'allu*, *k'alliti* is the intermediary who makes direct contact with the spirits possible.

"Seer" or *k'allu* institutions depend upon the presence of a medium who is possessed by one or more spirits from this category of beings. These mediums, once they develop a reputation, have the means to gain some wealth and prominence. Thus there are men and women offering their services to those in need, usually for a fee throughout the countryside and towns of Ethiopia. Some have gained considerable fame and power through their impressive and apparently successful "mediation".

There are some, in addition, who have become the center of major, multifunctional institutions, such as those described by Knutsson, Morton, and myself, among Shoan Oromo. Hinnant and the Hamers have reported something similar among the Guji (currently) and the Sidamo (some years ago), and an analogous institution exists among the Kafa, with the cult of *ek'o* and Doche (Orent). The "mystical sanctions" (Morton 1975) which have developed from the belief in and attendance upon the *ayana* have become

significant in conflict resolution, political leadership, and community organization. In some cases the *ayana* have become the basis of much individual and group religious belief and practice, serving everyone and not merely the "down-trodden". We have in these cases the development, the "invention", within several generations apparently, of a whole new series of institutions and ideas based on the concept of spirit possession—a far cry from the *set'ana* possession we began with. (We shall discuss this further below).

(e) Group possession. Among the Gurage and the Mech'a Oromo it is women, and among the Sidamo, young men, who are seized by spirits and made to run in packs throughout the countryside, behaving in an aggressive and hostile manner towards those who get in their way or deride them. The possession is contagious, and spreads as the affected people leave their homes and responsibilities and roam the countryside under the leadership of individuals, often transvestite men who can calm and control them when necessary. The *moata* (Mech'a) or *mweyet* (Gurage) represent yet another manifestation of the presence and power of the spirits. Although more restricted in its distribution than the other forms, it, too, is capable of spread—or of contraction.

Having presented these 5 varieties of possession I realize that those who know spirit possession in Ethiopia might object at any point to the specifics of these descriptions. And that is part of my point. There can be no "right" classification because we are dealing with phenomena which are truly protean, exceedingly variable, capable of all manner of elaboration and recombination².

At any particular time a group of people may believe in and be involved with more than one of these forms of spirits. For example, the Mech'a Oromo, as Knutsson has pointed out, can be said to be involved with all of the above, except for *zar* (1975). Knutsson also suggests that possession by Atete is another distinct form, while Baxter claims that, for the Arsi Oromo, Atete isn't a spirit at all, but the name of a particular type of ceremonial engaged in by women (Baxter 1979). My own material from Mech'a agrees with Knutsson, but Baxter's evidence for Arsi is equally consistent with my argument, to wit: anything is possible.

While the Mech'a Oromo are particularly richly endowed with forms of spirit possession, Hallpike reported that possession was fairly new in Konso,

² The *Guji W'aka* spirits reported by Hinnant may represent still another variation, different from others previously reported. In addition, their *ayana* include some spirits considered *shetana*! (Hinnant n.d.).

and in the 1960's they had only (a) and (d). The Hamers report that they found (b), (d), and (e) among the Sidamo. Hamer gives the impression that the development of powerful seers occurred several times, but declined or died out, while Hinnant reports that the Guji were making increasing use of this form in the 1970's. In addition, if I read Alice Morton's material correctly, it appears that possession by "seers" (*k'allu*, *k'allicha*) was gaining greater acceptance among people of all sorts of backgrounds around Bishoftu, that is, in the small towns and countryside within the orbit of Addis Ababa.

The spread of spirit possession in the past decades has been such that it should be no surprise to find any manifestation among any people, in any area. Nor should it be surprising that some gain popularity for a while and then seem to die out. This is precisely what we should expect, as the idea that supernatural beings can take hold of humans goes through a particularly active period of growth, spread, and elaboration³.

Not only do the various forms of possession spread; so do the names, statuses, behaviors, symbols, paraphernalia, ceremonies and activities associated with them. One person, one group, borrows from another, and adds innovations of its own. We are not dealing here only with "distress", or reactions to conquest, but with innovation and creation, emulation, and ambition.

Again and again we encounter the same elements being used in different combinations: words and names (for particular spirits and categories of spirits; for religious specialities, [the "caught", the diviners, the assistants, *agafari*, and interpreters]; the placement of the medium behind a curtain; the use of such symbols as fresh cut grass on the floor, branches with green leaves, flowers; butter, coffee, porridge, and blood; standing stones, bells, rings, miniature metal tools, mirrors, cloth, and thread; speaking in tongues, or the use of separate argots (which Wolf Leslau described 35 years ago); food taboos; the concept of ritual pollution, and the barring of menstruating women, those who have recently had sexual intercourse or been near a dead person, from the presence of the medium or the spirits; the similarities in calling the spirits, the drumming, and the dance and trance and jerking (*gurri*) which indicates the spirits' presence; the dreams which foretell the coming of a spirit and call for the building of temples; the idea that a person is

3 It is worthwhile emphasizing that this same spread seems to be occurring in many parts of the world, including the Americas, and that there has apparently been an increase in Pentacostalism and ecstatic religious manifestations in some American Protestant churches as well (cf. Shack n.d.). Possession in African Christian churches, by the Holy Spirit, Jesus, or angels, has been extensively reported on by Sundkler (1961) and others.

“caught” by the spirits; the enlistment of servants pledged to the service of the spirits.

All of these elements, and others, occur over and over in different combinations, among different peoples, with different types of spirits, with different individual spirits and mediums.

We also encounter a range of social groups formed about the various spirits. There are some spirits which are associated explicitly with descent groups (Guji, Mech’a Oromo; Menz Amhara [Reminick], Kafa [Orent]); some with *communities*. Others form as the congregations and followings of *k’allus*, seers, or other practitioners. (See, e.g., Morton 1976, n.d.; Leiris 1939: 108).

In all these ways the peoples of Ethiopia have taken ideas, beliefs, practices, esthetic expression (poetry, language, music, costume), symbols (both verbal and physical), social relations, etc., and developed complex institutions and behaviors centered about, but not restricted to, these spirits which possess human beings. At this point it will be worthwhile to take a brief look at the development of one such complex institution among one group of people, the Mech’a Oromo of western Shoa province.

The Spirits Among the Mech’a Oromo

At the heart of much of the social, political and religious life of the western Shoa Oromo are seers, spirit mediums called *k’allu*, who are regularly possessed by spirits known collectively as *ayana*.

Whereas the Oromo long had individuals with the title of *k’allu* it seems clear that these were originally ritual experts and leaders whose position was *not* based upon spirit possession, (See, e.g., Asmarom Legesse 1973, Knutsson 1967: 135 ff., and esp. 142 ff.; Haberland; Hinnant). On the other hand, while there is evidence that the term *ayana*, spirit, is old, it does not seem to have been related to possession, either, until relatively recently. Azaïs and Chambard (1931: 108) report that *ayana* was a “good spirit” for the Oromo, and Tutschek referred to “spirits of the father”—*ayan-abba* (Tutschek cited in Knutsson 1967: 139-140), as guardian spirits, but there seems to be no connection with possession—which is so clear today. Knutsson (1969) and I (H.S. Lewis 1970a [1966]) independently came to the conclusion that the complex combining the *k’allu* with possession by the *ayana* is a relatively new development, a product of the 20th century, about three generations old, among the Mech’a Oromo of Shoa province.

While the Mech’a Oromo also believe in guardian spirits associated with lineages (*ayan-abba*), and individual troublesome idiosyncratic possession by

wicked spirits, and in *moata*, group possession (cf. Knutsson 1975), the key to the very important *k'allu* institution is the *ayana*, numberless named spirits who possess the bodies of particular individuals, *k'allu*. These spirits are capable of affecting the lives of humans directly and powerfully, aiding them or punishing them. They care about right behavior, about good and evil, truth and justice, peace and harmony. They become involved in the everyday affairs of humans as guardians of right conduct. They punish wrong-doers in a myriad of ways, but especially through illness, madness, bad luck, and death. On the other hand they can protect and aid men and women in any conceivable manner.

When an *ayana* possesses a *k'allu* it is possible for mortals to communicate with the spirit world. People can tell their troubles, ask what is wrong and why they are being punished, request aid in some human endeavor, or ask for forgiveness so that they may no longer be tormented. While it is true, as I. M. Lewis contends, that the *ayana* are guardians of morality (1971: 150) they also stand at the core of a system which permits humans to believe that they can learn the cause of their troubles. They believe, therefore, that they are not powerless but can try to either change their behavior, or beg, reason, pledge, bribe (through sacrifice) their way to better fortune, to end their woes. In this way the *ayana* are not only guardians of the social system and morality, but serve to aid human beings in their lives.

If Knutsson and I are correct in our reconstruction, the conception of the *ayana* as possessors of humans, and the *k'allu* as mediums through whom the *ayana* communicate with mankind, has come together in this form and risen to such prominence only since the Amhara conquest and incorporation of these Oromo groups, and since the demise of both the *gada* system⁴ and the "big-men" war leaders who were formerly politically prominent in western Shoan Oromo life. (Knutsson 1967: 207; Lewis n.d.) During this period the *k'allu* institution has become deeply imbedded in Oromo life, and has become enormously elaborated through the adaptation of older ideas and customs, the borrowing of some symbols and practices and ideas from other groups, and the invention of new ones. (Knutsson offers a rich description of the concepts, rituals, symbols, and "ritual topography" of one such group).

The great *k'allus* hold annual ceremonials attended by thousands of congregants. More importantly, they also host activities lasting several days, as often as every two weeks, that are attended by hundreds of people each day.

⁴ *Gada* is a highly elaborated social, political, ritual, and religious system found among many Oromo groups, and, presumably, among all of them several hundred years ago. It is, in essence, an age-set and age-grade organization, but as Asmarom Legesse points out, it "represents an extreme development" of this type of institution (Asmarom Legesse 1973: 50).

On these occasions the *k'allu* and his attendants call upon the *ayana* to possess them. When the spirit is upon the *k'allu* scores of people approach and tell their troubles, ask for aid, plead for release, and so on. Such sessions may last for many hours, perhaps from sundown to sunup the next morning. And the whole process involves special personnel, music, patterns of speech, taboos, symbols (in the architecture, the paraphernalia, the compound [*galma*], and so on).

The court of the *k'allu*, or, more correctly, the *ayana*, is also the site of conflict resolution, litigation, the hearing of court cases. The *galma* areas are sacred ground, consecrated to and watched over by the spirits. They thus serve as the place for the settlement of disputes. Respected elders are chosen by their neighbors and installed formally in these positions by the *k'allu*. The judges listen to cases and pass judgments in an attempt to bring about justice and reconciliation. At some major *galmas* there will be a half dozen such courts operating concurrently. They provide a very important component of order in the rural areas in western Shoa (or did before the revolution). (See Knutsson 1967; Morton 1975; Lewis 1970a, b).

The *k'allu* of the Mech'a Oromo became, within several generations, the center of an enormous *new* complex, built around the idea of spirit possession but going far beyond it in certain respects. As the spiritual leaders of 10s of 1000s of Oromo, some of the *k'allu* became powerful and prominent figures able to act in the political arena as well (H. S. Lewis n.d.). These developments fit neither the view of spirit possession as the "religion of the dispossessed" nor a "central morality cult" (I. M. Lewis 1971). They are multi-functional, and a historical development created by human actors with a variety of motivations, aims, talents, opportunities, and a stock of ideas derived both from their own tradition and those of their neighbors.

In another Oromo area, that of the Guji, John Hinnant was able to witness the more recent development of a rather similar series of institutions. Among the Guji it is primarily women, known as *k'alliti*, who have taken the lead in developing "courts" (*madaba*), in which *abba sera* (father of the law) interpret the words of the spirits and apply "law" to the cases that come before them. With their own rules, personnel, terminology, and customs these "courts" resemble in some respects those of the *k'allus* of the Oromo further north and west, but they also differ in important ways. Most importantly, the followers of the *k'alliti* become lifelong members of the group who cannot abandon it under the threat of madness or death. "Once in the group they become as kinsmen, compelled to aid each other in all aspects of daily life. The house of the *k'alliti* is a center for visiting and forming groups to carry out various tasks. Members of the group draw together in a society writ small, bound by

their own laws and protected from problems with non-members by their spirits, which settle on any who offend the possessed. These in turn are incorporated into the group" (Hinnant n.d. 21-22). According to Hinnant (personal communication) they work their fields cooperatively and participate in weddings and funerals of all members. (Cf. Mech'a Oromo *iddir* and *debo*. Lewis 1970).

Hinnant's evidence indicates that this form of spirit possession by *ayana*, is new. "Ayana trance is clearly a product of the outside world (24)", but in a very short time the Guji made it very much part of their own world. "The ability of Guji to assert their own understanding through a great proliferation of ritual systems was truly amazing (22)". And they were developing a new social organization as well, using spirit possession as the basis.

As a final example we may cite the observations of Gudrun Dahl (n.d.) in a small urban community in Kenya, involving members of Boran and other Oromo groups and Somalis. As she reports the situation in Isiolo, "The position of the cult at the crossroads of cultures has implications ... for the position of the *ayana* specialist as a kind of cultural entrepreneur". Because people of different cultures are joined in the same sects, and may interpret the same symbols in differing ways, and because these symbols may be ambiguous in any case, "The specialist is left room to work out his own exegesis while trying to bring order into the system ... (3)".

Conclusions

The evidence seems clear that spirit possession in Ethiopia was in a remarkable process of proliferation and elaboration during the past few decades. Without wishing to deny that this was also a time of cultural change due to the increasing impact of "the modern world" and the loss of autonomy for many groups, I would argue that, with its many manifestations and permutations, spirit possession in Ethiopia was not *merely* a response to deprivation, change and conflict. The phenomena are too varied, multi-functional and multi-faceted to be attributed to such causes alone. (Nor, I would argue, is deprivation always evident. Cf. Todd; Brøgger).

To use a metaphor from biological evolution, we might say that spirit possession has been undergoing "adaptive radiation" in Ethiopia. That is, that the phenomenon has found an unoccupied "niche" and been able to move into it in all sorts of forms. As a productive idea, capable of wide variation, manipulation, and many uses, it has taken many forms in its dispersion

throughout the niche. We must not push the metaphor too far, however, but must remember that it is human actors who account for this radiation, who seize upon its possibilities and make them manifest in ideas and action.

Perhaps we might hypothesize that the conquest and subsequent occupation of the non-Amahara populations of the south created fertile conditions for something new. On the one hand the conquest may have lessened the importance of, or even destroyed, earlier authorities, and perhaps religious and ritual figures as well, thus leaving the niche unoccupied (cf. Orent 1969, Knutsson 1967, Lewis n.d.). On the other, it introduced increased communications and movement, enabling ideas to spread even more rapidly and easily.

It is not necessarily my intention to deny any specific attribution of function or cause which has been suggested for any given case⁵. It seems entirely reasonable (and my own experience in the field bears out) that wives may use possession a weapon in the "battle of the sexes", that possession offers a role for the "sexually indeterminate male", that it relieves anxiety over food deprivation among men in Gurage, and that it offers a release from the tensions of enforced peaceableness among the Sidamo. But it may also be a route to a livelihood for a divorced woman in a town, the basis for a career and power for a *k'allu* or *k'alliti* who can build a following of believers. It could perhaps serve as a basis for a prophetic or political movement (Shack n.d.: 10). It offers access to the spirits that are believed to control human fates. It can also offer excellent entertainment to participants. At base, however, it rests upon a *belief* in these supernatural beings and in their involvement with humankind. This elementary fact makes all other manifestations and elaborations possible. What I object to is attempts to reduce the phenomenon to a few "types" or a few "causes" because I think this can only be misleading and unnecessarily restricting.

In addition, the "functionalism" which attributes spirit possession either to the psychological needs of individuals with problems, or sees "central morality cults" as a reflection of social systems, tends to distort our view of process and of the richness and complexity of the real world. These phenomena are not mere reflexes or reflections but are the products of mind involving creativity and imagination as well as action: attempts to persuade, to organize, to build (socially and materially/physically), to lead, to profit, to understand, to help, etc. To return to the metaphor of evolution, we have actors undertaking actions, some of which fail, but others of which seem to

⁵ For some criticism of I. M. Lewis's claims regarding "peripheral cults" and status-seeking see Todd (1979-80).

succeed and are then adopted by others—both other individuals in the same society, and members of other societies or cultures.

This view of spirit possession does not deny that any given group of people may use the idea for their own personal or social, psychological, ideological, political, or economic purposes. On the contrary, it accepts all this as a given. Indeed, the uses to which spirit possession is put may very well be a good indication of the conditions and problems of that society at a given time. However, the many manifestations and permutations which these phenomena can take leads to the conclusion that no simple typology or the attribution of a few causes can adequately account for, or capture, the rich and complex reality of spirit possession in Ethiopia.

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SOME NAMES FOR FOREIGNERS IN MENILEK'S ETHIOPIA:
FÄRÄNJ, ṬALEYAN AND 'ALĪ — AND THE GREEK
WHO BECAME A FÄRÄNJ

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The founding of Addis Ababa, in 1887, marked the inauguration of a new era in Ethiopian history. It was a time of unprecedented innovation which witnessed the opening of diplomatic relations with the principal European powers, the United States and Turkey, as well as the arrival of a hitherto inconceivable number of Europeans and other foreigners in many walks of life. These developments had significant linguistic consequences. The object of this paper is to examine the history of some of the principal terms used to describe or address foreigners in the age of Menilek.

Afrenj or Färänj

Considerable use was made in Menilek's day, as previously, of various forms of the Amharic *Afrenj* or *Färänj*, an Arabic loanword which had been used in Ge'ez for centuries¹. The word had long been synonymous with Frank, or Roman Catholic. This was clearly explained in the seventeenth century by Hiob Ludolf, founder of Ethiopian studies in Germany, who in his Ge'ez lexicon of 1661 equates an *Afrongi*, as he calls him, with "a Frank or man of the Latin or Roman religion", but notes that the term was also popularly used for "all Europeans (except Greeks)"². Orthodox Christian foreigners were spoken of, on the other hand, as *Gebş*, an epithet which was originally associated with Egypt, but had acquired a wider meaning³. It denoted Greeks and Armenians, hence Ludolf's caveat that the former were not considered as *Afreng*. The term *Gebş* thus had an essentially religious connotation in that it

¹ R. Basset, "Études sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie", *Journal Asiatique* (1881), XVII, Avril-Mai-Juin, p. 326; Août-Septembre, p. 96; S. Grébaut, *Supplément au Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae de August Dillmann* (Paris, 1952), p. 253.

² J. Ludolf, *Lexicon Aethiopico-Latinum* (Frankfurt, 1699), col. 383.

³ C.F. Beckingham and G.W.B. Huntingford, *The Prester John of the Indies* (Cambridge, 1961), I, 227, II, 349.

distinguished Orthodox Christians from Catholics or Franks⁴. The latter had been hated since the seventeenth century when they had been expelled, by Emperor Fasilädäs.

The meaning of the term *Afrenj* or *Färänj* underwent a significant modification in the nineteenth century, particularly during the reign of Menilek. The principal reason for this was apparently the steady decline in religious animosities, exemplified by Menilek's secular interests and the increasing toleration of foreign missionaries, which reduced the need to identify foreigners on a sectarian basis. Another factor was the coming of Protestant missionaries and other travellers of that faith who were indistinguishable from Catholics in their physical appearance, dress and behaviour, and therefore tended to be taken for, and referred to, as *Afrenj* or *Färänj*. This usage was reinforced by the fact that the English loanword *Perotästant*⁵, listed by the Protestant missionary Karl Isenberg in his Amharic-English dictionary of 1841, does not seem to have gained much popular acceptance.

As a result of these developments the religious significance of the term *Färänj* began to change. Ludolf's old statement that an *Afrongi*, i.e. *Färänj*, was "a Frank or man of the Latin or Roman religion" was broadly accepted in the early nineteenth century by Isenberg who nevertheless introduced the word "European" into the definition, asserting that the word designated, "a *Frank*, i.e. European; esp. a *Roman Catholic*"⁶. That the missionary considered the term to some extent applicable to Protestants is apparent from an Amharic Geography in which he referred to the West Europeans, including the British, in the plural, as *Ferenjoč*⁷.

By the second half of the century the sectarian implication of the word had significantly weakened. The Italian Catholic missionary Guglielmo Massaia asserted that the term should simply be equated with European⁸, i.e. without any religious inference, while the distinguished French traveller and lexicographer Antoine d'Abbadie wrote in his dictionary of 1881 that the word was by then employed for a European "without distinction of religious belief". He

4 E. Cerulli, *Il libro etiopico dei miracoli di Maria* (Roma, 1943), pp. 136-7, 139, 145, 196-7; E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Contendings of the Apostles* (London, 1899-1901), text, p. 22, translation, p. 25; idem, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great* (London, 1896), text, p. 1, translation, p. 2.

5 C. W. Isenberg, *Dictionary of the Amharic Language* (London, 1841), I, 137, 187.

6 *Ibid.*, I, 137, II, 89.

7 *Idem*, *Géwografiya malät yämeder tembert* (London, 1841), p. 72.

8 G. Massaia, *Lectiones Grammaticales pro Missionariis qui addiscere volunt Linguam Amharicam* (Paris, 1867), p. 352.

nevertheless added, significantly, that it was "always used in an injurious sense"⁹.

The secularisation of the concept of *Färänj*, which was to continue during the Menilek period, had coincided with a gradual modification in the manner in which the word was pronounced. A variety of forms had been in vogue in the early nineteenth century, as evident from contemporary dictionaries. D'Abbadie thus reported two variants, both with an initial A, namely *Afrenj* and *Aferanj*¹⁰, and Isenberg two, one with and one without it, *Afrenj* and *Frenji*¹¹. Massaia, on the other hand, later recorded only one form, *Franji*¹². By Menilek's time the initial A had largely been abandoned. The noted Italian linguist Ignazio Guidi thus declared in his *Vocabulario* of 1901 that *Feränj* or *Färenj* were then more widely employed than the earlier *Afrenj*¹³.

The term *Färänj* was extensively used in Menilek's reign, notably in the early 1890's at the time of the Italian invasion, and the subsequent Ethiopian victory at Adwa in 1896. The enemy, though on occasion referred to as Italians, were no less frequently spoken of merely as *Färänj*. The use of the generic rather than the specific term was scarcely surprising in that many Ethiopians at this time had only a limited knowledge of the geography and the culture of Europe, and found little need to distinguish too precisely between foreigners from various parts of that far-off continent. An Amharic poem composed immediately after the battle recalled that the enemy had been defeated with weapons they had themselves supplied to Menilek in the period preceding the hostilities. It declared¹⁴:

Meneñña moññ näw käFäränj agär säw'
Endét mämäččawen särto yesätał säw'
Bamäččaw Wäčäfo bamäččaw ersas
Qolla andägäddägaw yan yäbaber gäbso

"What kind of fools are these in the country of the *Färänj*?

"How? They themselves made the instruments of their destruction, and gave them to us".

⁹ A. d'Abbadie, *Dictionnaire de la langue amariñña* (Paris, 1881), col. 590.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, col. 590.

¹¹ Isenberg, *Dictionary of the Amharic Language*, II, 89.

¹² Massaia, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

¹³ I. Guidi, *Vocabulario amarico-italiano* (Roma, 1901), cols. 514, 874. See also G. J. Afevork, *Grammatica della lingua amarica* (Roma, 1905), p. 37; C. H. Arbustner, *English-Amharic Vocabulary* (Cambridge, 1910), II, 96; J. I. Eadie, *An Amharic Reader* (Cambridge, 1924), pp. 114, 119.

¹⁴ E. Cerulli, "Canti popolari amarici", *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, Serie V (1916), XXV, 569.

“With the Wetterly which they brought, with the bullets which they brought”,
 “[Menilek] roasted and burst this overseas barley”.

Most of the 1,865 Italian prisoners captured in the campaign were taken to Addis Ababa prior to repatriation. Their captors, and the Ethiopian public in general, often addressed them, in many cases with derision or abuse, by the appellation *Färänj* as recalled by one of their number Major Giovanni Gamerra¹⁵.

The Italians are likewise frequently referred to as *Färänj* in Gäbrä Sellasé's great chronicle of the reign of Menilek¹⁶.

The term *Färänj*, though used for the enemy, had by then apparently lost most of its early religious and derogatory connotation, and was tending more and more to approximate to European or even “white man”.

The phrase “country of the *Färänj*” used in the poem also finds frequent expression in Gäbrä Sellasé's chronicle. This work states for example that the pipes installed to bring water to Menilek's palace in 1894 came from the country of the *Färänj*¹⁷, an obvious reference to Europe rather than to any Catholic country as such; that the postal system, in fact established by the French, was the work of *Färänjoč*¹⁸; and that the first steam-engine, which was actually sent by the Austrian state, had been brought from the land of the *Färänj*¹⁹. Also illustrative of the width of application of the term was the assertion that the foreign bridge-builders, whom we know to have been Greeks introduced early in the twentieth century, had arrived from the country of the *Färänj*²⁰. Still more remarkable is the statement that Harar at the time of its seizure by Menilek in 1887 was occupied by many *Färänj*²¹—an apparent allusion to the Turkish forces in the city.

The concept *Färänj* was similarly applied to the European colonial powers, Protestant Britain as well as Catholic France and Italy, by which Ethiopia was

15 G. Gamerra, *Ricordi di un prigioniero di guerra nello Scioa* (Firenze, 1897), p. 81. On the prisoners see also G. F.-H. Berkeley, *The Campaign of Adowa and the Rise of Menelik* (London, 1935), pp. 346-8.

16 Guèbrè Sellassié, *Chronique du règne de Ménélik II* (Paris, 1930-1), I, 372; Gäbrä Sellasé, *Tarikä Zämän zä Dagmawi Menilek Negusä Nägäst zältiyopya* (Addis Ababa, 1959 E.C.), p. 224.

17 Guèbrè Sellassié, *op. cit.*, I, 341; Gäbrä Sellasé, *op. cit.*, p. 205. See also Guèbrè Sellassié, *op. cit.*, II, 485, 499; Gäbrä Sellasé, *op. cit.*, p. 293, 304.

18 Guèbrè Sellassié, *op. cit.*, II, 472; Gäbrä Sellasé, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

19 Guèbrè Sellassié, *op. cit.*, II, 509; Gäbrä Sellasé, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

20 Guèbrè Sellassié, *op. cit.*, II, 529; Gäbrä Sellasé, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

21 Guèbrè Sellassié, *op. cit.*, II, 239; Gäbrä Sellasé, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

encompassed, and which tended to be regarded with popular suspicion, and fear. A common Amharic saying declared ²²:

Färänjoč endä mārfe fätel yegäbu
Endä wärqa yesäfu

“The *Färänjoč* enter like thread through the eye of a needle,
 “[and then] expand like the *wärqa* [i.e. sycamore tree]”.

The advent of increasing numbers of *Färänj* was meanwhile giving rise in Addis Ababa to new employment opportunities, mainly for servants, who, it may be noted, tended to be poorly regarded in Ethiopian society. A contemporary Amharic couplet ran as follows ²³:

YäFäränj aškär näčč läbaš,
Kälay wädä tačč yäsähän ammälalaš

“The *Färänj*'s servant dressed in white,
 “Carries plates up and down [i.e. does nothing worthwhile]”.

Growing familiarity with *Färänj* also found expression in the adoption of the word *näčč*, or “white”, for a European. This term, which probably followed European usage, was included by the Swiss- and Italian-educated Ethiopian intellectual Afäwärq Gäbrä Iyasus in a grammar of 1905 ²⁴ and by the Italian missionary Angelo da Ronciglione in a primer of 1912 ²⁵. The word is also found in an early twentieth century Amharic poem which speaks of servants of the Europeans as *yänäčč aškär*, or “servant of the whites” ²⁶.

The widened significance of the term *Färänj*, it may be concluded, is evident in the Amharic vocabularies of the British officer Major J. P. H. M. Alone and of the Italian Amleto Bevilacqua, published in 1906 and 1917 respectively, both of which translate the term as “European” without any of its former religious connotation ²⁷.

²² Guidi, *op. cit.*, col. 874. See also J. Baeteman, *Dictionnaire amarigna-français* (Dire Daoua, 1929), col. 1225.

²³ Guidi, *op. cit.*, col. 874. See also Baetman, *op. cit.*, col. 1225.

²⁴ Afevork, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

²⁵ Angelo da Ronciglione, *Manuale amarico-italiano-francese* (Roma, 1912), p. 162.

²⁶ Eadie, *op. cit.*, pp. 248, 250. See also W. Ieslau, *English-Amharic Context Dictionary* (Wiesbaden, 1973), p. 1470.

²⁷ J. P. H. M. Alone, *Short Manual (with Vocabulary) of the Amharic Language* (London, 1909), p. 169; A. Bevilacqua, *Vocabolario italiano-amarico* (Roma, 1917), col. 125.

Taleyan

Though the word *Färänj* had served since the Middle Ages in a general way when referring to Catholic Europeans, other specific terms, among them as we have seen *Gebş*, were also used. This practice became more common in the nineteenth century as a result of closer contacts with Europe, and the need to differentiate between the various European powers.

Italy, the first European country with which Menilek developed relations, seems to have been originally known in its Italian form, *İtaliya*, which is embodied in the ill-fated Italo-Ethiopian treaty of Weçalé which Menilek signed in 1889²⁸. Italian nationals, though often spoken of, as we have seen, as *Färänj*, were also called *Taleyan* (plural *Taleyanot*)²⁹. This word, which was pronounced, and written, in a variety of ways, gained extensive circulation at the time of the 1895-6 war with the Italians, and appears for example in a poem in praise of one of Menilek's nobles, Fitawrari Gäbäyyähu, who had died at Adwa. Of him it was said³⁰:

Engedih Taleyanot käman yewwaggallu
Yabba Daññäw gaşsa täsaggädäčč alu

"And now with whom shall the Italians fight?"

"They say that the shield of Abba Daññäw [i.e. Menilek] is crushed".

Italians captured in the campaign were often directly addressed, not only as *Färänj*, but also with the epithet *Taleyan*, as noted in the memoirs of one of their number, Sergeant Giovanni Tedone³¹.

Many Italians were subsequently employed in construction work in Addis Ababa and elsewhere³².

Variations of the word for Italian in this period included *Taleyan*, *Taliyan*, *Teleyan*, or, as Angelo da Ronciglione states, even *İtalyan*, with such plurals as *Taleyanot*, *Taliyanot*, or *Teleyanot*³³. At least one other variant was heard

28 Italy, Archivio Storico, Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Series V *Trattati, Etiopia*, No. 3. See also S. Rubenson, *Wichale XI/II* (Addis Ababa, 1964), Appendix.

29 M. Cohen, "Couplets amhariques du Choa", *Journal Asiatique* (1924) CCV, Juillet-Septembre, pp. 23, 34; Bevilacqua, *op. cit.*, cols. 33-4; C.H. Walker, *English-Amharic Dictionary* (London, n.d.), p. 88.

30 E. Cerulli, "Una raccolta amarica di canti funebri", *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (1924), X, 272.

31 G. Tedone, *I ricordi di un prigioniero di Menelik dopo il disastro di Adwa* (Roma, 1915), pp. 40, 92.

32 R. Pankhurst, "Menilek and the Utilisation of Foreign Skills in Ethiopia", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* (1967), V, No. 1, pp. 44-7.

33 Cerulli, "Canti popolari amarici", p. 272; Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 67; Bevilacqua, *op. cit.*, col. 190; Eadie, *op. cit.*, pp. 248, 250, 260-1, 269; Angelo di Ronciglione, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

by the British linguist Armbruster who records the curious singular form *Ṭalinyani*, apparently derived from the Italian plural "Italiani"³⁴.

‘*Alī*

Italians taken prisoner at Adwa, and by extension all Europeans, were also known, and addressed, by another, and at first sight unlikely epithet: ‘*Alī*. This common Muslim name was used as a term of abuse when the local populace flung at the captives such insults as³⁵:

‘*Alī šärmuṭa!*

i.e. “‘*Alī*, prostitute!”

a saying heard by Tedone, the use of which was also reported at about the same time by two other Italians, Vannutelli and Citerni³⁶.

The prisoners, according to Tedone, might similarly be assailed, in a mixture of Amharic and Italian, with cries of³⁷:

‘*Alī, Ṭaleyan forza yälläm?*

“‘*Alī*, the Italians, have they no power?”

and:

‘*Alī, gininnär forza yälläm?*

“‘*Alī*, [your] generals, have they no power?”

Many Ethiopians in the aftermath of the Adwa war seem to have extended their disapproval from the Italians to other Europeans. A French resident, M. Stévenin, was subsequently quoted, possibly with exaggeration, as stating that there was a “terrible” upsurge of hostility against all “whites”. Any European leaving his house without an escort of four or five servants was in consequence, he claims, liable to be insulted³⁸. Though he does not specify any particular form of abuse it would appear probable that it would include the term ‘*Alī* which was soon applied, not only to Italians, but to all

³⁴ Armbruster, *op. cit.*, II, 153.

³⁵ Tedone, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

³⁶ L. Vannutelli and C. Citerni, *L'Omo* (Milano, 1899), p. 474.

³⁷ Tedone, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

³⁸ D. Pariset, *Al tempo di Menelik* (Roma, 1937), pp. 61, 128. On similar attitudes in the Somali area see Count Potocki, *Sport in Somaliland* (London, 1900), p. 88.

Europeans, for, as Herbert Vivian, a British traveller of this period, recalls, "the Abyssinians ... realise very little difference between an Italian and any other European"³⁹.

An indication of the degree of irritation which this practice aroused among racially proud Englishmen of the day is provided by Count Gleichen, a member of a British diplomatic mission which arrived in Addis Ababa in 1897, the year after the battle. In his autobiographical work, *With the Mission to Menilek*, he recalls that during his first days in the Ethiopian capital whenever he and his colleagues went for a walk "some Abyssinian or other was certain to murmur, or even to shout, at them the word Ali", and he continues:

"Not knowing what this meant, or imagining that it was perhaps only an Ethiopian abbreviation of the word alien, we took no notice of it, till one day it came out in conversation with some other Europeans that this was an abusive epithet"⁴⁰.

'Ali, the British envoys learnt, had in fact been "the generic name for an Abyssinian, according to the Italian idiom", and after Adwa the victors had "retaliated" on their enemies "by calling *them* Ali". (The Italians, we may interpolate, had acquired their first contacts with the local population while still at the coast inhabited predominantly by Muslims). Gleichen, unhappy at the discomfiture of fellow Europeans, dubbed this "a poor form of repartee", but notes that it had become "universal in the country" and had "stuck". What irritated him most was, however, that "all white men are now included in the same category, and the common people cry 'Ali' at any European stranger"⁴¹.

Realisation of the origin of the term greatly angered the envoys, so that, Gleichen reports:

"The next time we heard the word, we turned round and raised our sticks in a threatening way; this was generally sufficient, and in nearly every case the utterer of the word curled up and ran away"⁴².

One member of the mission particularly incensed at being addressed as 'Ali was Lieutenant-Colonel Wingate, who, on hearing the word, bristled, Gleichen says, "like a gamecock"⁴³. In his own report on the incident,

³⁹ H. Vivian, *Abyssinia* (London, 1901), pp. 213-14.

⁴⁰ Count Gleichen, *With the Mission to Menelik 1897* (London, 1898), p. 216.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 216-17.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 217.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

embodied in an angry letter of May 12 to Rennell Rodd, the leader of the mission, Wingate speaks of the "righteous fury" which he felt, and states that he and his party had accordingly raised their sticks in a "threatening way". This action doubtless only exacerbated matters, for, subsequently, he says:

"Whilst walking this evening in the vicinity of Ras Mikhael's camp [i.e. that of Ras Mika'él the governor of Wällo], in company with Lord Edward Cecil we were assailed by cries of 'Ali' from several Abyssinians, one or two of whom began picking up stones as if to throw at us. We at once made for the aggressors, and they fled. Feeling that some steps should be taken to prevent the reoccurrence of these insults, we proceeded directly to Ras Mikhael's inclosure, and whilst passing through the tent by which it is surrounded, 'Ali' was shouted at us from all sides. Noting one tent in particular, the occupants of which were more aggressively insulting than the rest, we entered the Ras' inclosure and demanded that the guard should at once conduct us into his presence ...".

On gaining access to the chief, Wingate continues, "the Ras, appeared much put out, apologized profusely, and, summoning one of his Headmen, gave orders that the entire camp should be punished. We at once begged him not to inflict such wholesale punishment on our account, but offered to point out to his officer the tent from which the specially abusive cries had been issued, and to this arrangement he agreed. We then went on to explain that we had reported the conduct of the men rather with the object of calling attention to the behaviour of the Abyssinians in general towards the officers of the British Mission, of which he was no doubt in ignorance; but he replied that he was aware the Abyssinians were in the habit of shouting out 'Ali' when they saw Europeans, and this had become a term of reproach only since the Italian prisoners had been with them; he explained that formerly it was the habit of the Italians to address all Abyssinians as 'Ali', but when the tables were turned by the Italian defeat, they had fastened on the name 'Ali' for their captives; he also said that the Emperor had given very strict orders that this civil practice should be discontinued, but his own men, having just arrived in camp, and being perhaps ignorant of the presence of the British Mission, had committed this serious fault, which he deeply regretted"⁴⁴.

Wingate's complaint received the full support of Rennell Rodd, who three days later wrote to the British Foreign Secretary to say that his two

44 Great Britain, Foreign Office, 403/255, *Further Correspondence respecting the Red Sea and Somali Coast* (1897), No. 183, Wingate to Rodd, 12 May 1897. See also Gleichen, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-18; P. H. G. Powell-Cotton, *A Sporting Trip Through Abyssinia* (London, 1902), p. 209.

subordinates had “showed considerable presence of mind”, and that their “energetic action was wholly successful”, for they were “conducted back to their quarters by a guard of honour”, and there had been “no repetition of the offence”. Elaborating on the use of the appellation *‘Alī* he declared:

“The cry of ‘Ali, Ali!’ is universally recognised as a slighting form addressed to Europeans, who are now all confounded by the ignorant populace with Italians, and even the oldest foreign inhabitants here have to submit to having it called after them when they go abroad”⁴⁵.

The practice which the aristocrats from Britain found so distressing was but a short-lived one in Addis Ababa. By 1899 the British big-game-hunter and ethnographer Powell-Cotton reported that it had “quite died out”. Whether this was because of British representations, and the Emperor’s intervention, or the subsiding of the excitement engendered by the war with Italy we do not know. In the countryside, on the other hand, the custom continued for several more years. Alfred Pease, another hunter from Britain, stated in 1900 that on crossing the Awaš river on the journey inland he and his party were “well jostled by a rabble”, among whom, he claims, some “insolent ruffians ... shouted ‘Ali’ at us as we went by”⁴⁶. The continuing use of the word was corroborated by Vivian who noted in 1900 that in the countryside around the capital the inhabitants would “indulge ... in impertinent chaff”, repeating “in unmistakingly insulting tones ‘Ali, Ali, Ali’”. Like the British diplomats he had initially been “unaware” of the significance of the epithet, and adds: “I daresay many people have called me Ali on the way up, but if they did I should not have minded what I did not understand”. After reading Gleichen’s book, in Addis Ababa, however, he realised the “insulting” aspect of the word. Describing his consequent indignant reaction, he declares:

“On the way down I heard the expression twice, once from a group of women, for whom there was no answer except to comment upon their surprising ugliness in languages which they did not understand. The other time was near the end of my last march back to Harrar. In a narrow path between high hedges of candelabra cactus I encountered several men in charge of some fifty donkeys ... They made no sign of moving aside to let me pass. Indeed one of them danced about in front of my mule, and shouted ‘Ali, Ali, Ali’. I raised my whip as though to

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Rodd to Salisbury, 15 May, 1897.

⁴⁶ A. E. Pease, *Travel and Sport in Africa* (London, 1902), II, 63.

strike him, imagining he would at once move aside, but instead of doing that he raised his hand to mock my gesture, and went on repeating with increasing insolence, 'Ali, Ali, Ali'. I lashed him three times across each side of his face with the thong of my whip"⁴⁷.

Despite this incident, it is clear that the word *'Alī* was by no means always uttered with hostile intent. Powell-Cotton, an essentially saner traveller, relates that before leaving Addis Ababa for the north he had been told, doubtless by some of his more apprehensive compatriots, that he would "probably have to put up with derisive shouts of 'Ali'", and that as he got further from Šäwa he "might even be greeted with mud and stones". With such warnings in mind he was "rather surprised", he relates, that the crowds of buyers and sellers at Däbrä Marqos in Gojam province received him "so well", and adds:

"One man came up, and bowing, said, 'Salaam Ali'; I glanced strongly at him, to see if it was meant as an insult, but it was evident from the man's expression and manner that he intended it as quite the reverse"⁴⁸.

The term *'Alī*, we may conclude, had thus lost its deprecatory connotation, and was indeed no more than a short-lived form of address, a synonym for *Färänj*, and then disappeared altogether.

The Grék who became a Färänj

The era of Menilek witnessed the arrival of many other foreigners besides the Italians, in particular numerous Greeks, Armenians and Indians⁴⁹.

The Greeks, with whom we are here alone concerned, were a people known in Ethiopia since ancient times. Sometimes referred to, as we have seen, because of their Orthodox faith, as *Gebṣ*, they and their country were traditionally known by a variety of terms, among them the Biblical names *Šer'e*⁵⁰ and *Yonanawiyān*⁵¹, as well as *Rum*, *Rumi*, *Rom* and *Romeya*, names

⁴⁷ Vivian, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-15.

⁴⁸ Powell-Cotton, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-10.

⁴⁹ Pankhurst, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-86.

⁵⁰ Cerulli, *Il libro etiopico dei miracoli di Maria*, pp. 130, 132, 196-7; Wallis Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, text, pp. 361, 381, translation, pp. 564, 589; *idem*, *The Contendings of the Apostles*, text, pp. 101, 162, 226, translation, pp. 111, 190, 269; Ludolf, *op. cit.*, col. 582.

⁵¹ Wallis Budge, *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, text, pp. 32, 36, 60, 71, 107, 252, translation, pp. 60, 67, 108, 128, 189, 426; *idem*, *The Contendings of the Apostles*, text, pp. 391, 448, 454, translation, pp. 476, 541, 548.

which had their origin in the identification of the Greeks with Constantinople or the second Rome ⁵².

Greek immigration in Ethiopia increased rapidly in the first part of the twentieth century. The number of Greeks, estimated at over three hundred in the capital in 1910, grew to over ten times that figure in the country as a whole by 1935 ⁵³. Their coming introduced the Ethiopians to a new class of foreigners who, because of their distinct, and in the popular mind inferior, occupational pattern, were considered a group apart as was emphasized by contemporary observers, among them the French educated scholar Faitlovitch and his compatriots F. F. Kulmer and E. G. Pick ⁵⁴.

The immigrants from Greece were referred to in Ethiopia by a new loanword, *Grék*. This largely superseded the older terms by which Greeks had formerly been designated. However, the earlier names were retained in scholarly circles. *Šer'e* was used for the Greeks of the past ⁵⁵, and for their language ⁵⁶, but also for Greeks of contemporary times. Gäbrä Sellasé thus referred to the Greek clergy at Jerusalem as *Šer'aweyan* ⁵⁷ while Raad and Ghaleb designated modern Greece by another of its old names in their vocabulary of 1910 as *YäYonan agär*, or land of *Yonan* ⁵⁸. The new name *Grék* served both for Greece and the Greeks, as instanced by Afäwäraq Gäbrä Iyasus as early as 1905 ⁵⁹, and half a decade later by the French linguist Marcel Cohen (who states that in Šäwa it was often pronounced *Gréh*, or, in the plural, *Grehoc*) ⁶⁰.

The preponderance of Greeks as masons and road-builders, small-scale restaurateurs and retail traders, had the effect of causing this entire occupational group to be spoken of as *Grék*, irrespective of the fact that some of its members were actually Armenians or Italians ⁶¹. This category tended to

⁵² Isenberg, *Dictionary of the Amharic Language*, I, 45, II, 96, 172; *idem*, *Géwografiya malät yämeder tembert*, pp. 63, 72-3.

⁵³ P. Mérah, *Impressions d'Éthiopie* (Paris, 1921-9), II, 204; A. Zervos, *L'empire d'Éthiopie* (Alexandria, 1936). See also Zervos, *op. cit.*, pp. 458-69.

⁵⁴ J. Faitlovitch, *Quer durch Abessinien* (Berlin, 1910), p. 122; F. F. Kulmer, *Im Reiche Kaiser Meneliks* (Leipzig, n.d.), p. 181; E. G. Pick, *Reisenbriefe* (Wien, n.d.), pp. 160-1.

⁵⁵ Leslau, *op. cit.*, p. 534.

⁵⁶ Eadie, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 81.

⁵⁷ Guèbrè Sellassié, *op. cit.*, II, 515; Gäbrä Sellasé, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

⁵⁸ A. Raad and B. Ghaleb, *La clé de la conversation abyssine* (Beyrouth, 1910), p. 67.

⁵⁹ Afevork, *op. cit.*, pp. 37, 245. See also Armbruster, *op. cit.*, II, 125; Bevilacqua, *op. cit.*, col. 152; Angelo da Ronciglione, *op. cit.*, pp. 160, 162; Baeteman, *op. cit.*, col. 1042; I. Guidi, *Supplemento al vocabolario amarico-italiano* (Roma, 1940), col. 212.

⁶⁰ Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

be despised as noted by Cohen who remarks: "The Abyssinians distinguish them by their mode of life and their appearance from other Europeans, diplomats, officials, travellers and merchants" whom they called *Färänj*. The two categories, *Grék* and *Färänj*, thus designated "classes rather than different nationalities" ⁶².

Corroboration of the poor regard in which the Greeks were held is provided by Faitlovitch who remarked that "if a European is seen on foot the native looks down upon him, and designates him as Greek, a name which the European does not like to hear, for a large part of the Greeks who have immigrated into Abyssinia, mostly the worst elements from their homeland, have acclimatised themselves to the low social status of the lowest strata of the Abyssinians and individually stand even lower, and are therefore called *YäFäränj bareya*, slaves of the Europeans. The marked contrast between the way of life and the whole manner of the other Europeans living there and these Greeks causes the Abyssinians to imagine that the latter serve as slaves in Europe ⁶³".

The result of such thinking was that the Greeks, who had once been differentiated from *Färänj* on account of their Orthodox faith, now tended to be regarded as distinct from them by reason of their occupation or socio-economic class. That this was the case is confirmed by the story, told by Cohen, of a Greek who had succeeded in life, and of whom it was therefore said that having been a *Grék* he had become a *Färänj* ⁶⁴.

* * *

The rôle of Greek artisans subsequently decreased in importance, with the result that the word *Grék* came to be used exclusively to designate Greek nationals. As a derogatory term with connotation of class it thus died out as *Alī* had done a generation or so earlier. The term *Färänj*, the oldest of the four names under discussion, alone survived as a generic term for foreigners.

The practice of addressing foreigners with the word *Färänj* has remained to the present day. On occasion instead of repeating the word several times children, may shout out the rhyme ⁶⁵:

Färänj
Qitū renj

⁶² Ibid., p. 30.

⁶³ Faitlovitch, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

⁶⁴ Cohen, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-1. See also pp. 27, 33.

⁶⁵ I am indebted to Alula Pankhurst for this poem.

"Färänj

"His bottom [is] tar".

Though this may seem uncomplimentary the second line is added merely for the rhyme, as evident from its absurd meaning, and the good-humoured self-mocking following couplet:

Abäša

Qitū mädōša.

"Abyssinian

"His bottom [is] a hammer".

Though the term *Färänj* has always been the principal term used in addressing Europeans, i.e. Caucasians, whenever contacts with a particular nationality prevail other foreigners tend to be subsumed under the same designation. Just as most Europeans in Menilek's day had been called *'Alī*, a term initially conceived for Italians, so after the Italian fascist occupation of 1935-41, Europeans of many nationalities were popularly called *Ṭaleyan*. A few years ago to his surprise the present author was addressed as *Čäyna* near Däbrä Tabor where Chinese workers were building a road, while European travellers to Socialist Ethiopia have on occasion been hailed as *Kuba*⁶⁶.

⁶⁶ Heard for example by Alula Pankhurst in the Spring of 1981.

A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY REPORT ON ETHIOPIA

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In the early summer of the year 1330, the Syrian historian (Ibn) al-Jazari, then seventy years old, asked a Syrian merchant about the observations made by him during a trip to Ethiopia and incorporated the information thus obtained in his great historical work. During my stay in Cairo in 1947-48, while working on my *History of Muslim Historiography*, I copied the passage containing that information from a photostat of the Istanbul manuscript of al-Jazari preserved in the Egyptian Library¹. No doubt already at that time, I had in mind to show it to the great Ethiopic scholar who has been my friend since the early days of our coming to the United States. It is as a token of this friendship that I am presenting a brief treatment of it in the volume published in his honor. My contribution is clearly not meant to be in any way definitive; others better qualified than I am will, I hope, correct and add to my presentation.

The report on Ethiopia is a good example of the efforts often made by Arabic historians to obtain information of historical or cultural interest on remote countries and civilizations. It never was easy for them to obtain such information. Although merchants traveled far and wide in rather large numbers, they had no particular training or incentive for collecting local data. The combination of observant traveler and learned scholar did indeed exist, and quite a few famous examples are known to us. Most historians, however, were of necessity restricted in the extent of their knowledge of remote countries. They had neither the time nor the opportunity to acquire such knowledge independently. It is to their credit that they did as much as they did to widen their horizon. The sum total of their efforts added up to a considerable amount of knowledge that is most valuable and indispensable for us. The results achieved by individuals may often seem to us somewhat disappointing². But in al-Jazari, we encounter information that appears to be

¹ Cf. p. 415, n. 1 (Leiden 1952), 2nd ed., p. 493, n. 1 (Leiden 1968).

² Cf. H. Horst, "Berichte frühmamlūkischer Historiker über Äthiopien", in *Wort und Wirklichkeit* (Festschrift Eugen Ludwig Rapp, ed. B. Benzing, O. Böcher, G. Mayer), 170-185 (Meisenheim am Glan, 1976). Horst concludes that historical information on Ethiopia is found in Mamlūk historians as a matter of chance rather than as the result of real interest and effort on their part, as the history of the Muslims of Ethiopia was no

unusually factual for its kind. His informant seems to have recalled what he was told—rather than what he had observed himself—as accurately as could be expected, and any misunderstandings may be blamed on his sources. He does not seem to have relied on the writings of others. The report thus adds to our store of knowledge. Its very existence should be appreciated as a noteworthy accomplishment.

Al-Jazari's *History*, which is preserved only in part as far as we know at this time, has been much studied in recent years. A thorough analysis of it and its author has been provided by Ulrich Haarmann in his *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit* (Freiburg 1969). At the same time, Donald P. Little made intensive use of al-Jazari's work in his *Introduction to Mamlûk Historiography* (Montreal 1970, also published as Vol. II of *Freiburger Islamstudien*). For the year 730/1330, only one manuscript seems to be known to scholarship at present³. Professor Haarmann kindly sent me a xerox copy of the folio containing our passage (Ms. Köprülü, I, 1037, pp. 183 f.) for comparison with my original handcopy. I was also informed by Professor Haarmann that Dr. Manfred Kropp had expressed interest in the report. I am grateful to Dr. Kropp for not objecting to my publishing it on this occasion.

Translation

On Wednesday, Ramaḍān 9, (730)/Tuesday (evening), June 26, 1330, I had an opportunity to be together with *al-mawlâ* Burhān-ad-dīn Ibrāhīm b. ash-Shaykh Shams-ad-dīn Muḥammad b. 'Īsā at-Tadmurī, then a merchant and traveler⁴. He had made a journey from Mecca—May God Most-High honor

matter of concern to them. This is basically correct but does not consider the very obvious difficulty of obtaining such information. Professor Haarmann has referred me to Horst's article, which does not include the Jazari passage.

- 3 I may be permitted to mention here that I provided a regrettable piece of misinformation in the second edition of my *History of Muslim Historiography* when I referred to a manuscript in Rabat as containing an earlier portion of al-Jazari's work. C. Cahen has pointed out that the Rabat manuscript contains a portion of the historical section of the encyclopaedia of an-Nuwayrī (d. 732/1332), cf. *Israel Oriental Studies*, 2 (1972), 144-147, and 3 (1973), 293. As far as I know that portion of an-Nuwayrī has not yet been published. I was misled by the indication of author and title on the first and last pages of the Rabat manuscript, clearly pointing to al-Jazari (*Hawādith az-ẓamān* by Shams-ad-dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarīrī [al-Jazīrī?] ad-Dimashqī). Those pages were, however, written by a hand different from the rest of the manuscript.
- 4 I have not succeeded in finding any information on this Burhān-ad-dīn. According to his *nisbah*, his family originally came from Palmyra, and it would seem that both he and his father had scholarly training.

it!—to Ethiopia and had come to Damascus in this year with the pilgrims. I asked him about the remarkable things he had seen in Ethiopia, and he said:

They eat the meat raw⁵. I ate some with them. They assume that they gain from it strength which they do not from cooked meat.

He said: They have leaves they call *čât*⁶. They cut them from a tree there and eat them. They use (*čât*) as a gift to give to one another, and it enjoys great esteem among them. When the king wants to honor one of the amirs or dignitaries of his dynasty, he takes some of those leaves and gives them to him. During that (presentation, the recipient) stands with his hands tied behind his back⁷ and kisses the ground. He said: This is considered by them a greater gift than gold and silver⁸.

I say: This is similar (to) and resembles the betel leaves⁹ in India and the way their kings and dignitaries give betel leaves to their inner circle. (Betel

5 This observation, repeated later on and apparently considered very noteworthy, was also mentioned by al-Maqrizi in his *Historia Regum islamiticorum in Abyssinia*, ed. Fridericus Theodorus Rinck (Leiden 1790), text, p. 5, trans., p. 5, of the section in Rinck's publication that deals with Ethiopia. Cf. also E. van Donzel, *Foreign Relations of Ethiopia 1642-1700*, 14, 17 (Istanbul 1979).

6 Spelled *jât*, but no doubt intended to be pronounced *čât*, cf. Amharic *čât* (W. Leslau, *Concise Amharic Dictionary*, 239b [Berkeley-Los Angeles-Wiesbaden 1976]). It is the famous *qât* of the Yemen, about which very much has been written and is still being written, cf. the comprehensive study by Armin Schopen, *Das Qât* (Wiesbaden 1978, *Arbeiten aus dem Seminar für Völkerkunde der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main*, 8), and Maxime Rodinson, *Esquisse d'une monographie du Qât*, in *JA*, 265 (1977), 70-96 (as W. Leslau informs me). Both authors maintain that the use of the mild narcotic probably spread from Ethiopia to the Yemen. For the notion that it was the other way round, cf., for instance, Enrico Cerulli, *Studi Etiopici*, II, 16 (Rome 1938). But there is our early testimony for the use of *čât* in Ethiopia and the much quoted reference to it from the Chronicle of 'Amda Šeyôn, dating from about the same time as al-Jazari's work, cf. Schopen, 46; trans. G. W. B. Huntingford, 56 (Oxford 1965). But see n. 17, and the problem of earlier references to "*qât*" in the East.

7 The *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache*, letter K, does not indicate the use of the fifth conjugation of *k-t-f*, but only the seventh. Dozy, *Supplément*, lists the fifth conjugation as referring to the crossing of one's arms in front of the body.

8 Betel is thus described by Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, ed. C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, II, 205 (Paris 1854, reprinted Paris, n. y. [1969?]), trans. H. A. R. Gibb, II, 387 (Cambridge 1958-1971).

9 Piper betle, in Arabic, following various Indic forms, transcribed as *tanbul* (with *n* representing *m*), *tanbûl*, *tānbûl*, *tāmûl*. Betel leaves are usually chewed together with the so-called betel nut (areca). Cf. the highly informative work by Solange Thierry, *Le Bétel, I. Inde et Asie du Sud-Est* (Paris 1969, *Supplément au tome IX, 3, d'Objets et Mondes, Revue du Musée de l'Homme*). Entries on betel from Arabic pharmacopoeias published in recent years are ar-Rāzi, *Hāwī*, XX, 188 (Hyderabad 1374-1390/1955-1971), with excerpts from other

leaves) are like the leaves of the orange¹⁰. They possess the property of speeding digestion. Much eating of them colors the teeth red. (The Indians) are fond of them and have many statements on them¹¹. I have seen imported (betel leaves) in Alexandria, which had been placed in bee honey in (clay) pots. I bought three leaves for three quarters, each for a quarter¹², and I, as well as my brother Taqi-ad-din 'Abdallâh¹³, each ate one of them. I did not find that they tasted good; they were hot¹⁴ like ginger and pepper. It has been mentioned that their effect is noticeable only after eating ...teen¹⁵ individual (leaves). God knows best what is correct.

I further asked the aforementioned Burhân-ad-din about the properties of the Ethiopian *ġât* leaves. He said: They decrease (the desire and ability for) sleep, sexual intercourse, and eating. They clear the mind and increase the

sources in the editor's footnote, and al-Birûnî, *Kitâb as-Ṣaydalâh*, ed. Hakim Mohammed Said, text, 109, trans., 87 (Karachi 1973). Cf. also Abû Ḥanîfah ad-Dinawari, *Kitâb an-Nabât*, ed. Bernhard Lewin, 221, 230 (Wiesbaden 1974, *Bibliotheca Islamica*, 26).

Al-Jazari's comparison of *ġât* and betel chewing is apt in many ways. Such a comparison was also made by Ibn Faḍlallâh al-'Umari (700-749/1301-1349), who, though much younger than al-Jazari, wrote his *Masâlik al-abṣâr* at about the same time, cf. the translation by M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, I, 11 f. (Paris 1927). Ibn Faḍlallâh, however, states correctly that as such *ġât* and betel are not similar.

- 10 *Ġât*, and not betel, is compared with the leaves of the orange tree in al-Maqrizi, *op. cit.*, text, 11, trans., 12; Schopen, 46 f.
- 11 The effect of betel as a laxative is also mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭûṭah, II, 206, trans. Gibb, II, 387. Red coloring of the teeth as a result of betel chewing is mentioned by al-Mas'ûdî, *Murûj*, ed. C. A. C. Barbier de Meynard and B. M. M. Pavet de Courteille, II, 84 (Paris 1861-77), ed. C. Pellat, I, 247 f. (Beirut 1965-74). In fact, betel is known for giving a red color to gums and spittle; the often mentioned black coloration of the teeth is said not to be an effect of betel chewing. The "statements" apparently refer to literary and poetical discussions of betel, which were indeed numerous. With al-Jazari's remark that he obtained betel leaves in Alexandria, one may compare Ibn Baṭṭûṭah's statement that he was given betel leaves in Mogadishu, cf. II, 184, trans. Gibb, II, 375.
- 12 Apparently referring to fourth parts of the dirham. As compared to the Ethiopic prices mentioned later on, betel in Alexandria would appear to have been expensive. This would not be surprising for an imported luxury item.
- 13 Al-Jazari is said to have been very close to his younger brothers, but no reference to this 'Abdallâh seems to have been traced so far. "Brother" could also refer to friend or colleague, but a real brother is perhaps more likely to be meant here. Cf. also Haarmann, "Ein Damaszener Reisender des 13. Jahrhunderts an der Wolga", in *Festschrift für Wilhelm Lettenbauer*, 29-38 (Freiburg 1982), correcting my misunderstanding of *akh* as "brother" in *History of Muslim Historiography* (above, n. 1).
- 14 The *ḥiddah* "sharpness" of betel is also mentioned by ar-Râzi.
- 15 Here, as well as nn. 21 and 26, numbers seem to be meant, possibly *khams sittah 'ashrah* «fifteen, sixteen». Numerals are carefully written out elsewhere in the passage.

memory¹⁶. I say: This is an excellent summary of the properties of those *ṣāt* leaves¹⁷.

He also told me that (the Ethiopians) have a large valley (*wādī*) surrounded by a mountain, on top of which there are trees called *dādī*¹⁸. (The trees) have flowers, which are washed down (the mountain) when there is rain, and fall into caves. Those caves contain honey in which bees nest. The honey melts¹⁹ and descends to the deepest part of the valley. It becomes a good, sweet wine which people drink. It is permitted to everybody; no restrictions are placed by the government on it, but (it is) like permitted water²⁰.

He said: Among them, the price of the *dinār* is ...²¹. Exports from that country are skins, slaves, gold, civet, ivory, and other commodities. Ethiopia is reached from the Yemen via Aden and the land of *az-Zayla'*²² where Ethiopia begins.

16 Cf. the analogous description in al-Maqrizi, *op. cit.*, text, p. 5, trans., p. 5. Al-Maqrizi adds *tufarriḥ* "causes joy", the common word for indicating the pleasurable effects of narcotics.

17 This statement would seem to suggest that al-Jazari had information about *ṣāt* also from other sources. If that information came from Arabia, it would have bearing upon the problem mentioned in n. 6.

18 For *dād(h)ī*, cf. F. Rosenthal, *The Herb*, 124, n. 6 (Leiden 1971). In this context, it is of interest to note that there circulated a legend which linked the discovery of the «intoxicating» property of the shrub to the accidental dropping of its leaves into the water of a pond, cf. al-Birūnī, *Ṣaydalab*, text, 188, trans., 155. And we are told that in the 'Irāq, its flowers were added to wine in order to increase the wine's potency, cf. M. Meyerhof and G. P. Sobhy, *The abridged version of "The Book of Simple Drugs" of ... al-Ghāfiqī ...*, I, 3, 488 ff. (Cairo 1938). Here, *dādī* may have been substituted for *geṣo* which is used in the preparation of the celebrated *ṭāgg* "hydromel" (also of *ṭālla* "beer") of Ethiopia, cf. W. Leslau, *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage*, vol. 3, p. 616; J. Doresse, *La vie quotidienne des Éthiopiens chrétiens aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, 262 (Paris 1972); E. Ullendorff, *The Ethiopians*, 178 (Oxford University Press 1960). I do not know whether the legend told here is known from Ethiopic sources.

19 It might be "(the flowers) melt the honey", but the above translation seems preferable.

20 According to Muslim law, water (here in the plural) is *res nullius*, not privately owned but "permitted" to every member of the community, although there are exceptions under certain circumstances. Cf., for instance, D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malichita*, I, 318, 373, 408 (Rome, n. y.).

For the plural *amyāh*, see J. Blau, *A Grammar of Christian Arabic*, 228, para. 116 (Louvain 1966-67, CSCO, *Subsidia*, 28-29).

21 Read "fourteen"? The price seems to indicate that gold coins were unusually cheap in Ethiopia, just as the prices for meat and cereals also appear to be cheap in comparison to prices in Syria.

22 *Zayla'* appears ordinarily without the definitive article, but cf. Yâqût, *Mu'jam*, s.v. In his article on *Zayla'*, Yâqût also refers to marriage customs somewhat analogous to those mentioned here later.

He said: Fowl, monkeys, gazelles, water buffaloes, elephants, and other (animals), all of them wild, (live there and) are hunted by (the Ethiopians). They catch them when they are young, in order to raise and domesticate them. Others are slaughtered at the time they are caught, and eaten fresh, while the meat of others is cut and dried and eaten at some later time.

Again, on Friday, Ramadân 18, 730/Thursday (evening), July 5, 1330, (Burhân-ad-din) told me that on the day of the festival²³, the king of the Ethiopians fills a large vessel with honey wine. All who present themselves at court—amirs, wazirs, and soldiers, also the retainers and inner circle of (the king) as well as the dignitaries of his country—have their hands tied behind their backs and sip that wine with the mouth until they get drunk. Whenever the vessel gets empty, it is replenished. The king and his inner circle remain all that day at the gate of his palace and drink. Nobody who presents himself is prevented from obtaining some of that wine and drinking it.

When I asked (Burhân-ad-din) whether they have a table(cloth)²⁴ spread for eating, he replied: No, there is something else to take the place of our table(cloth) among them for eating²⁵ and other things.

When I asked him about the things they ate, he replied: They mostly eat raw beef. A head of beef costs from ten to ...²⁶ dirhams, a head of sheep from two dirhams to one dirham. Three *mudds* of wheat (flour) cost a dirham, and each *kayl* of durrah costs a dirham²⁷.

They have bedouins who are Berbers, but not racially (identical with true Berbers)²⁸. When one of them wants to get married, they do not let him get married until he brings them a man's penis with its skin and testicles intact. This is part of the dowry. Some bring three, four, or five. They boast of that. God knows best about that.

23 The Arabic could indicate the singular or the plural.

24 *Simât* may also refer to the meal or banquet itself, but here it is more likely to refer to the way in which meals were set up on a low table, cf. J. Sadan, *Le mobilier au Proche Orient médiéval*, 55, n. 198, and 80, n. 296 (Leiden 1976).

25 Read *bi-akl*, or correct to *li-akl*?

26 "Fifteen"? "Head" does not seem to be meant literally but to refer to the whole animal. This makes it very cheap, although prices are notoriously difficult to evaluate even with the help of a work such as E. Ashtor's *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval* (Paris 1969).

27 The fluctuations in the size of the *mudd* and the *kayl* are very great, but on the basis of the indications in W. Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte*, 46 and 40 (Leiden 1955, *Handbuch der Orientalistik, Ergänzungsband*, 1), a *mudd* in contemporary Syria may have represented about two pounds, and a *kayl* about thirty to forty pounds.

28 *Al-jins* seems to be clearly indicated in the manuscript. A correction to *al-Habash*, yielding the sense "Berbers but not Ethiopians", must be ruled out. According to W. Leslau, there can be no doubt that the Danākil are meant here.

*Text*²⁹

وفى يوم الاربعاء التاسع من شهر رمضان حصل الاجتماع بالمولى
برهان الدين ابراهيم بن الشيخ شمس الدين محمد بن عيسى التدمرى
التاجر السفار يومئذ وكان قد سافر من مكة شرفها الله تعالى
الى بلاد الحبشة وقدم الي دمشق فى هذه السنة مع الحجاج
سأله عن عجائب ما رآه فى بلاد الحبشة فقال
ياكلون اللحم نيًا واكلت معهم منه وهم يزعمون انهم يتقووا به
بخلاف المطبوع

قال ولهم ورق يسمونه جات يفضعون من شجر هنان وياكلونه وهم
يكارمون به بعضهم بعضا وله عندهم مزية عظيمة واذا اراد الملك
اكرام احدا من امرا دولته او كبيرا منهم ياخذ من ذلك الورق
يناوله منه فعند ذلك يقوم يتكف ويقبل الارض قال وهذا
عندهم اعظم من اعطائهم الذهب او الفضة
قلت وهذا نظير ويشبه ورق التنبل الذى فى بلاد الهند
وملوكتهم وكبرائهم واعطاهم لخواصهم ورق التنبل وهو ورق مثل
ورق النارج ومن خواصه انه يهضم الطعام والاكل سريعا
واذا كثر من اكله حمر الاسنان ولهم فيه عرام واقاويل
كثيرة رآته فى ثغر الاسكندرية وقد جلبوه اليها ووضعوه
فى برانى فى عسل النحل فاشترت منه ثلاثة اوراق بنصف

29 This is as accurate a copy of the text as I have been able to provide, but diacritical dots are usually supplied as needed, whether or not they are found in the manuscript. The reader may rest assured that the many strange things he will observe are not copying mistakes. The numerous offenses against the classical language are left just as they are found in the manuscript. We are dealing with a rough draft. Moreover, our passage reflects the spoken words of the reporter. Yet, it is somewhat surprising that an educated man would put such things on paper, even if there was time for later polishing and editing by the author or his amanuenses.

وربع كل واحد برع اكلت منهم واحدة واخى تقى الدين عبد الله
واحدة فما وجدتها طيبة الا فيها حدة مثل الزنجبيل والفلفل
وذكروا ان ما يحصل للانسان تأثيرا الا اذا اكل $\frac{1}{10}$ ثم عشرة
واحدة من الورق والله اعلم بالصواب

وسالت ايضا لبرهان الدين المذكور عن خواص ورق الجات
الذى بالحبشة فقال انه يقلل النوم والجماع والاكل ويصفى الذهن
ويكثر الذكر قلت وهذا مجموع حسن مليح فى خواص هذا
الورق الجات المذكور

وقال لى ايضا ان لهم وادى كبير وفى اعالى الجبل المحيط
بالوادي شجر يقال له دادى وله زهر فاذا جا المطر روى الزهر
فيسقط الزهر على كهوف وفى تلك الكهوف عسل يعشعش فيه
النحل فيذيب العسل وينحدر الى اسفل الوادى فيصير منه خمر
طيبا مليحا فيشربون الناس منه وهو مباح للعالم ولا عليه احتجار
من جهة السلطان الا مثل الامياء المباحة
قال وعندهم سعر الدينار $\frac{1}{10}$ والذى يجلب من تلك البلاد
الاديم والرقيق والذهب والزياد والعاج وغير ذلك من الاصناف
والسفر اليها من اليمن من عدن ومنها الى بلاد الزيلع وهى
اول اقليم بلاد الحبشة

قال والدجاج والقرود والغزلان والجاموس والافيلة وغيرهم الجميع
وحوش فيصطادوهم فمنهم من يصطادوه صغيرا فيربوه ويولفوه ومنه ما
يذبح فى وقت الصيد ويوكل ضرا ومنه ما يقدد لحمه الى وقت
اخر فياكلونه

واخبرني ايضا في يوم الجمعة ثامن عشر شهر رمضان المعظم
سنة ثلاثين وسبعماية قال ان ملك الحبشة يطلى يوم العيد مركب
كبير خمر من خمر العسل وكل من حضر الى الخدمة من الامرا
والوزرا والجند ومن اعوانه وخواصه واكابر اهل بلده يتكف ويضع
يديه خلف ظهره ويغيب بفيه من ذلك الخمر حتى يسكر وكلما
نقص المركب زادوه ويبقى الملك هو وخواصه طول ذلك النهار
على باب داره يشربون وكل من حضر لا يمنع من التناول من
ذلك الخمر وشربه

وسالته هل يمد لهم سباط ياكلون منه قال ما ثم شي
غير ذلك وهو عندهم بمعنى السباط عندنا نكل الطعام وغيره
وسالته عن ماكلهم ما هي قال اكثر اكلهم لحم البقر نيا
وراس البقر يسوى من عشرة دراهم الى (٤٥) وراس الغنم من
درهمين والى درهم واحد والقمح كل ثلاثة امداد بدرهم
والذرة كل كيل بدرهم

ولهم عريان وهم برابر غير الجنس اذا اراد احدهم ان
يتزوج لا يزوجه حتى يجيب لهم ذكر ابن ادم يكون مسكه
وخصاه فيكون ذلك من جملة النقد وبعضهم يجيب ثلاثة واربع
 وخمسة يفتخرون بذلك والله اعلم بذلك

ARCHAEOLOGY

TUMULUS, PIERRES LEVÉES ET AUTRES VESTIGES DANS LE MENZ EN ÉTHIOPIE

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Sur ses hauts plateaux entaillés de profondes vallées, le Menz conserve des souvenirs anciens. On rapporte que le dernier roi d'Axoum, Anbasa Wedem, s'y réfugia au dixième siècle. Baeda-Maryam au quinzième siècle y établit sa résidence. L'imâm Ahmed ben Ibrahim el-Ghâzi, plus connu sous le nom de Grañ, le dévasta en 1531¹.

Il possède nombre de monastères et de vieilles églises.

Trois régions le divisent, traditionnellement : Mama-Meder, Lalo-Meder et Gera-Meder.

C'est un district au nord-est du Shoa, avec Mehal-Meda pour ville principale et siège de l'administration, à 260 kilomètres d'Addis Abeba par la route.

Peu d'étrangers l'ont parcouru dans le passé ; rares sont ceux qui ont laissé des récits de leur visite. Il n'y a guère à mentionner que les brefs passages du missionnaire Krapf en 1842 et de Paul Soleillet qui en 1882 y resta deux jours en compagnie de Chefneux et d'Alfieri².

Il faut cependant préciser qu'il n'est pas fait état ici de plusieurs renseignements que fournit la chronique éthiopienne, de manière sporadique³. Cela étant, l'abondance des faits n'est pas ce qui caractérise la documentation historique relative au Menz. Quant à l'information archéologique, elle est quasiment nulle. La précieuse nomenclature des églises rupestres que R. Sauter a dressée, enregistre Alobar (un lac de vallée entouré de légendes, près de Zemmero), Ghebre-Krestos-Aragawi et Yeghem-Washa, sans description⁴.

L'objet de cette note est de livrer quelques indications sur des sites observés à l'occasion d'un voyage effectué dans la région de Gera-Meder, à l'ouest de Mehal-Meda, en novembre 1980⁵.

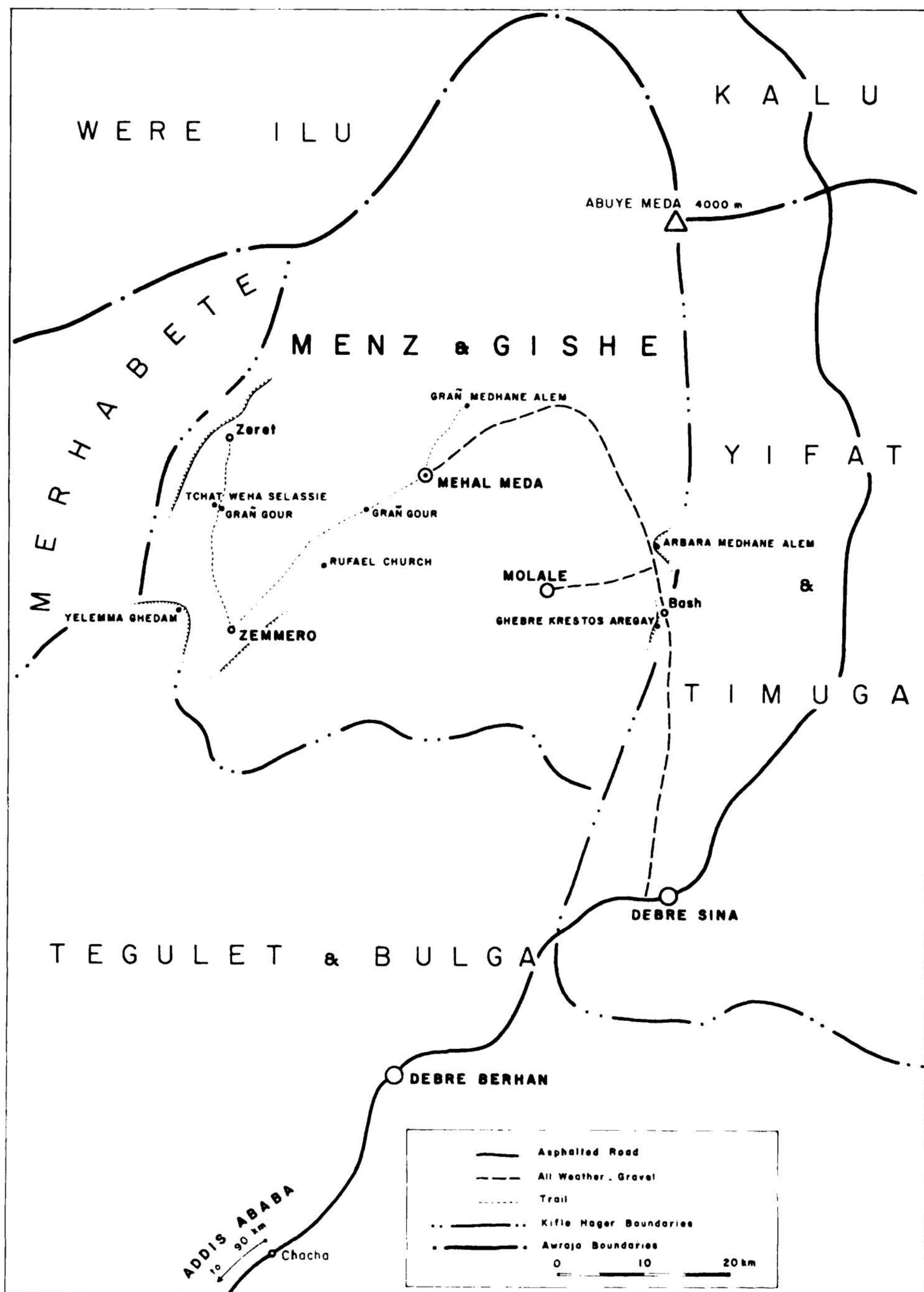
¹ D. N. Levine, *Wax and Gold*. 1967, p. 28-54.

² P. Soleillet, *Voyages en Éthiopie*, p. 87-90.

³ Guèbrè-Sellassié, *Chronique du Règne de Ménélik II*. Paris. 1931. Notamment p. 28 note 2. Etc.

⁴ R. Sauter, « Où en est notre connaissance des églises rupestres d'Éthiopie », *Annales d'Éthiopie*. 1963, vol. V, p. 276.

⁵ Ato Kostantinos Tesfaye-Tsyon et M. Yves Baudouin étaient du voyage. M. Y. Baudouin a dessiné la carte.



Carte du Menz (itinéraire 1980)

TUMULUS

Ils sont assez nombreux en Éthiopie. On en connaît aux parages de Ham, en Erythrée, ainsi qu'au sud d'Assab, à Eyilou⁶.

Ceux du Harar ont été signalés il y a une cinquantaine d'années par Azaïs et Chambard⁷.

Dans le Arsi, Amara est un site à tumulus⁸.

Plusieurs ont été repérés dans le Shoa: à Ilalu-Maskal dans la contrée de Balli-Abbo du canton de Loumé, à une soixantaine de kilomètres au sud d'Addis Abeba; dans le Soddo, à Harmuffo-Dildilla, Waraddi, Osole, Dimbo-Der, notamment⁹.

Le Sidamo peut également figurer dans la liste avec ses sites de Gobatcho(?), Tuto-Fela et Ghinno, dans les districts de Sidama et de Gedeo, à l'est du lac Abaya.

L'inventaire général n'a pas été fait, tant s'en faut.

Tous ces tumulus sont anciens. Il est difficile d'en spécifier la date; plus encore d'indiquer le nom du peuple qui les a construits.

A ce jour une seule étude apporte des données précises à leur sujet, et tente de les situer dans un cadre chronologique: celle de Roger Joussaume. Elle concerne des recherches entreprises autour de plusieurs tumulus du Tchertcher, dans le Harar¹⁰. Certains tumulus de cette région seraient à dater approximativement des environs du dixième siècle après J.-C. Des ossements humains et des poteries y ont été trouvés.

Les tumulus sont particulièrement nombreux dans les monts du Tchertcher. La carte complète demeure à établir.

Un point réclame quelque éclaircissement: tumulus désigne ici des amas anciens de pierres aux dimensions notables et dont on présume qu'ils recouvrent des sépultures.

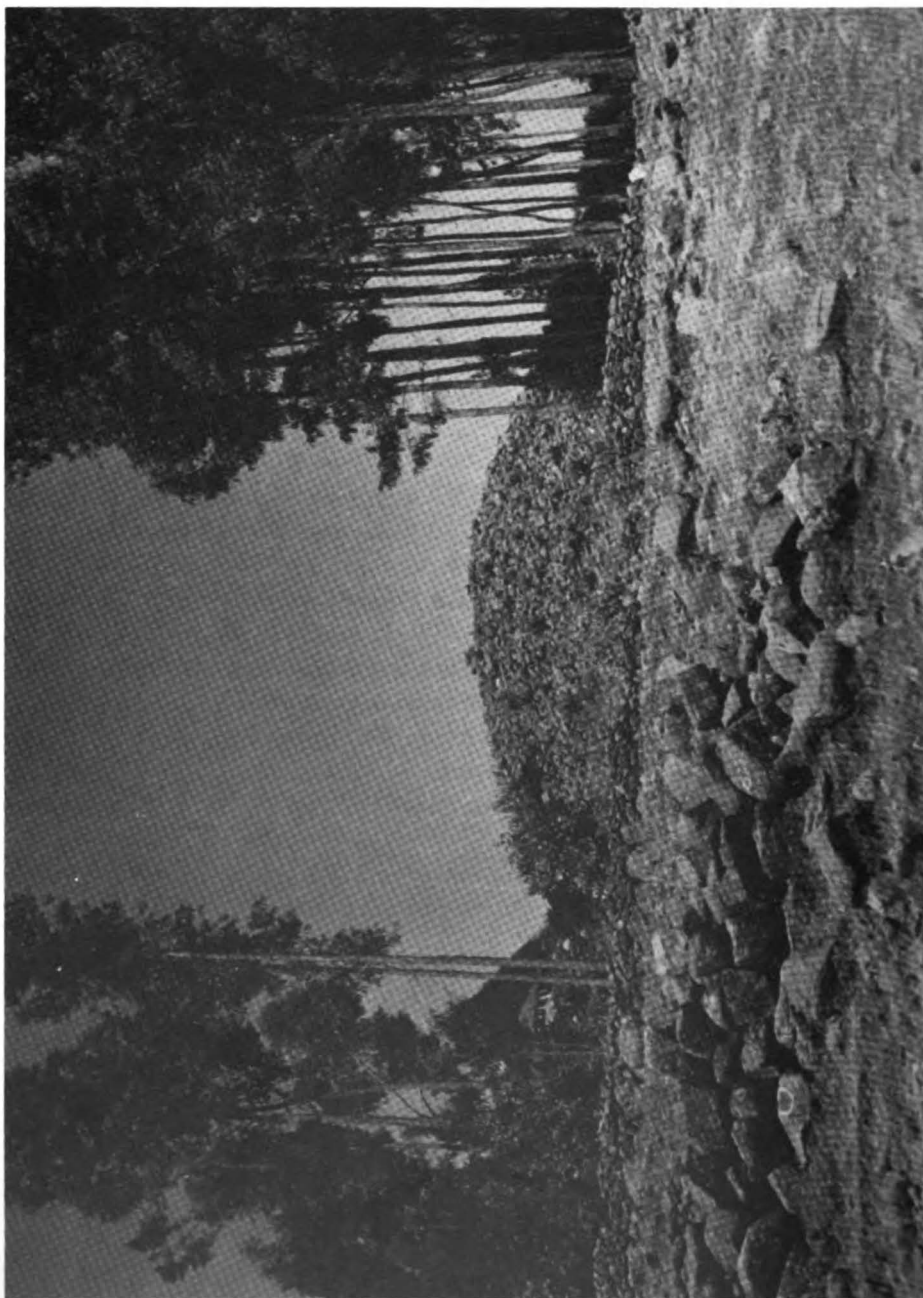
6 Fr. Anfray, *Annales d'Éthiopie*, vol. VI 1965, p. 8. Chronique archéologique, et vol. VIII, 1970, p. 41. Notes archéologiques.

7 Azaïs et Chambard, *Cinq années de recherches archéologiques en Éthiopie*. Paris. 1932. En 1980, des tumulus ont été observés par Fr. Anfray et Ato Kostantinos dans les collines au sud de Mieso, à Debiti. Il y en aurait aussi à Bio, sur les hauteurs à l'est de Debiti.

8 Fr. Anfray, «Notes archéologiques», *Annales d'Éthiopie*, vol. VIII, 1970, p. 32.

9 Ces tumulus ont des dimensions moyennes: environ un mètre d'élévation; cinq ou six mètres de diamètre; parfois moins.

10 R. Joussaume, *Le Mégalithisme en Éthiopie. Monuments funéraires protohistoriques du Harar*. 1974, pages 11 et 12, 51 à 59, 109 à 112. Des cistes mégalithiques dateraient des environs du milieu du deuxième millénaire avant l'ère. Recouvertes de pierres et de terre au temps de leur aménagement, elles formaient alors des tumulus.



1. Grañ Gour à dix kilomètres de Mehal-Meda.

Leur hauteur est comprise entre trois et huit mètres. À la base, leur diamètre peut atteindre une dizaine de mètres, et davantage.

Selon Roger Joussaume, à Watcho dans le Tchertcher des tumulus «dépassent cinquante mètres de diamètre et une douzaine de mètres en hauteur»¹¹.

Azaïs et Chambard, à propos des investigations qu'ils entreprirent au cours des années vingt, mentionnent des tumulus de pierres observés dans l'Arsi, dont ils disent qu'ils sont «entourés de pierres atteignant 1 m 50 de hauteur sur 0 m 80 de large»¹²; en pays Amarro, dans le Sidamo «un peu avant Alga ... une centaine de petits tumulus, d'un mètre et demi de diamètre, surmontés de pierres basaltiques»; à Chama, dans le Gamo-Gofa, «une vingtaine de tumulus» dont la hauteur varie de 0 m 50 à 0 m 75. Il est certain que les petits monticules de terre et de pierre abondent dans tout le pays éthiopien, certains d'une ancienneté presque impossible à apprécier, d'autres d'une époque récente. Dans le Sidamo on en élève toujours, sur les tombes. En quelques endroits, des tas de pierres ne marquent pas l'emplacement de sépultures; ce sont de simples monuments commémoratifs d'événements particuliers, d'intérêt local. Il y a lieu de distinguer ces monticules des grands tumulus, dans une première approche de la question en tout cas.

GRAÑ GOUR

À dix kilomètres au sud-ouest de Mehal-Meda, en bordure du chemin qui conduit à Zemmero un gros entassement de pierres basaltiques signale très vraisemblablement une sépulture ancienne (voir la carte et la photo n° 1).

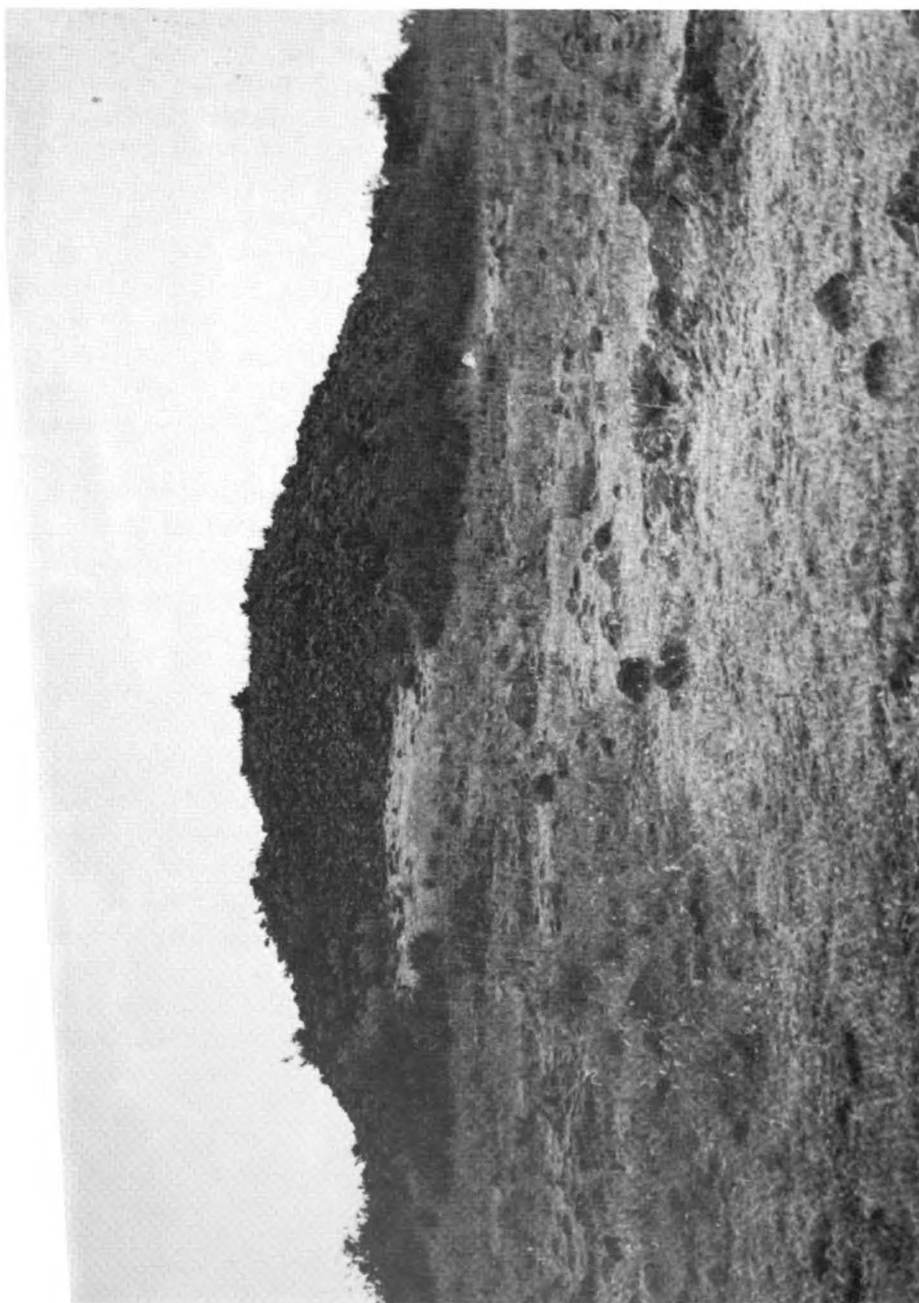
Sa hauteur dépasse cinq mètres. À la base, son diamètre est d'une vingtaine de mètres. La tradition locale y voit un tombeau. Elle y accroche le nom de Grañ, comme d'ailleurs à plusieurs sites historiques de la région¹³.

Au dire des habitants du voisinage, plusieurs tumulus du même type se rencontrent dans le pays. De fait, un autre a été remarqué à TCHAT-WEHA-SELLASSIE, localité qui se trouve à une quinzaine de kilomètres en direction

¹¹ R. Joussaume, *Le Mégalithisme*, p. 55.

¹² Azaïs et Chambard, *Cinq années de recherches archéologiques en Éthiopie*. Paris. 1932, pages 215, 246, 264. Les auteurs font état de tumulus observés à Matara, Wenni, Gayet-Gareno; il semble que ç'ait été par erreur.

¹³ Ainsi l'église de Grañ-Medhane-Alem, à huit kilomètres au nord de Mehal-Meda, bizarrement.



2. Grañ Gour près de Tchat-Weha-Sellassie.

de l'ouest, à vol d'oiseau; à quelque trente-cinq kilomètres par le chemin qui mène à Zeret. (Photo n° 2).

Ce tumulus offre les mêmes caractéristiques que le premier: entassement de grosses pierres basaltiques, dimensions sensiblement égales. Il est aussi appelé Grañ Gour. (Ce dernier mot, en amharique, signifie d'ailleurs tertre artificiel).

PIERRES LEVÉES À TCHAT-WEHA-SELLASSIE

Près du deuxième Grañ Gour, entre Zemmero et Teret, à proximité d'une église, trois pierres sont dressées en alignement. Ce sont des pierres laissées à l'état brut, et hautes de 1 m 70. Selon les gens du lieu, elles ne seraient pas à leur emplacement d'origine. Elles se trouvaient jadis non loin du tumulus¹⁴. Photo n° 3.

PIERRES SCULPTÉES À L'ÉGLISE DE RUFAEL DANS LA RÉGION DE MESAHALE-MARYAM

Au sud-ouest de Mehal-Meda, on atteint par la route, à quinze kilomètres, le village de Tsehay-Sina, puis, de là, après une heure de marche une colline ombragée d'oliviers et de genévriers où est une église dédiée à Rufael — anciennement Lidetta-Maryam. Autour de cette église on discerne les vestiges, dispersés et très effacés d'un ancien établissement. Photo n° 4. Ici et là des élévations de terrain semblent indiquer la présence d'un mur d'enceinte.

Selon la tradition, le roi Baeda-Maryam qui régna de 1468 à 1478 fixa un temps sa résidence en cet endroit.

Les habitants du pays racontent qu'ils y ont découvert des blocs de pierre ouvrés en creusant le sol. Dans les murs du porche (dedje selam) sont remployées des pierres sculptées. L'une d'elles (photo n° 5) montre deux rouelles encadrant un motif hélicoïdal, en champlevé. Longueur: 77 cm. Largeur: 55 cm.

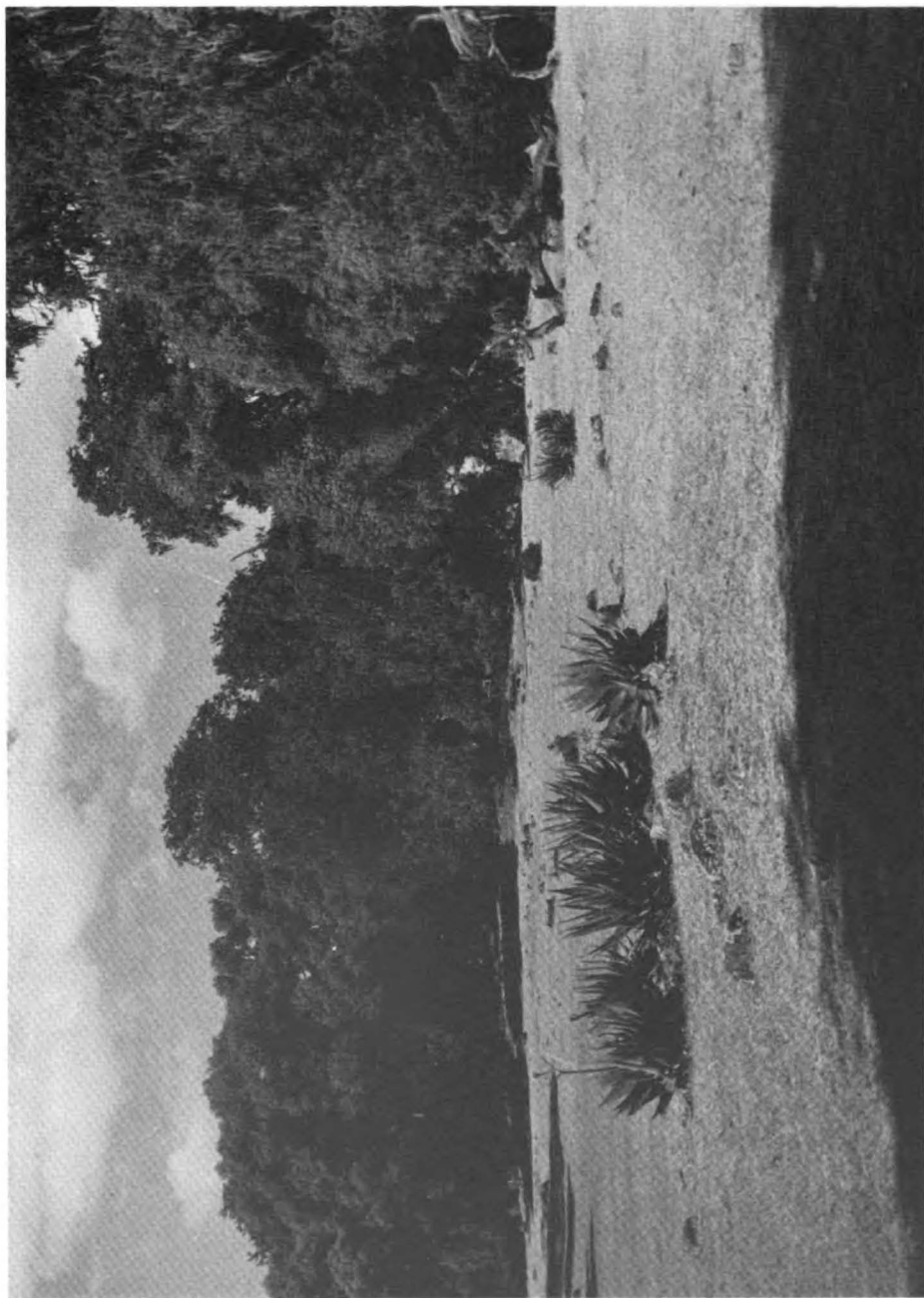
Trois blocs de facture semblable sont encastrés dans les murs, à l'intérieur du porche.

Que de tels éléments de décoration architecturale remontent au quinzième siècle, l'attribution n'est rien de moins que plausible. Au nord du Menz, la

¹⁴ Des pierres semblables, au nombre de trois, ont été observées sur le tertre de l'église Ghiorghis, à Dankaz, non loin des ruines du château de Gomenghè, au sud de Gondar. 1980.



3. Pierres levées près de l'église de Tchat-Weha-Sellassie.



4. Mesahale-Maryam. Vestiges anciens près de l'église de Rufael.



5. Mesahale-Maryam (Rufael). Pierre sculptée dans le mur du porche.

région voisine de Wera-Ilu conserve des vestiges sculptés de cette époque. Ainsi à l'église de Mekane-Sellassie¹⁵.

Dans la chronique de Haylu, il est dit que Baeda-Maryam bâtit une église à Meshale-Maryam qui est le nom de la contrée environnant la colline de Rufael¹⁶.

ARBARA-MEDHANE-ALEM

Peu après l'embranchement de Molale, sur la route de Mehal-Meda, en contrebas vers l'est (dix minutes à pied), une grotte naturelle a été aménagée en sanctuaire chrétien. Au fond de la grotte sont entassés des corps momifiés — de façon naturelle — dont la plupart ont été enveloppés dans des peaux. Squelettes de moines, dit-on, vieux de plusieurs siècles. On en dénombre une bonne centaine.

GHEBRE-KRESTOS-AREGAY

Non loin de la bourgade de Bash (une heure de marche, en direction du sud-ouest), une autre grotte naturelle, très profonde est elle aussi aménagée en sanctuaire. (Cette église de caverne est signalée dans l'article de R. Sauter, *Annales d'Ethiopie*, V, p. 276, n° 88). La rivière Ghebre-Ghiorghis coule en contrebas de la grotte.

Il y aurait des églises rupestres à l'ouest de la route qui de Zemmero conduit à Zeret. Les noms de Taghero-Balewold et de Kolakwo-Maryam ont été indiqués par des personnes rencontrées sur le chemin.

Bien qu'à proprement parler se situant hors du domaine de l'archéologie, il vaut la peine de signaler à l'attention de l'historien l'existence d'une communauté monastique depuis longtemps à demeure dans la profonde vallée que creuse la rivière Yelemma-Djirat, dans le canton de Qahia-Gabriel.

L'endroit se nomme YELEMMA-GHEDAM. Il s'atteint en partant de Zemmero. À huit kilomètres de cette bourgade on trouve le hameau de Siter. De là, deux heures de marche sur le plateau, une descente abrupte, et on arrive à Yelemma-Ghedam où vit cette communauté composée — au dire du supérieur — d'environ 175 cénobites — hommes et femmes. L'espace qu'occupe le monastère est exigü: une corniche au pied d'une haute falaise.

15 E. Cerulli, *Africa italiana*, 1933, XI-XII, p. 57-112. L'Etiopia del secolo XV.

16 E. A. Wallis Budge, *A History of Ethiopia*, 1928, vol. I, p. 314.

Habitant des huttes de caractère sommaire, ces cénobites semblent mener une vie très ascétique: jeûnes des plus rigoureux, maigre nourriture, prières nocturnes prolongées jusqu'au matin. Ils n'ont pas d'église mais une salle de prière dans une maison ronde. Aucune image religieuse ne se remarque. On ne porte pas l'insigne de la croix. On affirme ne pas savoir le nom du fondateur. Ces moines pratiquent le tissage, la poterie (de belle qualité), la meunerie¹⁷.

Anciens Falasha? Témoins d'une antique communauté chrétienne sise à l'écart de l'orthodoxie éthiopienne?

¹⁷ Cf. D.N. Levine. On the History and Culture of Manz. *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*. Vol. IX n° 1. p. 204, note 3.

ART

A NOTE ON THE COSTUMES
IN 15TH AND EARLY 16TH-CENTURY PAINTINGS:
PORTRAITS OF THE NOBLES AND THEIR RELATION
TO THE IMAGES OF SAINTS ON HORSEBACK

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The following note is the fortuitous outcome of the writer's research in Ethiopian painting and an attempt to explore it as a possible source for the study of Ethiopian dress in the past¹.

The subject matter of Ethiopian paintings is almost exclusively religious. The painters depicted biblical stories, the Virgin Mary as well as the saints and martyrs, usually following the iconography either of the East or the West. They rarely ventured to create their own compositions. Nevertheless, the imported models had to be adapted to the local cultural environment and this was achieved by transforming these models according to the local idiom as well as by adding details taken directly from Ethiopian life. The transformations and additions are important for the study of the material culture of the Ethiopians, including their way of dress. Although on the whole the Ethiopian painters preferred to follow convention in depicting the human figure and objects, they occasionally became realistic in depicting such details as crosses, house implements as well as costumes and weapons. This was particularly true whenever the painter did not refer to the already established model and composed the painting by himself. Moreover, we occasionally find scenes of daily life depicted among the sets of religious images and thematically related to them. Such scenes are exceptional in paintings prior to the 18th century when they became more frequent. These genre scenes mostly show people on horseback, boys playing lawn hockey, and a farmer plowing his field.

¹ The study of Ethiopian costumes is much neglected. One has the feeling that the description of costumes in Jean Doresse, *La vie quotidienne des éthiopiens chrétiens aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1972; passim and p. 255-58) is based rather on the author's knowledge of the 20th-century Ethiopian countryside than the study of travellers' narratives and paintings. Pankhurst in his *Economic history of Ethiopia, 1800-1939* (Addis Ababa, 1968), p. 263-66, gives a glimpse of 19th-century clothing = Pankhurst 1968.

Similar to Christian art in other countries, the religious themes are occasionally put entirely into local settings. Such is the case of the Flight into Egypt, which in painting evokes travelling in Ethiopia, including the manner of dress.

The other source for the study of the past is the so-called portraits of the donors. Following the practice common in the Christian world, the donations were attested by including the donors in pictures. Until the 18th century, there are few of these instances, but afterwards they became a popular and permanent feature of Ethiopian painting. The donors' images are not their portraits in a strict sense. The painters do not strive after the likeness of the donors, but individualize them by way of presenting their attire, weapons and ornaments.

Starting with the 15th century, the more gifted painters depicted the religious themes by combining a vigour of observation with a strong sense of ornamentation. They created the images of Saint George and the other saints on horseback in which the painter's imagination was well-rooted in Ethiopian culture. To depict the saints they took the forms which originally were developed in Eastern iconography, but transformed these entirely into the Ethiopian idiom. The Paleologian image of St. George with an adolescent face and in a coat of arms reached Ethiopia as late as the second half of the 15th century. That image brought with it the change from the mature and bearded faces of the equestrian saints to the youthful, as well as the change from the snake to the dragon, but it did not affect their costumes, the horse trappings as well as several minor details. Ethiopian painters virtually never depicted saints wearing a coat of arms. Their attire differs from those of similar saints in Byzantine and related art. Moreover, the attire of equestrian saints in Ethiopian painting varies from one period to another as if the artists followed the changes in fashions. However, these changes do not recall any European costumes that we know of. Would the saints be wearing local costumes? According to the hagiography of St. George as well as of other equestrian saints, they are either of royal or noble blood; we may assume therefore that the costumes in the paintings correspond to their high rank. If the costumes are Ethiopian, they indeed must be those of the nobility. The purpose of this note is to investigate selected 15th and early 16th-century paintings in order to substantiate that hypothesis.

The main pieces of evidence are three miniatures, two Ethiopian noblemen on horseback and one a noble lady travelling, persons who ordered the manuscripts to be produced and their portraits depicted.

The evidence thus obtained is compared with the information on the Ethiopian manner of dress obtained from written records. The narratives of

Father Francisco Alvarez, referring to the period 1520-1526², and those of Miguel de Castanhoso, referring to 1541-1543³, are the main sources of information. The writings of Francesco Suriano⁴, Alessandro Zorzi and two 17th-century writers, Manuel Barradas and Job Ludolf are also quoted in the course of the discussion.

Although the narratives do not give a full description of Ethiopian costumes, they contain a great deal of valuable information. The narratives and the paintings seem to complement each other. The paintings give life to some laconic statements of the travellers whereas the writings provide additional information on the costumes and weapons which are not shown in the paintings.

The present investigation is the first of its kind and the conclusions should therefore be considered as tentative; some additions and perhaps corrections are to be expected as the result of further discoveries in monasteries and old churches of Ethiopia. Indeed, the inventory of Ethiopia's pictorial heritage is not complete as yet. Nevertheless, it is hoped that this study will initiate a systematic investigation of the history of Ethiopian costumes and will help to change some current misconceptions.

It is a commonplace that in recreating an aspect of past material life such as costume, one good painting or drawing can be more telling than a long description. The travellers' remarks about the costumes are mostly casual, at times lacking precision and when they describe the particular part of the costume, use expressions which by themselves need a glossary, whereas the costumes depicted in the painting can be "seen", provided of course that they are well-delineated, as is the case with the works described below.

Description of paintings

Let us start with the equestrian portraits of two 15th-century Ethiopian nobles. Belin Saggad, *aqanšana* of Sarāwē⁵, is shown in the Book of Psalms and

² Francisco Alvarez, *The Prester John of the Indies; a true relation of the lands of the Prester John, being the narrative of the Portuguese embassy to Ethiopia in 1520 written by Father Francisco Alvarez*; ed. with additional material by C. F. Beckingham and G. W. B. Huntingford (Cambridge, 1961) = Alvarez 1961.

³ Miguel de Castanhoso, *The Portuguese expedition to Abyssinia in 1541-42, as narrated by Castanhoso*; ed. by R. S. Whiteway (London, 1902) = Castanhoso.

⁴ Francesco Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land*; tr. by Th. Bellarini and E. Hoade (Jerusalem, 1949) = Suriano 1949. Suriano recorded the information on Ethiopia brought by Giovanni Battista da Imola (G.B. de Brocchi) who visited the country in 1481-82.

⁵ According to the inscription he was the son of Bagada Sayun. *Aqanšana* is a title of the

Prayers produced for him in 1476-77⁶, and prince (*masfen*)⁷ Yemḥarana Egzi'e, probably local governor in Tegrē province or its Eritrean part is depicted in the *Lives of the Martyrs* produced for him in 1451-53⁸. In the latter manuscript there is a miniature facing his portrait which shows his wife Lady Amata Le'ul with her retinue.

Both manuscripts are enlivened with numerous miniatures representing the life of Christ as well as various saints including those on horseback. The miniatures are executed in the style which developed during the second half of the 15th century in the scriptoria of Tegrē and Eritrea. Unfortunately we know neither the names of the scriptoria nor those of the artists. The book of Yemḥarana Egzi'e was kept a long time in the Eritrean monastery, Dabra Māryām (Qohāyen) which is reputed to have been in the past a great centre for manuscript production. It is possible that both manuscripts originate from that monastery and perhaps were illuminated by the same artist.

The portrait of Belin Saggad (fig. 1) is very stylized but the details the artist thought essential for the donor's identification are drawn from life and well delineated. The ornamented bandlet on his head, the sword and spear, the bare foot inserted into the stirrup iron as well as the colorful saddle cloth and horse trappings mirror the way of life of 15th-century noblemen. Short broad-bladed swords with ornamented handles occasionally appear in 15th-century paintings, which corresponds to the statement by Alvarez that "the great lords have a few swords". Perhaps they were made locally. The spear is certainly Ethiopian; its spearhead is fixed either on a bamboo cane,

feudal lord. C. Conti Rossini, *Studi su popolazioni dell'Etiopia* (Roma, 1914), p. 92-95 uses the forms *āqasēn* and Bagadā Şeyon. The writer is indebted to Dott. S. Tedeschi for checking this point and other suggestions.

6 At present in the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris (Fonds d'Abbadie No. 105). Described by Carlo Conti Rossini, "Un codice illustrato eritreo nel secolo XV (Ms Abb. N. 105 della Bibl. Nat. di Parigi)", *Africa Italiana* 5 (1927) p. 83-97; "Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d'Abbadie", *Journal asiatique* 19 (1912) p. 551-78, 20 (1914) p. 5-72, 449-494; Antoine d'Abbadie, *Catalogue raisonné des manuscrits éthiopiens* (Paris, 1859) p. 114-18; Ewa Balicka, Miniatury piętnastowiecznego psalterza etiopskiego (studium ikonograficzne), *Biuletyn historii sztuki* (1975) p. 89-113 = Balicka 1975.

7 Title of the feudal lord. According to Beckingham "Litt. 'governor', undoubtedly old title for sub-king". Alvarez 1961, 21.

8 Discovered and photographed by David R. Buxton at Dabra Māryām in Qohāyen, Eritrea. Mentioned *passim* by Beatrice Playne in her *St. George for Ethiopia* (London, 1954) and "In search of Early Christian paintings in Ethiopia", *The Geographic magazine* XXII 10 (1950) 400-11; the latter include two hand made copies of the miniatures in the manuscript. One miniature is reproduced in David Buxton, *The Abyssinians* (London, 1970), fig. 80. The writer is indebted to Mr. Buxton for the permission to reproduce the miniatures.



Fig. 2



Fig. 1

or on a shaft decorated with rings. Spears, or javelins, according to Alvarez, were the main pieces of Ethiopian armament⁹.

Particularly striking is Belin Saggad's head attire. It is composed of two parts, the bandlet and the trinket attached to it. Ewa Balicka who studied the miniature thought that "he has on his head a crown with ribbons which recalls the *kamelaukion*, called in Ethiopia *zewd*"¹⁰. It is doubtful that the 15th-century Ethiopians called this kind of head decoration *zewd*; it corresponds rather to the one used at the ceremonial investiture by the king of the high officials in former times and called *rās warq*, literally "head gold"¹¹. Perhaps Balicka took the sharply delineated noble's hair as the form of the crown. In fact, the miniature shows his hair cut and dressed in the fashion characteristic of 15th- and early 16th-century Ethiopia. We have a description of that fashion in the notes of the erudite Italian Alessandro Zorzi of Venice. He wrote down all information on Ethiopia as given to him by Ethiopian monks who passed through his town during the years 1519 to 1524. One of these, brother Thomas of Ganget told him the following: "The hair of the men is long, but they cut it in the shape of a hat; the hair is drawn out and oiled with a certain mixture of herbs so that when dry it stands on end, and with a long and rather twisted iron they comb it so that it stands out like a hat"¹². This description is well illustrated in a number of 15th-century miniatures including the portraits of Belin Saggad and Yemharana Egzi'e as well as that of the page who attends the wife of the latter. Such a hair arrangement is usually combined with an ornamental bandlet bound over the front, but the arrangement without the bandlet is also known¹³.

Bandlets were worn in Ethiopia to single out an office or distinction and were bestowed upon warriors by the rulers to express their appreciation for bravery during battle. Bandlets were probably also worn by the 15th-century rulers and were common among the nobles, if one considers the number of bandlets in the paintings of the period. Alvarez noted that a high official presenting tribute at the Ethiopian court was wearing "a crown [or cord in another version of the narrative] round his head like the little cap of a

⁹ Alvarez 1961, 129; Suriano 1949, 100.

¹⁰ Balicka 1975, 107.

¹¹ Alvarez 1961, 114 footnote 1.

¹² O. G. S. Crawford, *Ethiopian itineraries circa 1400-1524 including those collected by Alessandro Zorzi at Venice in the years 1519-24* = Haklyut Society, second series No. 109 (Cambridge, 1955) p. 171.

¹³ Four soldiers plaiting the crown of thorns on Christ's head in the 15th-century manuscript which was kept until 1974 at the Palace Library, Maqalē in Tegrē.

Castilian muleteer”¹⁴. At another occasion Alvarez recorded that the chiefs of Tegrē “all had small red caps with big points, which fluttered in the wind”¹⁵. The expressions “crown”, “cord” or “cap” would vaguely correspond to Belin Saggad’s and Yemḥarana Egzi’e’s head attires, which undoubtedly are a faithful illustration of how the nobles ornamented their heads.

The bandlet of Belin Saggad is fastened with a knot on his right temple with the extremities of the bandlet waving to the back. A similar ornamental knot with swelling fillets appears in the portraits of Yemḥarana Egzi’e as well as in many portraits of 15th-century equestrian saints.

Over the front, three short round trinkets are affixed. They seem to have a phallic form. If indeed that form was intended, it must have had a special significance for Belin Saggad. Moreover, this would be the only known instance of such head ornamentation depicted in early Ethiopian art.

The phallic ornamentation is well known in Ethiopia and was mainly worn by the Boranā and Guḡi people in the South, either as the decoration for men (*kallačā*) or for married women (*banáčō*) who wore it attached to the back of their capes¹⁶. The ritual head cover of the kings of Kafā, at present at the Institute of Ethiopian Studies collection, Addis Ababa, is ornamented in the front with three phalli. So, there is a reason to believe that, indeed, Belin Saggad’s head attire was ornamented with phallic trinkets, perhaps made of silver or gilt and studded with semi-precious stones. The painter did not know how to draw the trinkets at an angle as they are usually attached and has given the impression that they were placed upright.

Let us now turn to the horse trappings. Three collars are ornamented with small balls, while the brow and nose bands have colorful leather straps; a plume is affixed over the bridle. All these in addition to the rich saddle cloth evidence the lavishness of the Ethiopians in decorating the trappings as well as their love of horses.

Belin Saggad has his foot supported by the stirrup irons. The latter is of the type used in Europe as well as in the Near East, i.e. a U shaped clamp or piece of iron flat at the bottom. Belin Saggad’s stirrup iron as well as those of the subsequently described riders are virtually always of that type and not of the simple ring which is also used in Ethiopia.

The foot of the noble is bare. It is a well-known fact that until the 20th century the Ethiopians as a rule did not use footwear. Suriano states tersely

¹⁴ Alvarez 1961, 426.

¹⁵ Alvarez 1961, 429.

¹⁶ Ad.E. Jensen ed., *Altvolker Süd-Äthiopiens* (Stuttgart, 1959), I pl. 29; Eike Haberland, *Galla Süd-Äthiopiens* (Stuttgart, 1963), II 46.



Fig. 3

that Ethiopians are "bare footed"¹⁷ which is attested by all subsequent travellers' descriptions; the same is evidenced in virtually all paintings from the 13th century onwards.

What about Belin Saggad's costume? If we assume that in his portrait all the above described details are drawn from life, the costume he is wearing must also be Ethiopian. It is composed of three pieces: a striped tunic (*qamis*) reaching to the knees and having a round braided collar; trousers (*surri*) also striped and large at the knees but narrowing towards the ankle; and a loose cloak thrown over the shoulders. The identification of the latter is not certain, Is it a *šammā*, a loose white outer garment usually light and made of cotton? Our cloak seems to be of a heavier type and perhaps made of silk. Alvarez describes how the Portuguese met the Ethiopian Captain of Arqiqo, a locality on the coast of the Red Sea, who wore "a *bedem* a wide Moorish cape over a rich Moorish shirt"¹⁸. In another instance the courtiers were "clothed in [white] shirts and good silk cloths"¹⁹.

St. George (fig. 2) and St. Theodore (fig. 3) on horseback are depicted in the same manuscript; they wear costumes which are very similar to that of Belin Saggad and they are also armed with a spear. The trappings of their horses are identical to those of the nobleman's horse. Moreover, St. George's ornamented bandlet closely recalls those of the warriors accompanying Yemharana Egzi'e and his wife described subsequently which proves that this detail is certainly drawn from life. If Belin Saggad's portrait mirrors the costume and the weapons of 15th-century nobles as well as the trappings of their horses, we must conclude that St. George and St. Theodore are depicted in Ethiopian costumes. This is also the opinion of Balicka²⁰.

Let us now verify our finding and analyse the miniatures in the manuscript which belonged to Yemharana Egzi'e and his wife. The miniatures offer a glimpse of 15th-century Ethiopia, his portrait and that of his spouse being part of a genre scene whose force comes entirely from its life-likeness due to a sense of observation and care for details.

In pictorial plan, the portraits of Yemharana Egzi'e and Lady (*Etteyyē*) Amata Le'ul should be considered as one image although they are arranged in two miniatures facing each other²¹. They show the noble couple travelling

¹⁷ Suriano 1949, 100.

¹⁸ Alvarez 1961, 56.

¹⁹ Alvarez 1961, 269.

²⁰ Balicka 1975 p. 106 writes: "In the miniature, the indigenous elements [are] the costume of the Saint, the horse-trappings (particularly the saddle-cloth and the stirrup irons) and the youth".

²¹ The inscription over the miniature runs: "Picture of *Etteyyē* Amata Le'ul, wife of

and accompanied by two pages, four warriors, two porters as well as one maid servant. In life, this highly reduced train must have been one of several tens, perhaps hundreds, of people.

Yemharana Egzi'e leads the party (fig. 4). Not surprisingly the features of his face are almost identical to those of Belin Saggad. Ethiopian painters did not endeavour to individualize the facial characteristics of the people portrayed. Everyone has a stereotyped face. This anonymity is partly due to the technical limitations of the painters, but also refers to a deeper level of people's attitudes. The face, the part of the body most exposed to others' scrutiny, should not reveal our inner and true feelings and thoughts; the reluctance to display these was one of the characteristics of traditional ways of life in Ethiopia. The face in this context plays the role of a mask, behind which the true face is hidden, and consequently it was not important what the mask looked like. We may assume, nevertheless, that the painter rendered Yemharana Egzi'e with all the attributes of his social position. He depicted his hair combed in an elaborate manner as already explained; and indeed, more conspicuously than Belin Saggad's. Also he depicted the former's beard neatly trimmed and his moustache shaved. Does this detail mirror Ethiopian fashion? In both manuscripts the beards and moustaches are depicted in varied ways; Christ and the saints, except those on horseback, are mostly but not exclusively bearded and with moustache, whereas the equestrian saints are either beardless or with the beard but without moustache. We suggest that the painter truly depicted the mode of shaving of the period though king Zar'a Yā'qob in his writings exhorted the Ethiopians not to shave their beards which he justified by quoting the text of the Didiscalia²².

The quality of Yemharana Egzi'e's raiment corresponds to his high rank. His dress is composed of three pieces, that is the striped tunic, blue trousers pulled at the ankle and the ample cloak surrounding his body. Both shoulders are covered with the cloak, the extremities of which are billowing on his back. The cloak is made of a colorful textile, beautifully embroidered at its extremities. We suggest that all three pieces are made of silk which according to Alvarez was the material used for the costumes of the nobles.

Yemharana Egzi'e's hair is fastened with a bandlet which has unusually long extremities; his forehead is adorned with a piece of silver work which

Yemharana Egzi'e, may God grant them love and peace until the day of their death and cause [them] to inherit the kingdom of heaven". The writer is indebted to Rev. R.W. Cowley for the translation. *Etteyyē* can be a name as well as a title.

²² C. Conti Rossini, *Il libro della Luce del Negus Zar'a Yā'qob (Maṣḥafa Berhān)* = CSCO 251 (Louvain, 1965), 90.

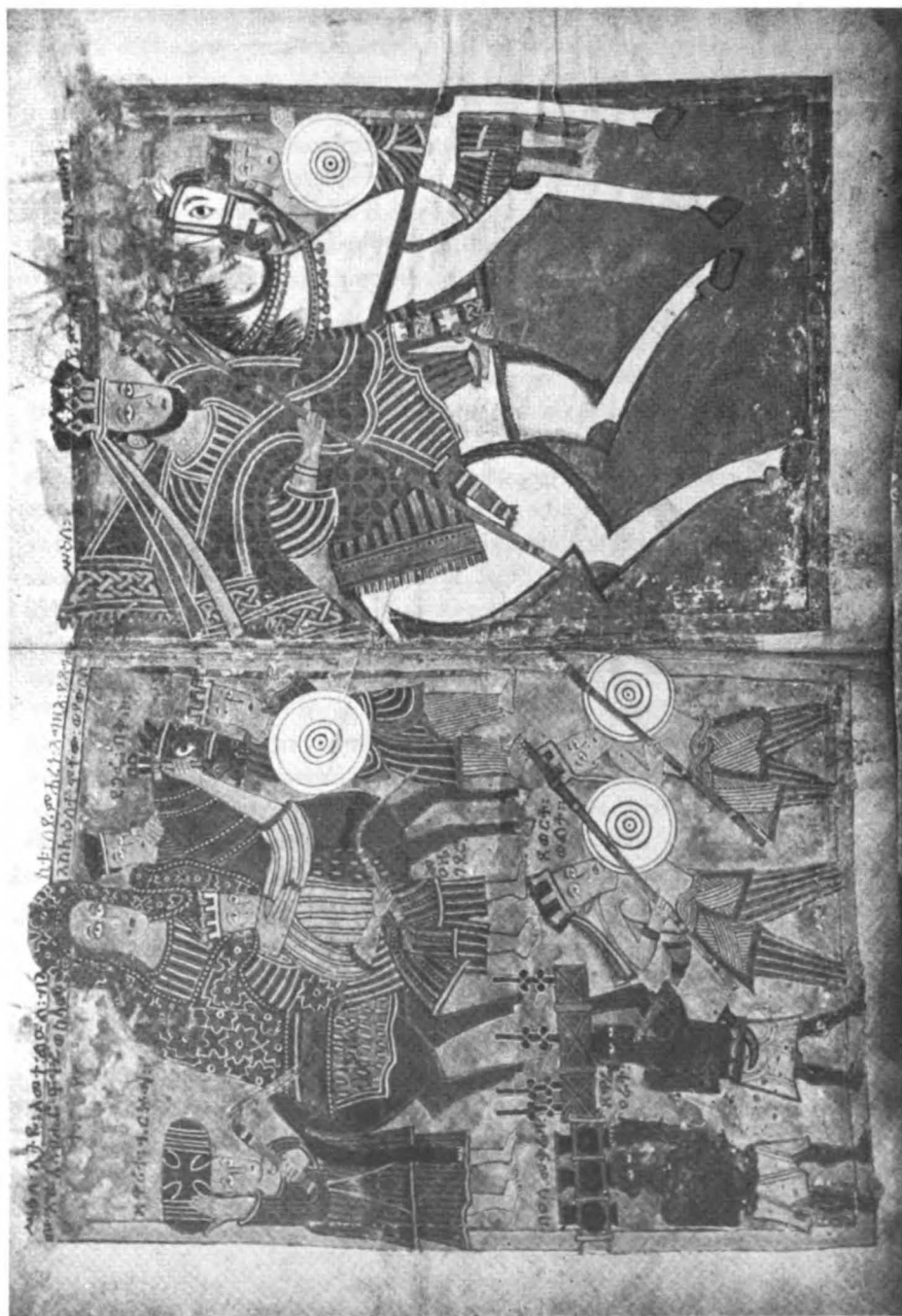


Fig. 4

seems to be a combination of fleurons and crosses. He also wears on his right wrist a bracelet which may be an ornamentation as well as a sign of distinction, for in the past successful hunters used to receive ivory bracelets from rulers. One of the warriors accompanying Amata Le'ul also wears a bracelet on his right wrist, and we presume that he also got it as a reward.

The surprising detail is the spur. It is not clear how it is fastened to Yemharana Egzi'e's bare foot. Fortunately this detail is better defined in the portrait of St. Theodore depicted in the same manuscript; we suggest that the spur was fastened with a leather strap running over the tarsus and below the feet.

The spurs depicted in our miniatures are virtually unique in Ethiopian art. Did Yemharana Egzi'e really wear spurs? More study is required before we venture upon a hypothesis, as to why and how these appeared in 15th-century miniatures.

Another detail of some importance is the sheath, emerging from the folds of Yemharana Egzi'e's cloak; the sheath does not appear in other miniatures of the manuscript, but nevertheless it is certainly drawn from life.

The horse trappings are elaborate and lavishly ornamented. The large girth is made either of colorful textile or coloured leather, and ornamented with metal plates, rows of bells are attached to the collars and a plume or cockade is attached to the bridle. The saddle cloth entirely covers the crupper. Indeed, the horse trappings are gorgeous.

The attendant walks in front of the noble; he is stripped naked from the waist up, looking like the warriors depicted with Amata Le'ul, except that his trousers are much shorter and only reach to his knees.

Let us turn now to the scene in the second miniature. Amata Le'ul rides a horse or perhaps a mule and she is supported by two pages who walk on either side of the mount. One page holds its bridle with one hand and its lash with the other. This corresponds to the Alvarez description of the pages at the Ethiopian court; they wear, he writes, short silk shirts and carry "whips (made) of a short stick and a long leather thong"²³.

The function of the pages in our miniature is corroborated by the description of the royal procession of Queen Sabla Wangēl in 1541, then widow of King Lebna Dengel. She came down from the monastery of Dabra Dammo to receive the Portuguese Christavao da Gama and his small army. On this occasion, writes Miguel de Castanhoso who witnessed the moment, the *Bāhr nagāś*, governor of the province adjacent to the Red Sea, "walked on foot naked to the waist, with a lion or tiger skin on his shoulders as a covering,

²³ Alvarez 1961, 269.

with the right arm exposed, and he led her [that is her horse or mule] by the bridle". Alvarez describes a similar mode of traveling by King Lebna Dengel. Two pages, he writes, "lead the mule" holding "thick tassels" attached to the halter, and two other pages "go, one on each side, with their hands on the neck of the mule, and two others behind them in a similar manner, with their hands on the mule's haunches, on the hinder pommel"²⁴. The train of Amata Le'ul is simpler than that of the royal couple but still her two pages combine the role of attending the Lady with that of holding the bridle of her mount.

Behind the horse a maid transports goods on her head, as well as a whisk which obviously belongs to her mistress. In Ethiopia, the whisk serves primarily for chasing flies but it is also carried as a sign of social status. Amata Le'ul's whisk is therefore large and its handle is ornamented. Warriors protect the noble lady; they are armed with spears and shields. One guard walks in front of her and keeps his spear vertically upwards. His task is probably to guide the horse. Two guards at the bottom of the miniature hold a shield in their left hand and a spear in their right. Their outstretched legs express the fast pace at which they march. Their bodies as well as their spears are slanted menacingly towards anyone who would interfere with Yemharana Egzi'e or Amata Le'ul's travelling. Inside of this area defended by the guards, the slaves transport the goods necessary for their masters' comfort. One slave carries earthenware containers with *maqārēṣā* according to the inscription which probably means mead or beer, while the other slave carries a bed. One slave holds in addition a mace whereas another blows a trumpet. The latter has a curved knife attached to his belt. Such knives are usually carried by the Nilotic people living in the lowlands situated north and west of Ethiopia's heartland. We presume that the slaves depicted here originated from these areas; the painter has indicated this by making their complexion dark. Until recent times the Ethiopians did not consider themselves as belonging to the Black People, the *ṣanqallā*; they differentiated themselves as being "red". The miniature dramatically illustrates this belief and proves that it was then already well-rooted. The slaves wear a simple loin cloth fastened with a belt probably made of leather. The loin cloth is either made of tanned skin or more probably of coarse cotton cloth which due to prolonged use and washing became greyish yellow. Similar loin cloths are still in use among the people of the Ethiopian lowlands.

Amata Le'ul wears a loose robe striped with white and covered with a colorful mantle, no doubt following the fashion of the court. Miguel de

²⁴ Castanhoso 1902, 19; Alvarez 1961, 336.

Castanhoso describes as follows the dress of Sabla Wangēl riding a horse: "The Queen", he writes, "was all covered to the ground with silk, with a large flowing cloak (*oparlandas*)". The cloak (*bedem*) was made "of black satin, with flowers and fringes of a very fine gold"²⁵. It is clear that Castanhoso, as well as Alvarez, used the term *bedem* or even *burnous* for describing the outer garment worn by men as well as women. For her travelling, Amata Le'ul probably put on a similar cloak made of precious material. A somewhat surprising detail is her exposed face. According to Alvarez "the wives of gentlemen and lords go about wholly covered"; Castanhoso describes Queen Sabla Wangēl "so muffled in a very fine cloth that only her eyes could be seen"²⁶. Probably Amata Le'ul's head was also muffled, but the painter has changed this detail because of his intention of making her "portrait".

The gorgeous trappings of the Lady's horse evidence her high breeding. The horse is covered with a large ornamented saddle-cloth; the collars of the trappings are large, painted red and ornamented with tiny silver or copper plates; two cockades adorn the bridle.

The attendants and the guards are dressed according to their function. Two pages wear shirts and trousers reaching their calves; the large belts are wound around their waist. They carry no arms. The scout walking in front of the Lady wears a shirt and trousers which are wide at the waist but tapered at the ankle. He also wears a large belt. Two guards are stripped naked from the waist upwards and because of the shields carried on their left arm, their right arm exposed; perhaps this is to express their respect for their mistress. The guards wear blue trousers similar to those of Yemḥarana Egzi'e. Their girdles have unusually large extremities.

The Ethiopian habit of keeping the upper half of the body naked on certain occasions is well attested by the travellers. Giovanni Battista da Imola told Suriano that "men and women are naked from the navel upwards"²⁷. Alvarez was struck by the particular form of respect used by Ethiopians, that of being "stripped from the waist upwards" whenever someone made a call at the court²⁸. He mentions the "honourable men, who were not clothed except from the waist downwards, with many thin white cotton cloths ..." ²⁹. On another occasion, the high official of the realm presented himself half-naked

²⁵ Castanhoso 1902, 18.

²⁶ Castanhoso 1902, 18; Alvarez 1961, 144-171.

²⁷ Suriano 1949, 100.

²⁸ Alvarez 1961, 431-446.

²⁹ Alvarez 1961, 269.

at the royal gate when bringing the tribute and later on his sons were also half-naked when asking justice³⁰. When the *Baḥr nagāṣ* received the messenger from the court, he "went out of the town to receive him at a small hill near the houses ... and he was naked from the waist upwards"³¹.

This custom persisted until the present but in changed form. "When someone, let us say a man of a lower rank", writes the modern scholar Tilahun Paulos, "wishes to enter the house of a superior to greet him or to make some private appeal, he must first of all take off his shoes ... Then on entering the hall he must twist his *šammā* round his waist and holding the end in one hand he approaches the host"³². He thus symbolically strips himself, though he still wears his shirt.

It seems that the oldest, though indirect, indication of this custom is a miniature in an Arabic manuscript dated AD 1306. The miniature shows the reception of a Muslim delegation at the Ethiopian court. Although the miniature is not a true illustration of the event, it certainly contains details which the painter must have learned from someone who had knowledge of Ethiopia. The Ethiopian king is sitting on his throne with a high foot-stool and is attended by six courtiers all stripped to the waist. Also, the painter had no prejudices about skin complexion and therefore depicted the Ethiopians with dark colours³³.

The pages and the warriors have their heads adorned with bandlets and their hair is dressed to stand erect. One page has a simple narrow bandlet to hold his hair, while all the others wear more elaborate head-gear, with or without a long ribbon attached in the back. The head-gear seems to be a metal ring ornamented with either a lion's or baboon's mane similar to the *gofar* used nowadays. The identification is not certain, but there is no doubt that this detail also is depicted from life.

In conclusion, the two miniatures faithfully reproduce the travelling habits of 15th-century nobles including costumes, ornaments and weapons. Let us now see how this conclusion relates to the equestrian saints depicted in the same manuscript.

Saint Mercury (*Marqoryos*) (fig. 5) is shown in the composition illustrating the reading in the Ethiopian Synaxary for the 10th day of *Hedār*. Emperor

³⁰ Alvarez 1961, 426.

³¹ Alvarez 1961, 122.

³² Tilahun Paulos, "Forms of greetings and other signs of respect in Ethiopia", University College of Addis Ababa Ethnological Society. *Bulletin* 5 (1956), 27-8.

³³ Universal story (*Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*) of Rashīd al-Dīn. At present in the University of Edinburgh Library (Ms 20, fol. 52r). Miniature reproduced in David Rice, *Islamic art* (New York, 1965), 115.



Fig. 6



Fig. 5

Julian, runs the reading, has ordered fifty "pure and holy" Christian virgins killed together with their Abbess Sophia. "And because of this thing the Lord took vengeance upon him with the vengeance of his wrath, that is to say, Saint Mercurius the martyr speared him with his spear ... and he cast him down from his horse, and killed him"³⁴. The miniature shows that very moment which is rendered with a sense of drama rare in Ethiopian painting. Especially impressive is the difficult pose of Julian who has just fallen from his saddle; he is already transfixed by the spear thrust by Mercury but still holds the reins, the usual behaviour of riders when falling from a horse. The fall of Julian is made emphatic by the two extremities of his cloak which seem to fly in the air. Undoubtedly the composition was conceived locally, perhaps by the painter of the miniature himself, the usual representation of Mercury in Christian iconography being either his trampling the emperor underfoot or piercing him with the lance, but not actually fighting the emperor.

If it is so, the details in our composition must also be taken from Ethiopian life; indeed, the raiments of Mercury and Julian, their hair style and head gear as well as their weapons and horse trappings are all similar to those in the travelling scene just described. Nevertheless, the figure of Julian brings a new element for our investigation; his raiment seems to be composed of four pieces instead of three. He wears a tunic with wide short sleeves which reaches to his knees, and a skin-tight shirt underneath. The latter is not shown in the portrait of Yemharana Egzi'e. Also, we have a glimpse of the kind of saddles then used. The realistically drawn saddle from which Julian fell, has a straight high pommel, flat at the top, and a pointed cantle, gently curved in the back.

The representation of St. Theodore (*Tēwodros*) (fig. 6) follows the snake-slayer type which appeared already in Ethiopia around the 14th century, but it is translated entirely into the Ethiopian idiom. Indeed, the image of the saint is modelled on the portrait of Yemharana Egzi'e, except of course, for the snake, the hand of the angel leading the spear as well as the cross in the saint's hand. In the Ethiopian Synaxary, Theodore the Egyptian, son of John, is commemorated on the 20th day of *Hamlē*. He is supposed to have killed the snake which devastated the city of Eukitos, whereas according to another Eastern Christian tradition, Theodore Stratelates, commemorated on February 7, is credited with slaying the dragon armed only with a holy cross and his faith. Our miniature combines both, the spear and the cross. The latter is clearly of the type which was popular in the 15th and 16th centuries. The cross has a particularly long lower arm which was convenient whenever

³⁴ E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church* (London, 1928) p. 228-29.

the priest sitting on a horse offered the cross to the faithful for kissing. Therefore, the cross in our miniature is also drawn from life.

St. Marbehenām's hair is dressed in the "hat" fashion and his clothing is on the whole similar to those in the two previous miniatures. His head is adorned with an object which vaguely recalls the "crown" worn by Josue in the miniature discussed subsequently. The ornament consists of two finials filled with the acanthus motif, common in 15th-century art, and probably joined with the pattern of small crosses.

St. Gabra Krestos (fig. 7), son of emperor Theodosius³⁵, is dressed differently; he wears a tunic half-way down his calf and wide-striped trousers; his body is enveloped in a white or yellow cloak, which can be easily identified as the Ethiopian *šammā*, an outer garment made of cotton which is widely used even nowadays by all classes of society. The way of wearing the *šammā* vaguely recalls that of the Roman toga. Gabra Krestos's *šammā* is thrown over his left arm, but leaves his right arm exposed. One of its extremities falls over his right arm while the other extremity falls over his back. In fact, there are many ways of draping the *šammā*, each one having a special meaning in social etiquette. The *šammā* of Gabra Krestos has a large embroidered band at its extremities; such conspicuous ornamentation is used as the mark of distinction reserved for people of the upper classes.

Alvarez describes as follows a high official who was "covered with a hairy cotton cloth which they name besutos [*bezzet*, piece of cotton cloth]. They are good for the country, and there are some here of a high price"³⁶. Alvarez probably meant the *šammā* or the other, heavier type of cloak, *bullukko*, used also as a bed cover.

The Ethiopian origin of Gabra Krestos's raiment is thus obvious. Moreover, he holds a whisk. The spur on his bare foot recalls that of Yemḥarana Egzi'e, but the rowel is delineated more clearly.

The Saint's elegantly dressed hair covers his neck and rises high in the form of a top hat. The beauty of the arrangement is enhanced with a delicate bandlet and an ornament composed of three dainty lozenges and crosses. The ribbon hangs down instead of flying in his back; perhaps the painter's intention was to depict the horse in a gentle trot instead of a gallop as in previous miniatures.

The trappings of the horse include a short ribbon and a small cockade attached to the brow band, all three collars garnished with large bells and breast and belly girths joined with a buckle-ring. Moreover, the horse's full

³⁵ St. Alexis in Greek hagiography.

³⁶ Alvarez 1961, 127.



Fig. 8

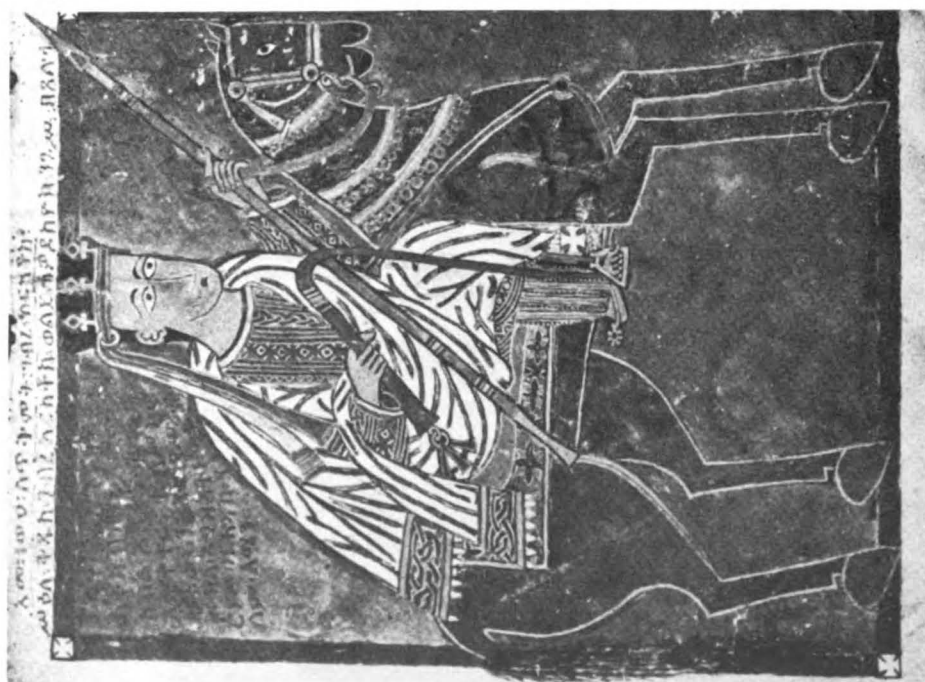


Fig. 7

anatomy is in accordance with the painter's endeavour to depict the things observed accurately.

Let us now briefly analyse a few other 15th and early 16th-century paintings in which, we believe, the personages are dressed in the Ethiopian manner.

The miniature, folio of the lost manuscript, Institute of Ethiopian Studies Coll. No. 4501 (fig. 8) is painted in a style similar to that of the miniatures just described. It shows three biblical heroes, Josue seated in the middle and flanked by Caleb and Samson standing. The latter wear tunics which extend below the knee, tight trousers and short loose cloaks, perhaps *šammā*, partly covering their shoulders and arms. They also wear large waist-bands which are first twisted and then wound around their loins. Their extremities are embroidered. Alvarez seems to have seen such waist-bands which he calls "girdles of coloured silk, in width and weaving like horse-girths", and he notes that "they were long and had long fringes reaching to the ground"³⁷. The guards of Amata Le'ul seem to wear similar "girdles". Bands of cotton wound many times around the waist were used in 19th-century Ethiopia as ornaments as well as for the protection of vital organs during battle³⁸. It is possible therefore that the waist-bands of Caleb and Samson, as well as those of the guards served that double purpose.

Josue's princely rank (he is called *masfen* in the inscription) is expressed by the crown on his head and the raised sword in his hand. He also wears a robe reaching his ankles and a large cloak over it, both obviously made out of precious material. Moreover, he holds a big handkerchief in his hand. In 17th-century paintings and those of the following centuries, Christ, Mary and the saints as well as personages of some mark are usually depicted with handkerchiefs in their hands. Our miniature is the earliest example of the ceremonial use of the handkerchief known to this writer.

All three personages wear either sandals or shoes which are drawn realistically; this is an exception since people are generally depicted barefoot.

Caleb and Samson each hold a spear in one hand and a shield in the other. All arms in the miniature are delineated with precision and are identical to those carried by Bilen Saggad, Yemharana Egzi'e, and the guards of Amata Le'ul as well as by the equestrian saints. It can be inferred from the pictures that iron was used for making spearheads. As to round medium-size shields, ornamented with embossed circles, they were in use until recent times by the Ethiopians. This precision of representing arms gives the impression that the costumes of the personages well evoke the life of 15th-century nobles.

³⁷ Alvarez 1961, 143, 269.

³⁸ Pankhurst 1968, p. 263.



Fig. 10



Fig. 9

The large diptych, IES Coll. No. 4053, is attributed to the 15th century. It shows equestrian saints who are called "martyrs" in the inscriptions. They are Aboli, George, Claude, Theodore, Basil and Mercury. Additionally there are king Lālibalā on horseback and St. Stephen holding a chalice and a sacramental spoon in the gesture of offering Holy Communion—the same gesture as observed nowadays in the churches of Ethiopia. We presume, therefore, that other details, including the costumes, are also depicted from life.

Although the costumes of the saints, for example that of Claude (fig. 9) as well as that of Lālibalā, are composed of the same three pieces as those previously described, they differ in details. The tunics reach the knees, but they are always in plain colours, either yellow or red. The trousers taper towards the feet, but they are rolled into a band at the ankles. The trousers are made of colorful materials and ornamented with patterns which recall Indian textiles. Over the tunic the saints wear a long piece of light material resembling a stole; it is either red or white, and tied across the chest but loose in the back. Could it be the Ethiopian *šammā* draped in the manner which seems to be characteristic of the 15th and early 16th-century paintings? The other novelty is an apparently full robe under the tunic; the robe is beautifully draped in flowing folds. Could it be the piece of official attire of the "Azayes" which Castanhoso observed in 1541, but worn on horseback? A similar full robe under the tunic appears in a number of 15th-century paintings.

The hair of the saints is cut round and smooth, but some wear it larger and covering the neck. The others have bandlets tied in a knot over their foreheads and a more elaborate flowing knot at the back of their heads. All hold realistically drawn spears in one hand and reins in the other. The way of holding the reins with the thumb is used widely nowadays by riders in the Ethiopian countryside and therefore certainly drawn from life.

Both the gorgeous horse trappings and saddle-clothes mirror the sophisticated taste of the nobility. The bridle is ornamented with a metal ball at the top, the collar with a cockade and the breast girth with bells.

The bare feet of the saints are deeply inserted into the stirrup irons.

The image of Lālibalā (fig. 10) is the earliest portrait of the 12th-century king known to this writer. Lālibalā is venerated as a saint and therefore has a nimbus depicted around his head. His raiments are similar to those of other saints in the diptych and probably do not correspond to his way of dressing during his life time. We believe, nevertheless, that the painter has depicted him clad in the Ethiopian manner, and consequently other saints in the diptych wear the costumes used by 15th-century Ethiopian kings and nobles.



Fig. 11

The following paintings provide additional information to the already described costumes and horse trappings.

St. Theodore and St. George depicted in the 15th-century diptych, IES Coll. No. 3980 (fig. 11), wear tunics reaching their knees. A full robe reaches their calves and is so large that it is folded three times. Underneath the robe the blown-out trousers are pulled in at the ankle; they are clearly tailored in the Moorish fashion. The *šammā* is tied across the saints' chests; its loose end billows in Theodore's back, whereas one end of George's *šammā* is twisted around his arm, which evidences the varied manner of its draping. Tunic and robe as well as *šammā* are plain blue, red and yellow, whereas the trousers are either striped or ornamented with dot-and-line pattern.

A large plume in yellow, red and green is affixed to the ornamental leather strap which runs from the bits to the crest of the horse. Alvarez probably referred to the same detail in the horse trappings of the royal mount when he wrote about "the great diadems which came down to the bits and big plume in the diadems"³⁹. On another occasion Alvarez notes that the horses "had diadems high above their ears: they came down to the bits of the bridle, with large plumes on them"⁴⁰.

In the early 16th-century triptych, IES Coll. No. 5093, the elegance of the raiments is matched by the lavishness in the horse trappings. The robe of St. Theodore as well as of St. George (fig. 12) reaches his feet and is unusually large at the bottom. An embroidered or bejewelled collar binds the neck to the robes. Alvarez notes that men "like courtier" wore "collars of gold badly wrought, and other jewels and false stones, and rich pieces round their necks"⁴¹. The trousers are equally wide and give the impression of being blown up like balloons, then sharply pulled in at the ankle and having many folds. The *šammā* is arranged crosswise on the chest and covers both arms.

The saddle-cloth is made out of precious material, ornamented either with tassels or with embroidered edging; long fringes are affixed to the crupper; a tasseled cord hangs behind the saddle and other tassels embellish the reins held by St. George; large bells are attached to the collars; moreover, either jewels or the plates of copper, silver or gold are affixed all along the pommel and the cantle. Alvarez described a saddle "all worked with carnelians"⁴² and a caparison of "metal plates"⁴³ as well as a mule which "carries a rich halter

³⁹ Alvarez 1961, 402.

⁴⁰ Alvarez 1961, 269.

⁴¹ Alvarez 1961, 269.

⁴² Alvarez 1961, 299.

⁴³ Alvarez 1961, 300.



Fig. 13



Fig. 12

over the bridle, and this carries or has at the lower jaw two ends with thick tassels of silk”⁴⁴. All these embellishments are depicted in our painting.

The stirrup irons are probably of Moorish type; they are wider at the bottom than all stirrup irons previously described.

The saint killing two naked figures in the early 16th-century painting, IES Collection, is probably George because of the white colour of his horse (fig. 13). His raiment is elaborate and comprises a long tunic with braided collar and either trousers or more possibly a full robe which emerges from below the tunic. The other piece seems to be the extremity of a colorful belt similar to that of Samson and Caleb.

The embellishments of the horse trappings include a plume affixed to the bridle, a colorful collar with bells and a breast girth doubled with precious material. The stirrup irons are in the form of a large ring inserted between the big and the second toe. Rings were used in Ethiopia in the past. They appear occasionally in 17th-century paintings and more frequently in the following centuries, though never entirely replacing the standard stirrup irons. Our picture is the earliest record of the use of rings.

On the occasion of the Conference on Ethiopian feudalism at the Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa, in 1975, Merid Wolde Aregay, an Ethiopian scholar, put forward a theory explaining the lack of technological development in “Mediaeval Ethiopia”; he relates it to the use of the stirrup irons. He believes the Ethiopians in the past were exclusively using the “big toe stirrup” that is a ring into which they inserted the big toe while riding their horses. The “wide stirrups”, he asserts, “never made any headway in Ethiopia”, with the exception of Emperor Menilek’s court in the late 19th century. Yet, he thinks, the adoption of the wide stirrups would “have made the mounted soldiers more mobile” and also “sparked off a shoe industry”⁴⁵. One would infer from the above theory that the main reason why the Ethiopians walked barefoot in the past was the “big toe stirrup”. However he acknowledged himself that he had “stretched the hypothesis beyond what would maybe he considered scholarly sound”⁴⁶. Unfortunately for this exciting theory, the Ethiopians in the past were indeed familiar with the standard “large” stirrup irons, and have used them since time immemorial. Evidence for this is found in a great number of Ethiopian paintings from the 15th century onwards.

⁴⁴ Alvarez 1961, 336.

⁴⁵ *Technology in Medieval Ethiopia*, mimeographed paper presented at the Conference on Ethiopian feudalism, Addis Ababa, 1975, f. 8.

⁴⁶ Ibid. f. 1.



Fig. 14

Let us conclude this survey with the portraits of St. Theodore and of king Lālibalā, both depicted in the wall paintings of the rock-hewn church of Yediba Māryām, dedicated to Abuna Musē, Dāwent in Wallo. The paintings are ascribed either to the first half or the middle of the 16th century.

The raiment of St. Theodore (fig. 14) follows the fashion as already described and shows the same lavishness in ornamentation. The novelty is his shirt with braided sleeves and the large turban on his head. According to the Portuguese chronicler the *Bāhr nagāś* was dressed in Arab fashion and wore the turban when he first met Dom Rodrigo de Lima and his companions⁴⁷, which was obviously the result of Ethiopia's contacts with her Islamic neighbours. Ethiopian priests wear turbans though of different shape than those of the Muslims. It is possible that, occasionally, the nobles living close to the coast of the Red Sea used turbans, and thus their usage found its way into paintings.

King Lālibalā (fig. 15) is accompanied by two attendants; one attendant holds an open umbrella, whereas the second attendant blows a horn, similar to Amata Le'ul's trumpeteer. The scene then is inspired by the custom still prevalent in 15th-century Ethiopia. Lālibalā wears a shirt with a "V"-shaped collar and braided with colorful lace. His hair is fastened over his forehead with a bandlet; three trinkets vaguely recalling the fleur-de-lis crown seem to be attached to the bandlet the extremities of which are floating on his back. The King wears an ornament which is either a short thick piece of wood or a round metal trinket inserted into the lobe of his left ear. Such an ornament, made of wood, is still occasionally worn by the males of the Ethiopian highlands, but it is more common in the hot lowlands.

Lālibalā's *šammā*, one extremity of which is thrown over his right shoulder and the second extremity over his left arm, along with his large striped robe as well as his blown-up trousers and bare feet in a Moorish stirrup iron, all faithfully illustrate the style of dressing of the 16th-century Ethiopian nobleman.

Conclusion

In the 15th- and early 16th-century paintings selected, it was found that the costumes of the equestrian saints as well as their weapons and horse trappings are similar to those in the portraits of two Ethiopian noblemen and a noble lady of the same period. We suggested therefore that the painter has depicted the saints wearing the costumes of Ethiopian nobles provided that

⁴⁷ Alvarez 1961, 62.



Fig. 15

the above portraits truly mirror Ethiopian life. The analysis of the portraits has demonstrated this. On the one hand the costumes of nobles, their weapons and other details as well as the costumes of guards, attendants and slaves are drawn with remarkable realism and accuracy, and on the other hand, they correspond to the information gathered from written records as well as to our knowledge of Ethiopian life in the past. The conclusion is that the costumes of the equestrian saints in the discussed paintings and, by analogy, the costumes of similar saints in other paintings of the period evoke indeed the state of dressing of Ethiopian nobles. However, usually the Ethiopian painter is not interested in realistic accuracy in depicting objects and persons. He prefers to follow convention in representing these. It is the exception to find an illustration of a particular costume worn by an individualized person. Most often we find a schematic representation of the types of costumes. Another factor is the painter's tendency to enhance the decorative value of paintings. Hence there is abundance of ornamentation. In our miniatures the personages wear mostly bright and colorful costumes made of materials with intricate linear design whereas most Ethiopians probably used plain white cotton clothing in their everyday life and on the whole their costumes were rather simple. This plainness was striking for the travellers.

Suriano laconically states that "men and women are badly dressed ..." ⁴⁸. A century and a half later the German scholar, Job Ludolf who did not visit the country but gathered reliable information from an Ethiopian priest, made a similar remark: "Their Apparel", he writes, "is no less mean and poor, only the Princes wear Silk, the Clergy and richer sort make use of Cotton; the poorer sort half-naked, cover themselves with Skins, that hardly hide their privy Parts, which is also common among some Nobility and Priesthood ..." ⁴⁹. Suriano and Ludolf meant, of course, the general conditions and the manner of dress of the common people, whereas Alvarez and Castanhoso recorded what they had seen at the royal court. Indeed, they marvelled about the dazzling colours and the beauty of royal raiments as well as the dress of the courtiers. There is no doubt about their truthfulness. The Ethiopian painters depicted Belin Saggad and Yemharana Egzi'e clad in their best apparel thus expressing their high social position, but they also depicted their slaves having their loins merely covered, thus dramatically illustrating their low social status. The statements of Suriano and Ludolf as well as those of Alvarez and Castanhoso evidence the differences in social conditions in Ethiopian society.

⁴⁸ Suriano 1949, 90.

⁴⁹ Hiob Ludolf, *A New History of Ethiopia, being a full and accurate description of the kingdom of Abessinia* (London, 1682), 388; also Alvarez 1961, 143.

The way of depicting slaves in our miniatures is as true as that of their masters; all are equally drawn from life. It is also obvious that the painters would not depict the equestrian saints dressed as common people, but as the highest nobles, and indeed only in the costumes they used for grand occasions.

The garment of the nobles as well as of the equestrian saints in the paintings is composed of three basic pieces, a tunic which at times perhaps should be called a robe; trousers and a kind of loose cloak variously draped. In some paintings, the latter is clearly the Ethiopian *šammā*. Occasionally a large belt is wound around the waist and a full robe added under the tunic. The bandlet on the head is adorned with trinkets. No footwear seems to be used.

The form of these pieces is not static; during the short period under review, from the second half of the 15th century to the middle of the 16th century, we note changes in their length, volume and even shape. For example there are at least three types of trousers. They may be short, reaching the knees and widely open at the bottom. Two other kinds of trousers are clearly influenced by the Islamic world. One kind is large at the knees, tapered towards the feet and rolled into a band at the ankle. This form seems to be worn with a tunic reaching the knees. The other form is rather striking in its "Moorish" character; the trousers are very large all the way down, they seem to be blown-up and then sharply pulled in at the ankle. The trousers are worn with either a tunic, or a robe reaching the calf. Similarly varied are the bandlets. The ornamental cockade is either affixed to the forehead or over the temple and the knot in the back may be either small or quite elaborate. We may infer from the above that in portraits of the saints the painters followed the changes in fashions of the day.

How did these changes come about? It seems that one of the main causes was that 15th-century Ethiopian nobles not unlike those in subsequent centuries as well as the upper classes of 20th-century Ethiopia used on special occasions either imported costumes or costumes made out of imported materials, though a very fine cotton cloth was also available in the country. Alvarez explains in a number of passages that the costumes of the dignitaries and pages at the court were made of a "good silk cloth"⁵⁰, whereas the king himself was dressed "in a rich mantle of [gold] brocade and silk shirts ..."⁵¹. Since Ethiopians did not know how to produce silk, all these gorgeous materials must have been imported. Throughout the centuries Ethiopia's main source of supply of luxury goods was partly the Near East and predominantly India. The Indian trade in Meṣewwā is well documented in

⁵⁰ Alvarez 1961, 269.

⁵¹ Alvarez 1961, 304.

Alvarez narratives⁵². Moreover, the Portuguese traveller and missionary, Manuel Barradas in his detailed description of Tegrē in the beginning of the 17th century lists imported "brocades, velvets, damasks, satin and similar"⁵³, most of these very probably imported from India. Barradas explains also the Islamic character of the Ethiopian costumes in the 17th century. These textiles, he writes, were usually not imported in pieces 'but already tailored, even in Moorish style'⁵⁴. The pattern of Ethiopian trade was the same from the 15th through the 18th century. It is therefore possible that Belin Saggad as well as Yemharana Egzi'e were depicted in costumes which were either made locally but out of imported material, or were already tailored abroad and bought from the Indian or Arab traders on the Coast of the Red Sea. Indeed, the surprisingly constant influence of Islamic culture on the Christian art of the Ethiopians in the 16th and 17th centuries should be explained by the dress habit of the nobility which in turn was strongly influenced by trade with the Near East and particularly India.

The ease with which the Ethiopians used to accept foreign clothing is illustrated by Alvarez's description of the Portuguese Embassy's intercourse with King Lebna Dengel. While messages were exchanged, writes the traveller "they came on the part of the Prester John [Lebna Dengel] to beg for some breeches, and the Ambassador sent him some of his own and others of Lopo de Gama's"⁵⁵. The courtiers who liked the Portuguese "breeches" would probably not hesitate to put on the Indian wide trousers drawn up and gathered into folds round the ankles, called *churidar*⁵⁶.

As already explained the paintings give an incomplete view of the costumes, weapons and other details of 15th-century material life. For example Alvarez mentions the use of animal skins by Ethiopians for ornamentation and for covering. He lists sheep as well as lion skins which, he writes, are "very shaggy"⁵⁷. Skins neither appear in our miniatures nor in 16th-century paintings. They are first worn by the servants of St. George in 17th-century paintings but are never part of the attire of equestrian saints.

The same with bows and arrows. They are listed by Alvarez and Suriano as the usual equipment of "men of war"⁵⁸. The guards of Amata Le'ul carry neither bows nor arrows which are also lacking in the portraits of equestrian

⁵² Alvarez 1961, 117-18, 359, 417, 429.

⁵³ Camillo Beccari, *Il Tigrè descritto da un missionario gesuita del secolo XI^o II* (Roma, 1909), 109.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Alvarez 1961, 297.

⁵⁶ S.N. Dar, *Costumes of India and Pakistan* (Bombay, 1969), 46.

⁵⁷ Alvarez 1961, 116, 128, 269, 429, 446.

⁵⁸ Alvarez 1961, 129, 516; Suriano 1949, 100.

saints. Thus the narratives complete the information gathered from the pictures. Similarly the paintings provide the details which have escaped the travellers' attention. Alvarez writes time and again about the splendour of the Ethiopian horse trappings, but he fails to give exact information as to the kind of stirrup irons: were they of a conventional type or that of a ring? The paintings provide exact information about this detail which as we have seen is considered by young Ethiopian scholars as having some importance for their country's development.

Acknowledgements

Fig. 1, 2, 3 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Fig. 4, 5, 6, 7 David R. Buxton.

Fig. 14, 15 Walter Krafft

The other photographs have either been made by S. Chojnacki or are his property.

AN ETHIOPIAN MINIATURE OF THE HEAD OF ST. MARK:
EGYPTIAN INFLUENCE
AT THE MONASTERY OF ST. STEPHEN, HAYQ

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The Ethiopic manuscript of the Four Gospels presented by Abbot Iyasus Mo'a in 1280 A.D. to the monastery of Hayq Estifanos (St. Stephen at Lake Hayq, Wollo Province, Ethiopia), a monastery which he himself had founded some thirty years before, continues today to be the prized possession of the monastery¹. While the monks of Hayq Estifanos primarily treasure the Four Gospels as a precious gift from their founder, the manuscript is also an especially valuable artistic and historic treasure. Its provenance is known. It is securely dated. Historic notes are recorded within it. Furthermore, at present, it is the earliest dated example of an Ethiopian Gospel book illustrated with an extensive multiple frontispiece, a class of Gospel decoration favored by Ethiopian painters during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries². In addition to richly illuminated Canon tables and portraits of Evangelists which introduce the respective Gospel texts, there is a multiple frontispiece of miniatures with scenes of the life of Christ. The multiple frontispiece in the Gospels of Iyasus Mo'a³ is introduced by a picture of the head of St. Mark.

- 1 The manuscript is described in, Getatchew Haile, *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville*, V, Collegeville, Minnesota, 1981, EMMML Pr. No. 1832, 293-301, note especially varia 16 (hereafter, *EMMML Catalogue*). First note of the manuscript was published by Taddesse Tamrat, "The Abbots of Dabra Hayq, 1248-1535", *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, VIII/1, 1970, 87-117 (hereafter, "The Abbots").
- 2 The extensive multiple frontispiece of the Ethiopian *de luxe* Gospels may include nineteen or more miniatures of scenes from the life of Christ; for further discussion and bibliography, see M. E. Heldman, "The Miniatures of the Gospels of Princess Zir Gānēlā, an Ethiopic Manuscript dated 1400/01 A.D.", unpublished Ph. D. diss., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., 1972; for the Ethiopian limited multiple frontispiece with the Crucifixion, Resurrection and Ascension: M. E. Heldman, "An Early Gospel Frontispiece in Ethiopia", *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, XLVIII, 1979, 107-121.
- 3 Photographs of these miniatures have not been published, but their subjects are listed in Getatchew, *EMMML Catalogue*, V, 300-301. Microfilm of the manuscript is available at the Hill Monastic Microfilm Library of St. John's Abbey and University, Collegeville, Minnesota. For the gracious assistance extended to me during and after my visit to the library, I wish to thank the director and staff, in particular Dr. Getatchew Haile and Mrs. Marianne Hansen.

This unique miniature of the head (*ṛə's* in Ethiopic or Ge'ez) of St. Mark Evangelist, author and teacher, is the subject of this paper dedicated to Professor Wolf Leslau, teacher and author, and for many years virtual head (*ṛə's*) of Ethiopian studies in the United States.

The image (fig. 1) is a visually compelling one. Within a rectangular frame is a series of concentric circles, the outer two painted red and yellow, surrounding the head of a bearded saint ringed by a yellow halo. The eyes of the saint gravely stare out beyond the beholder. While the enframing device of concentric circles resembles the medaillon frame of a bust portrait⁴, this image is not a portrait, for the head has neither neck nor shoulders. Moreover, the Hand of God reaches down from above to maintain, indeed to assist, the cosmic hypostasis of this majestic apparition. The inscription above its frame reads: "Head of [St.] Mark"⁵. Questions arise immediately. Why is only the head and no other part of the body of St. Mark depicted? Why does the Hand of God present the apparition of the *ṛə's* so boldly? And what special meaning could this picture have had for Abbot Iyasus Mo'a and his spiritual sons, the monks of Ḥayq Estifānos? The answers to these questions are disclosed in the history of the relics of St. Mark.

The facts of St. Mark's historical life are recorded in the *Acts of St. Mark*. He was the first apostle to go to Africa to teach the Gospel. He went to Alexandria, converted the cobbler Anianus, baptized many, and established the patriarchal See of Alexandria. Alexandria was the city of his martyrdom and burial. He was tied by the neck and dragged through the streets until he died; his body was saved miraculously from burning and was buried by the faithful in a cave⁶.

4 The bust portrait framed by a circular medaillon, the *imago clipeata*, a formula commonly employed in Early Christian art for portraits of Christ, the Apostles, prophets and martyrs, continued to be used in Byzantine art, as on the ivory relief of St. John the Baptist with busts of Sts. Philip, Stephen, Andrew, and Thomas in the Victoria and Albert Museum (A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II, Berlin, 1934, No. 68, Pl. XXVII).

5 The writing in the lower portion of the miniature is a later monastic note in a nonscribal hand.

6 Getatchew Haile, "A New Ethiopic Version of the Acts of St. Mark (EMML 1763)", *Analecta Bollandiana*, IC/1-2, 1981, 117-134 (hereafter, "A New Ethiopic Version"); Migne, PG, 115, cols. 163-170; F. Halkin, "Actes inédits de Saint Marc", *Analecta Bollandiana*, LXXXVII/3-4, 1969, 343-371. The Acts of St. Mark are retold in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, the Synaxarium of the Egyptian Church, etc. According to the *History of the Patriarchs*, he was buried within the church in which the Christians of the city celebrated the liturgy. Sawirus, bishop of al-Asmunin, et al., *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, I, i, tr. and ed. B. T. A. Evetts, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, I, 147-148 [49-50] (hereafter, HPEC).



1. "Head of [St.] Mark". Gospels of Iyasus Mo'a (EMML 1832), fol. 13r
 (photo: Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa/Collegeville, Minnesota).

The text of the *Acts of St. Mark*, however, sheds no light on the meaning of the miniature of the head of St. Mark. For this, one must turn to the complicated history of the church in Egypt and the veneration of the body of St. Mark. The *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church* is a most important source for both these subjects. The first note of the burial place of St. Mark appears in the *History of the Patriarchs* in the biography of Patriarch Peter I, Martyr (300-311). Before his death, Peter was allowed to visit the place where the body of St. Mark lay and he prayed and received a blessing from the relic. "When the holy father [Peter] had finished his invocation, he kissed the Apostle's tomb and the tombs of the fathers which were there also"⁷. No church is mentioned in the account of Peter's visit to St. Mark's tomb, yet the quoted passage demonstrates that by the time of the composition of this biography, later incorporated into the *History of the Patriarchs*⁸, the custom of patriarchal burial at the tomb of St. Mark had been firmly established. It is assumed that soon after the conversion of Emperor Constantine a church or martyrium was built to mark the site of St. Mark's tomb.

Two events which most affected the See of St. Mark after the peace of the church were the doctrinal disputes at the Council of Chalcedon and the Arab conquest of Egypt. At the Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.), the patriarch of Alexandria, adhering to a monophysite definition of the nature of Christ, refused to accept the dyophysite dogma proposed by the Church of Constantinople. With both parties claiming to hold the orthodox position while condemning the other's definition as heretical, the Monophysite Egyptian Church came into being. Persecution of the Egyptian Monophysites soon followed and their patriarchs Dioscorus (444-458) and Timothy II (458-480) were forced into exile⁹, while the pro-Chalcedon or Dyophysite party named their candidates to the throne of St. Mark. The final schism did not occur until the reign of Justinian, who seems to have instituted the custom of ordaining a Dyophysite patriarch for Alexandria in Constantinople¹⁰. By Justinian's

⁷ HPEC I, ii, in P.O. I, 397-399 [133-135]. See also page 153 [55] for reference to the burial place of Patriarch Celadion.

⁸ Sawirus, Bishop of al-Asmunin, began compilation and composition of the *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church* in Arabic in the tenth century, an undertaking which marks the beginning of Arabic literature of the Egyptian Church. G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, II (Studi e testi 133), Vatican City, 1947, 295 (hereafter, *Geschichte*). Subsequent biographies were composed in the following centuries. After the thirteenth century, the biographies decline in both richness and length and generally become a mere listing of those who held the patriarchal office.

⁹ HPEC, I, ii, in P.O. I, 443-445 [179-181].

¹⁰ HPEC, I, ii, in P.O. I, 469 [205].

decree, the churches of Alexandria were closed to the Monophysites and given to the Dyophysites. The Monophysites of Alexandria countered by building the church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian (finished 561/62) and the Angelion, which served in the early century as the cathedral of the Monophysite Egyptian patriarch¹¹. The Monophysites were denied access to the church of St. Mark in which his tomb was situated, for it was now under the administrative control of the Greek or Dyophysite party.

As the cult of relics and the institution of pilgrimage developed, the tomb of St. Mark became an object of veneration throughout the Christian world. The so-called Pilgrim from Piacenza, who wrote c. 570 A.D., is the first of the pilgrims to the Holy Land to mention the tomb of St. Mark at Alexandria¹².

The first half of the seventh century was a period of trial for the Egyptian or Monophysite Church. The Persians invaded Egypt, took Alexandria, and by 618 gained control of all Egypt, which they held until 627. Although many monasteries were destroyed, the city of Alexandria was unharmed. During the patriarchate of the Monophysite Benjamin (622-661), Egypt was regained by the Emperor Heraclius, then taken by the Arabs, recaptured by Roman troops, and retaken, this time permanently, by the Arabs. Also during Benjamin's patriarchate, God granted to the Monophysite or Egyptian Church the miraculous recovery of the relic of St. Mark.

Extant historical sources, Egyptian, Greek and Arab, offer no complete account nor precise chronology of the Arab conquest of Egypt. The *History of the Patriarchs* tells vividly of the persecutions of the Monophysites between 631 and 641 under Cyrus, the Dyophysite patriarch and civil governor appointed by Heraclius, during which time Benjamin endured a difficult exile in Upper Egypt until his return to Alexandria probably in the last months of 644 A.D.¹³. According to Butler's careful reconstruction of the Arab conquest, the Arabs took Alexandria a second time from the Roman troops in 646, not peacefully as during the first capture in 642, but by force. After the second capture, they plundered and burned the city¹⁴.

According to the *History of the Patriarchs*, the Muslims "destroyed its [Alexandria's] walls, and burnt many churches with fire. And they burnt the church of St. Mark, which was built by the sea, where his body was laid; and

¹¹ HPEC, I, ii, in P.O. I, 467 [203], 484 [220].

¹² "Travels from Piacenza", Sec. 45 in J. Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrims before the Crusades*, Warminster, 1977, 89 and 6 (hereafter, *Pilgrims*).

¹³ HPEC, I, ii, in P.O. I, 489-493 [225-229].

¹⁴ A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of Roman Dominion* (Oxford, 1902), 1973 reprint, 439-441, 336-367, 474-475 (hereafter, *Arab Conquest*).

this was the place to which the father and patriarch, Peter the Martyr, went before his martyrdom and blessed St. Mark ... And at the burning of the said church a miracle took place which the Lord performed ...”¹⁵.

A ship captain stole the head from the plundered tomb of St. Mark and hid it in his ship. Meanwhile Patriarch Benjamin returned from his exile to Alexandria. When the fleet set sail, the ship in which the stolen head was hidden could not be moved toward open sea. Simultaneously, Benjamin had a dream in which a man in shining garments appeared and commanded Benjamin to prepare a place for him that he might abide with Benjamin. When the ship could not be moved, the owner ordered that the cargo be searched and the captain confessed his theft. Benjamin was summoned to the scene, at which time he recognized the import of his dream and identified the head as the relic of St. Mark. The owner of the ship, a Christian, gave Benjamin money for the rebuilding of the church of St. Mark, but instead Benjamin had a wooden chest made as a resting place for the head and “he waited for a time in which he might find means to build a church”¹⁶. The time did not come to Benjamin. During the remainder of his patriarchate he encouraged the rebuilding of the monasteries¹⁷, a decision that seems to reflect the mutual dependency that developed between the Egyptian monasteries and the patriarchate.

The miraculous recovery of the head of St. Mark follows the *topos* of an attempted relic theft which is thwarted by the saint who does not wish to be translated¹⁸. Within this stereotyped plot are two significant points: the rescue of the head of St. Mark before his church is burned¹⁹ and the donation of the head to Benjamin, Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria, by the will of St. Mark.

According to the *History of the Patriarchs*, the church of St. Mark at Alexandria was rebuilt during the patriarchate of John III (677-686)²⁰. After the Arab conquest, the Dyophysite patriarchs no longer enjoyed the rights and privileges once conferred them by the civil government. Claim to the church of

¹⁵ HPEC, I, ii, in P.O. I, 494-495 [230-231].

¹⁶ HPEC, I, ii, in P.O. I, 495-500 [231-236].

¹⁷ HPEC, I, ii, in P.O. I, 504 [240] ff.

¹⁸ P. J. Geary, *Furta Sacra, Thefts of Relics in the Middle Ages*, Princeton, N.J., 1978, 137-139 and 11-16 (hereafter, *Furta Sacra*).

¹⁹ *The History of the Patriarchs* (P.O. I, ii, 494 [230]) is the only source that specifically says that the church of St. Mark was burned by the Arabs. Butler contradicts himself, saying both that the church burned and that it survived the Arab conquest. Butler, *Arab conquest*, 115, note 1 and 475.

²⁰ HPEC, I, iii, in P.O. V, 18 [272].

St. Mark reverted to the Monophysite or Egyptian Church. The tradition of patriarchal interment at the church of St. Mark was re-established and continued until the ninth century²¹.

The tradition of Alexandria as the site of the tomb of St. Mark continued to appear in pilgrims' literature postdating the Arab conquest of Egypt. Abbot Adomnan of Iona, recording Bishop Arculf's account of his visit to the Holy Land, wrote between the years 679 and 688 that the tomb of St. Mark lay before the altar in a great church in Alexandria²². St. Mark's tomb is also mentioned in a guide book for Greek pilgrims compiled during the mid-seventh and eighth centuries²³. Bernard the Monk, who visited Alexandria in c. 870, wrote that St. Mark "has a monastery outside the east gate, and at the church there where he used to be buried there are monks. But the Venetians came by sea, stole his body from its guardians, and took it away to their island"²⁴.

Venetian tradition places the date of their theft of the body of St. Mark in the year 827 A.D.²⁵. The Venetians made no note of a missing head. Of the translation of the body of St. Mark to Venice, the *History of the Patriarchs* is silent. Obviously there exists two conflicting traditions concerning the relics of St. Mark, the authenticity or priority of which I shall not attempt to establish. The Republic of Venice claimed the relic of St. Mark for reasons of ecclesiastic independence and prestige. The Egyptian Church claimed the head of St. Mark as symbol of rightful succession from the Apostolic throne of St. Mark. That the tomb of St. Mark and the body therein survived the Arab conquest of Alexandria is essential to the Venetian claim to his body. The Egyptian tradition posits the destruction of the church of St. Mark during the Arab conquest and proposes the recovery of the head of St. Mark by miraculous means.

Mawhub ibn Mufarriḡ, compiler of the biographies of Patriarchs Christodoulus (1046-1077) and Cyril II (1078-1092), inserted three items in the *History of the Patriarchs* that reassert Egypt's claim to the authentic relic of the head

21 *HPEC*, I, iii, in *P.O.* V, 21 [275], 25 [279], 215 [469] and *HPEC* I, iv, in *P.O.* X, 360-361 [474-475], 544 [658].

22 Adomnan, "The Holy Places", II, 30, in Wilkinson, *Pilgrims*, 110 and 9-10.

23 Epiphanius the Monk, "The Holy City and the Holy Places", VI, in Wilkinson, *Pilgrims*, 119 and 11.

24 Bernard the Monk, "A Journey to the Holy Places and Babylon", Sec. 6, in Wilkinson, *Pilgrims*, 141-142 and 13. This passage could be an interpolation.

25 O. Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice: History, Architecture, Sculpture* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies, VI), Washington, D.C., 1960, 7-19 (hereafter, *San Marco*). The earliest manuscript account of the theft dates from the tenth century; for a summary of evidence concerning the acquisition of the relics see, Geary, *Furta Sacra*, 112-114.

of St. Mark. First, he named the head of "the illustrious saint, my lord Mark, the Evangelist, at Alexandria" in a list of holy places and relics that he had personally seen²⁶. Secondly, he told of the hardship that befell his own father Abu-l-Faḥ ibn Mufarriḡ because he, fearing reprisal from the civil government, had refused to receive the head of St. Mark in his house in Alexandria. Following his refusal of the head, he was seized by Muslim authorities and taken to Miṣr (Cairo) where he was jailed. After a period of imprisonment, St. Mark appeared to the Muslim jailer, saying that Abu-l-Faḥ had profited from his endurance of this trial and that he would be released from prison in three days. And he was free three days later. Abu-l-Faḥ ibn Mufarriḡ returned to Alexandria and kissed the head of St. Mark²⁷. Thirdly, Mawhub ibn Mufarriḡ wrote of St. Mark's visit to him in a dream. St. Mark revealed to Mawhub that his brother doubted the authenticity of the relic of the head of St. Mark. When Mawhub told his brother of the dream, the brother repented of his lack of faith²⁸. Mawhub ibn Mufarriḡ may have included these assurances of the authenticity of the head of St. Mark in the *History of the Patriarchs* to counter the claim of Venice to the relics of St. Mark. The rebuilding²⁹, which began in 1063, of the church of San Marco at Venice, in which the relics of St. Mark were deposited in 1094, dramatically symbolized the presence of St. Mark in Venice. The renown of the great church and the growing number of Venetian legends of St. Mark³⁰ may have continued to inspire some doubts. Abu-l-Barakat ibn Kabar, the famous Egyptian scholar (died 1324), attempted to reconcile the conflicting claims of the two cities to the relic of St. Mark in his encyclopaedic *Lamp of Darkness*: he wrote that the body of St. Mark was buried in the eastern church on the shore of Alexandria up to the time when it was taken by some Venetians who stole the body and left the head. They took the body to Venice, "where it is now, and the head was transferred to a house in Alexandria known as Ibn as-Sukkari where it is until now"³¹.

26 HPEC, II, iii, tr. and annot. Aziz Suryal Atiya, Yassa Abd Al-Masih and O.H.E. Burmester, Cairo, 1959, 358-362.

27 HPEC, II, iii, 265-267.

28 HPEC, II, iii, 275-276.

29 For what is known of the ninth-century church of San Marco in Venice see, Demus, *San Marco*, 64-70.

30 Demus, *San Marco*, 12-15.

31 Abu-l-Barakat Ibn Kabat, *The Lamp of Darkness for the Intelligence of the Service* (in Arabic), Cairo, 1950, 67, cited by, O.F.A. Meinardus, "An Examination of the Traditions pertaining to the Relics of St. Mark", *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, XXXVI, 1970, 361. The head of St. Mark is believed today to repose in Alexandria: Meinardus, "An Examination", 348-350.

The Synaxarium of the Egyptian Church commemorates on 8 Tubah Patriarch Benjamin (622-661) and his consecration of the church at the monastery of St. Macarius³². The readings for this primary commemoration are followed by secondary commemorations including Patriarch Zacharias (1003-1031/32) which are in turn followed by a commemoration of the death of Benjamin and the story of the miraculous recovery of the head of St. Mark. When the story of the recovery of the head was added to the Synaxarium is not clear³³, but it certainly had been added by the late fourteenth century, when the Synaxarium was translated into Ge'ez or Ethiopic by Simeon, a monk from the monastery of St. Anthony who had come to Ethiopia with the metropolitan of Ethiopia³⁴. The story is included in the readings for 8 Ter in the Ethiopian Synaxarium³⁵. From the time of its addition to the Synaxarium, Egypt's claim to the head of St. Mark was vindicated, as the story of the miracle of the recovery of the head was declaimed annually in the churches of Egypt.

For the Egyptian Church, Alexandria continued to be the city of the throne of St. Mark, although the patriarchal residence had been transferred to other locations, notably the monastery of St. Macarius at Wadi Habib, finally to Miṣr (Cairo), and the last patriarch to be buried in Alexandria "with the holy fathers" was Joseph (830-849)³⁶. Nevertheless, Alexandria retained its prerogative as the site of the primary consecration of each new patriarch. The church of St. Mark, apparently badly damaged or destroyed during the persecutions ordered by al-Hakim during the second decade of the eleventh century, was rebuilt and consecrated anew during the patriarchate of Christodoulus (1046-1077)³⁷.

And what of the relic of the head of St. Mark that Benjamin in the mid-seventh century had placed in a specially-made wooden box? The next

32 R. Basset, ed. and tr., "Le synaxaire arabe-jacobite: les mois de Toubah et Amchir", *Patrologia Orientalis*, XI, 556-664.

33 Egyptian menologia of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries reflect stages of development of the church calendar; these as well as the calendar of Abu-l-Barakat Ibn Kabar list only Benjamin and the consecration of the church at St. Macarius for 8 Tubah. F. Nau, ed. and tr., "Les ménologes des évangélistes coptes-arabes", *Patrologia Orientalis*, X, 167-224; E. Tisserant, "Le calendrier d'Abou'l-Barakat", *Patrologia Orientalis*, X, 262.

34 E. Cerulli, *La letteratura etiopica*, 3rd ed., Florence/Milan, 1968, 55-56.

35 E. A. W. Budge, ed. and tr., *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, 4 vols., (Cambridge, 1928), 1976 reprint, I/II, 467-474.

36 HPEC, I, iv, in P.O. X, 544 [658].

37 HPEC II, i, tr. and annot. Yassa Abd al-Masih and O. H. E. Burmester, Cairo, 1943, 59; HPEC II, ii, tr. and annot. Aziz Suryal Atiya, Yassa Abd Al-Masih, O. H. E. Burmester, Cairo, 1948, 103, 208-209; HPEC II, iii, 249.

reference to the relic in the *History of the Patriarchs* is not until the eleventh century when, during the persecutions of al-Hakim, an amir acquired the relic and ransomed it to a Christian who took the head of St. Mark to Patriarch Zacharias, then living in safety at the monastery of St. Macarius, Wadi Habib³⁸. By the second half of the eleventh century, it was custom to conceal the head of St. Mark for safe-keeping at Alexandria in a private residence of a prominent Christian. Among those who stored the relic were one Simon, priest of the church of St. Mark, and Mawhub ibn Mufarriḡ, compiler of several biographies in the *History of the Patriarchs*³⁹. In 1235, it was kept in the house of Ibn as-Sukkari, the same house where, according to Abu-l-Barakat ibn Kabar, it was kept in the early fourteenth century.

Although the tomb of St. Mark in Alexandria had once been a focus of international pilgrimage as well as local veneration, the relic of the head of St. Mark, when deposited for safe-keeping in a private residence, could not function as an object of popular devotion. Nevertheless, it represented the person of the founder of the patriarchate, the possession of which validated the Monophysites' claim to the throne of St. Mark. Indeed, this was its function.

The consecration of Patriarch Cyril III is described in some detail. In 1235 A.D., he was consecrated on a Sunday at the church of the Saviour and "Monday ... he rode and went to the house of Ibn as-Sukkari in which was the head of St. Mark ... And it was brought out for him according to the custom ... And it was placed in a room and he enveloped it in a new covering according to the custom"⁴⁰. This ritual is prescribed in the *Rite of Consecration of the Patriarch of Alexandria* in a manuscript dating to 1364, the earliest extant copy of the text. On the first day following his consecration, the new patriarch is to proceed to the Angelion church, the second day to the church of Michael Archangel, the third day to the church of St. Mark where "he celebrates the Anaphora and takes the Apostolic Head of the divinely-inspired Mark into his bosom, for whom he had become a successor prepared to walk in his foot-steps unto the glory of the Lord"⁴¹.

38 HPEC II, ii, 201. Was the amir's acquisition of the head of St. Mark related to the general confiscation of treasures of the Church ordered by al-Hakim? For the confiscation decree, see HPEC II, ii, 194 and D. L. E. O'Leary, *A Short History of the Fatimid Khalifate*, London, 1923, 155-160.

39 HPEC, II, iii, 248, 265, 275-276, 279-280.

40 HPEC, IV, i, tr. and annot. A. Khater and O. H. E. Burmester, Cairo, 1974, 138-139.

41 O. H. E. Burmester, tr. and annot., *The Rite of Consecration of the Patriarch of Alexandria*, Cairo, 1960, 83. Evidently the text was composed before the head had been moved to a private residence.

The miniature of the head of St. Mark in the Gospels of Iyasus Mo'a obviously represents the relic which had been delivered to the Monophysite patriarchs of Alexandria by divine intervention. There is no evidence of a special devotion to St. Mark himself at Ḥayq Estifānos, a devotion that might have inspired the inclusion of this miniature. The miniature of the head of St. Mark in the Gospels which the Ethiopian abbot donated to his monastery suggests an allegiance to the Monophysite patriarch of Egypt and to his Church which proceeded from the Apostle St. Mark. The chief prelate of the national Ethiopian Church, the metropolitan, was an Egyptian monk appointed and consecrated by the Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria⁴². However, the miniature suggests, I believe, not simple allegiance, but a wish for spiritual and intellectual affiliation with the Egyptian Church which, at this time, was undergoing a great literary revival⁴³. According to hagiographic tradition, Iyasus Mo'a was renowned as a teacher. He was a scholar and writer of biblical commentary⁴⁴. Such reputation suggests that he would have welcomed introduction to Christian Arabic literature in contacts with the Egyptian metropolitan and his court. It is said also that Iyasus Mo'a refused to leave his island monastery⁴⁵. If this tradition is correct, he would have been isolated from informal or chance contacts with Egyptian monks. Nevertheless, the abbot may have learned of Christian Arabic literature during more formal visits with the metropolitan or members of his court for whom a visit to Ḥayq Estifānos would have been politic, considering the regard with which Abbot Iaysus Mo'a and his monastery were held by the Ethiopian royal court. King Yekunno Amlāk (1270-1285), the founder of the so-called Solomonic dynasty, had been, according to tradition, a student of Iyasus Mo'a. He is said to have acquired the throne with the blessings of his monastic teacher and, in gratitude, gave lands to the monastery and bestowed in perpetuity the title of monastic chief, *'Aqqābe sa'āt*, upon its abbot⁴⁶.

42 It is by no means certain when the Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria acquired the right to ordain the metropolitan of the Ethiopian Church. The earliest reference in the *History of the Patriarchs* to the ordination of Ethiopia's metropolitan by the Monophysite patriarch appears in the life of Michael I (744-767). *HPEC* I, iii in *P.O.* V, 146 [400]. For evidence of a pro-Chalcedonian or Dyophysite bias in the Ethiopian or Axumite Church during the sixth century see, Getatchew Haile, "A New Ethiopian Version", 119-123.

43 Graf, *Geschichte*, II, 294-295.

44 S. Kur, *Actes de Iyasus Mo'a*, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, vol. 260, *Script. Aeth.*, t. 50 (tr.), 1965, 28-29.

45 Kur, *Actes*, 26.

46 Kur, *Actes*, 20-26.



2. "St. Mark Evangelist". Gospels of Iyasus Mo'a (EMML 1832), fol 132v (photo: EMML).



3. "Portrait of Abbot Iyasus Mo'a". Gospels of Iyasus Mo'a (EMML 1832), fol. 5v (photo: EMML).

Subsequent history of the monastery vindicates this tradition of imperial support and its accompanying prestige⁴⁷.

Activity of Egyptian monks at Ḥayq Estifānos can be documented from 1375 A.D. until at least the mid-fifteenth century⁴⁸. Evidence of familiarity with Arabic Christian literature at Ḥayq Estifānos during the abbacy of Iyasus Mo'a (died 1291/92) is scant, but, of course, the miniature of the head of St. Mark offers demonstrable proof of some familiarity with the customs of the Egyptian church, i.e. of the veneration of the relic of St. Mark.

A note in the Gospels of Iyasus Mo'a lists seven books left to the monastery by one Baḥayla Krestos (a monk at Ḥayq?) at his death in 1292⁴⁹. Among these is the title *Qwesqwām*. It is safe to assume that the title refers to the story of the rest of the Holy Family in Egypt at Qusqam. Abu Salih, in Egypt at the beginning of the thirteenth century, wrote of the monastery at Al-Muḥarraḳah near Qusqam and of the church there dedicated to Mary that marks where the Holy Family lived when they had fled from Herod. He added that a homily of Patriarch Theophilus commemorates the foundation of the church there⁵⁰. Perhaps the title *Qwesqwām* refers to the homily attributed to Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria, on the Virgin Mary and the place where the Holy Family stayed during their flight to Egypt, which was translated from Arabic (no Greek or Coptic versions are known) into Ge'ez⁵¹. It has been assumed that the translation was undertaken in the fourteenth century, perhaps during

47 Taddesse Tamrat, "The Abbots", 87-117.

48 A deed in Arabic, dated 1375 A.D., from the metropolitan court was added to the Gospels of Krestos Tasfāna; no longer at Ḥayq, the manuscript is Ms. 5 of the National Library, Addis Ababa. Pawlos Sadwa, "Un manoscritto etiopico degli evangelii", *Rassegna di studi etiopici*, XI, 1952, 23-24. For the significance of this land grant see, Taddesse Tamrat, "The Abbots", 102-103. *Acts of Saints and Martyrs* (EMML 1824), copied at the order of Yosēf, abbot of Ḥayq Estifānos during the reign of Emperor Yesḥaq (1414-1429), includes two hagiographies translated into Ge'ez from "Coptic" by the Egyptian priest Sem'on in 1396/97 A.D. According to Getatchew Haile, this manuscript is most probably the original copy of the translations which it includes. Getatchew, *EMML Catalogue*, V, 267-270. See also EMML 1480, fol. 49r, a reference, dating to the reign of Emperor Zar'a Yā'eqob (1434-1468), to the Egyptian Yoḥannes of Barārā of St. Stephen's monastery: Getatchew, *EMML Catalogue*, IV, Collegeville, Minn., 1979, 600, lines 37-39.

49 EMML 1832, ff. 24v-25r. Getatchew, *EMML Catalogue*, V, varia 17, 296.

50 Abu Salih, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and some Neighbouring Countries*, ed. and tr. B. T. A. Evetts, notes by A. J. Butler, Oxford, 1895, 224-226.

51 C. Conti Rossini, "Il discorso sul monte Coscam attribuito a Teofilo di Alessandria, nella versione etiopica", *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, sc. mor., ser. 5, XXI, 1912, 395-471 (hereafter, "Il discorso"); M. Guidi, "La omilia di Teofilo di Alessandria sul Monte Coscam nelle letterature orientali", *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, sc. mor., ser. 5, XXVI, 1917, 381-469.

the metropolitanate of Abbā Salāmā, surnamed the Translator (1348-1388)⁵². Nevertheless, even if the title *Qwesqʿam* does not refer specifically to the homily attributed to Theophilus, it certainly refers to a literary composition on the resting place of the Holy Family in Egypt, a work inspired by the Arab Christian literature of the Egyptian Church⁵³ which may have been at Ḥayq Estifānos in the possession of Baḥayla Krestos before his death in 1292.

Of the Evangelists whose portraits introduce their respective Gospel texts in the Gospels of Iyasus Mo'a, only St. Mark (fig. 2) wears a pointed cap, similar to the *qob* or monastic headpiece worn by Iyasus Mo'a as he appears in his donor portrait (fig. 3). (The others, following the usual iconography of Evangelist portraits, wear the chiton and himation and are bare-headed.) St. Mark, wearing the monk's pointed headpiece, is presented as a monastic scholar⁵⁴, the spiritual father of the scholars of the Egyptian Church, a figure with whom Iyasus Mo'a and his successor abbots at Ḥayq Estifānos could identify. Iyasus Mo'a's actual spiritual father was Abbā Yoḥanni, his teacher and mentor at the renowned ancient monastery in northern Ethiopia, Dabra Dāmo⁵⁵, the importance of which as a center of learning was eclipsed by the school established at Ḥayq Estifānos by Iyasus Mo'a⁵⁶.

Both the miniature of the head of St. Mark and the portrait of St. Mark as monastic scholar in the Gospels which Iyasus Mo'a presented to his monastery in 1280 suggest his interest in Egyptian Christian literature and learning and his wish to expand the scope of Ethiopian learning and literature in his monastic school at Ḥayq Estifānos. The impact of his professed interest upon later generations at Ḥayq Estifānos is a subject for future scholarship.

52 C. Conti Rossini, "Notice sur les manuscrits éthiopiens de la collection d'Abbadie", *Journal Asiatique*, CLXXXI, 1912, 452. He also suggested that the translation was undertaken at the monastery near Qusqam, where a group of Ethiopian monks was living by the mid-fourteenth century. Conti Rossini, "Il discorso", 399. On the activities of Abbā Salāmā: A. van Lantschoot, "Abbā Salāmā, métropolitaine d'Éthiopie (1348-1388) et son rôle de traducteur", *Atti del convegno internazionale di studi etiopici* (Roma 1959), Rome, 1960, 397-401.

53 For writings inspired by the Flight to Egypt, see: G. Graf, *Geschichte*, I (Studi e testi 118), Vatican, 1944, 227-234.

54 Patriarch Mark (1167-1189) wears a similar monastic hood and cape in his portrait in the Four Gospels dated 1179/80 (Paris, Bibl. nat., Copte 13): J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits coptes et coptes-arabes illustrés*, Paris, 1974, Pl. 41 and 113-148.

55 Kur, *Actes*, 7-12.

56 Taddesse Tamrat, *Church and State in Ethiopia, 1270-1527*, Oxford, 1972, 158-59, 163-64.

MUSIC

A NEW SYSTEM OF MUSICAL NOTATION IN ETHIOPIA

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Ethiopian music has been transmitted and performed primarily as an oral tradition. The relatively late development of a notational system for Ethiopian Christian liturgical music (*zema*)¹ has not substantially changed the role of oral tradition in the perpetuation of the Church music tradition. The first indigenous attempts to notate Ethiopian secular music (*zäfän*) took place in 1974. This brief discussion of the transition from oral to written tradition in a musical domain is dedicated to Wolf Leslau, whose studies of the spoken and written word in Ethiopia are an invaluable resource for scholars of many disciplines.

The new notational system was “presented to the public” on July 20, 1974 at the Creative Arts Centre of the then Haile Selassie I University². Tesfaye Lemma, assisted by Nigussu Retta and Abebe Wolde, created the notation for use by Orchestra Ethiopia. The purpose of the notation was threefold. The system was intended to aid “those who know the instruments to play ... by number”. A second, descriptive function was “to aid people who want to know about Ethiopian instruments”. Finally, the system was seen as a way “to preserve compositions so that they are not forgotten”³. Orchestra

¹ A. Dillmann quotes a manuscript attributing invention of the Christian notational system (*malakket*) to two Church musicians who lived during the reign of Emperor Galāwdewos (1533-1552). See *Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae* (reprint ed., Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1970), p. 1130. Ethiopian oral tradition credits invention of the notational system to Saint Yared, said to have lived during the sixth century reign of Emperor Gabra Masqal, while the Ethiopian Synaxarium simply credits Yared with inspiration of the Church modal system. Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, Vol. III (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1928), pp. 875-877. Some contemporary Ethiopian sources try to reconcile the two traditions by crediting the sixteenth-century musicians with “fresh notations on the model of those invented by Yared”. See *Patterns of Progress, Music, Dance and Drama* (Addis Ababa: Ministry of Information, 1968), p. 25.

I attended this session, where an explanation of the numerical signs and the musical example reproduced here were distributed. Abebe Wolde later discussed the system with me in detail and provided the complete list of signs found in Figure 1. Although the notation was said to be “in progress” when I collected this information, I have been unable to gather any further details since my departure from Ethiopia in late 1975.

³ Private interview with Abebe Wolde, July 27, 1974.

Ethiopia leadership planned to publish an Amharic booklet about their new notation and to distribute it for wider use.

Why is this notational system of interest? First, it provides an example of the manner in which changes in the context of performance directly affect methods of musical transmission. Second, an understanding of this notational system provides information concerning the nature of the creative process in urban Ethiopian musical life. Finally, it provides an instructive example of the role of both adaptation and synthesis in the creation of new cultural forms in modern Africa.

The development of notation by Orchestra Ethiopia

Orchestra Ethiopia was founded in 1963, two years after the establishment of the Creative Arts Centre. A speech by Emperor Haile Selassie at a University Convocation set the stage for the University's role in artistic "development":

Music, dance and other forms of art are rooted in the ancient history of our Empire, and their development to an even higher peak of perfection will be possible in the atmosphere of a University⁴.

The new Creative Arts Centre housed musical, dance, and dramatic activity. Orchestra Ethiopia was conceived as a forum for "modern presentation of orchestral songs through the traditional musical modes and instruments of Ethiopia", as well as an opportunity "to create a taste for Ethiopian music and dance among the younger generation"⁵. However, this new "orchestra" of local musicians playing traditional instruments raised complex problems:

Used to giving solo recitals, the instrumentalists had to work long and hard to play in symphony and adhere to set tunes and melodies⁶.

Musicians from different Ethiopian provinces were chosen through open auditions and joined in a single musical context. Accustomed to solo performance in different provincial styles, they now performed as an ensemble. Soloistic variation in taking repeats, elaborating instrumental interludes between vocal verses, and adding ornamentation, could no longer be accommodated. Instruments such as the *mäläkät*, a long, end-blown trumpet once used to proclaim public gatherings, now had to assume

⁴ *Patterns of Progress*, p. 59.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

unfamiliar “musical” roles. Instrumental tone quality and volume had to be standardized⁷ for a busy concert schedule. Some instruments were modified and rebuilt to new specifications to better fulfill acoustic requirements for commercial performances and recordings. Perhaps predictably, this diverse group of individuals and styles could only be welded together through use of new musical materials and a new method of musical transmission.

The notational system

The three men responsible for the notational innovations drew upon their experience with both Ethiopian and western music. Nigussu Retta and Abebe Wolde studied at the Yared Music School in Addis Ababa, where traditional and Western music were combined in a joint curriculum. Both joined Orchestra Ethiopia in 1972 with the stated aim of “experimenting and developing Ethiopian musical instruments, dances, and songs”⁸.

In addition to a traditional music education and study at the Yared School, Tesfaye Lemma studied music, dance, and choreography with the Alvin Ailey Dance Company in the United States in 1970, as well as musical composition at Indiana University during 1971-1972⁹. By 1973, he was playing an increasingly active role as arranger and composer of Orchestra Ethiopia’s musical repertoire.

Knowledge of western notation certainly influenced both the genesis and general concept of the new notational system. However, a more direct model is found in Ethiopian sacred music. A conscious nod to Ethiopian Church notation is found in the title *malakket* (signs), and the statement that “the signs are not musical notations but guides for the fingers and the instrument playing particular music”¹⁰.

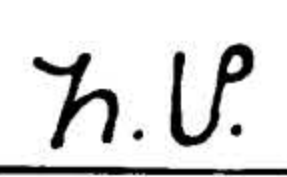
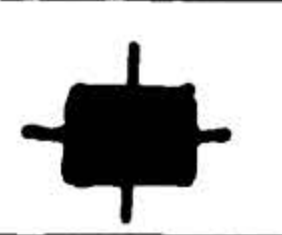
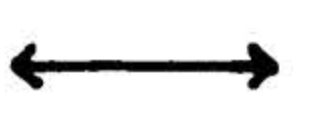
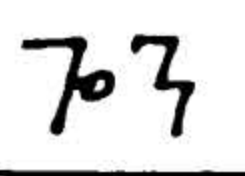
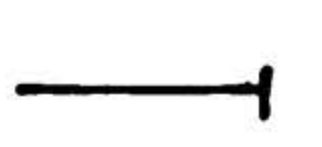
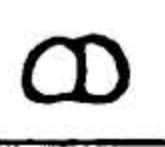
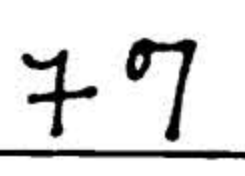
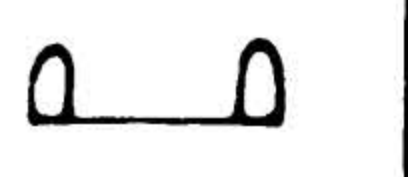
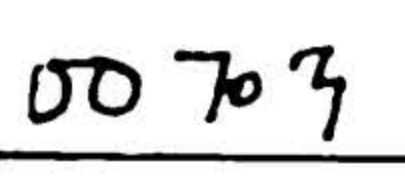
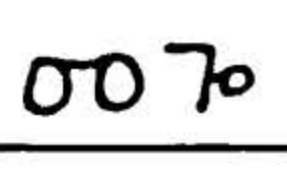
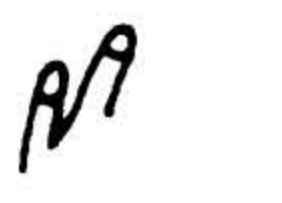
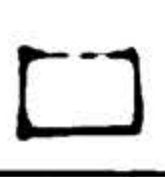
7 Musicians from different locales generally prefer different tone quality. Ashenafi Kebede writes that rural *krar* players often prefer a more subtle, subdued tone generated by a clay or wood resonator, while urban *krar* players are accustomed to the louder volume resulting from metal resonators. “The Bowl-Lyre of Northeast Africa. *Krar*: The Devil’s Instrument, *Ethnomusicology*, XXI (September, 1977), p. 383.

8 “Signs Developed for Musical Instrument”, *Ethiopian Herald*, July 5, 1974, p. 1.

9 Tesfaye Lemma, *Ethiopian Musical Instruments*, I issue, 1975, p. 6. Tesfaye became director of Orchestra Ethiopia in 1966.

10 *Ethiopian Herald*, July 5, 1974. The Orchestra Ethiopia musicians do not use the term *nota* (note) in referring to the notational system. They tend to use *malakket* (signs) when discussing the system in Amharic and either “signs” or “notation” when speaking English.

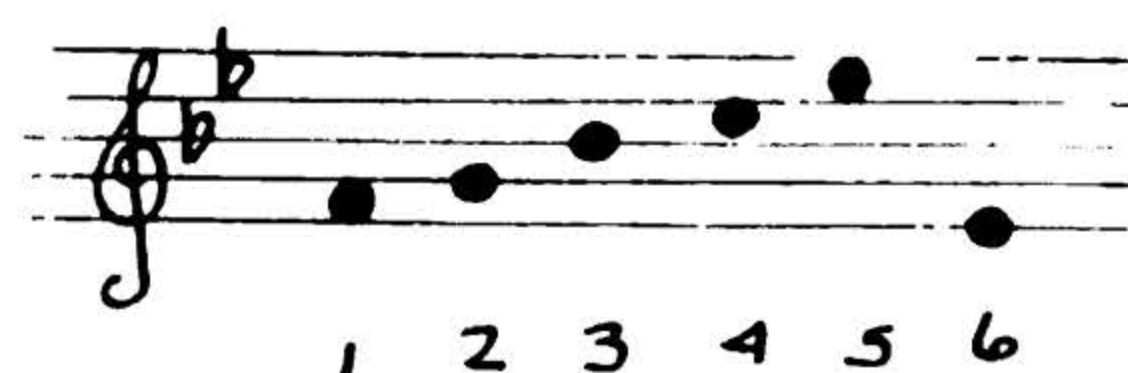
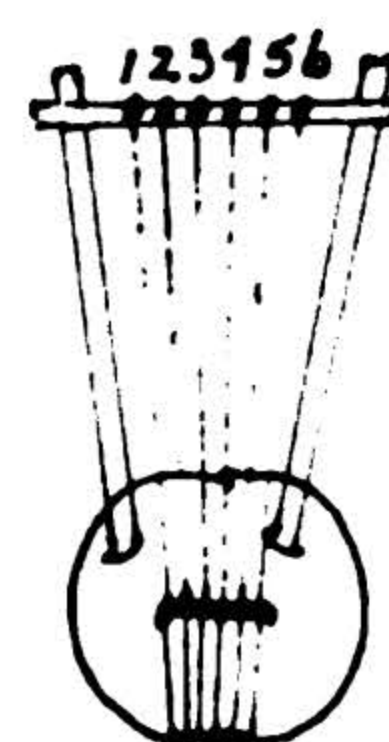
Figure I: Signs (ምልክት) of the Orchestra Ethiopia Notational System

Sign	Name	Meaning	Sign	Name	Meaning		
Alphabetical Signs							
1		ጥዝታ	Təzzəta mode	18		አገድ	Quarter rest
2		ባቲ	Bati mode	19		ገግሽ	Eighth rest
3		አገደ ሀዳ	Anči hoy mode	20		አፋብ	Sixteenth rest
4		አመባሰል	Ambasol mode	21		ጥግሪ	Add half rest
5		ገዛ	Faster	22		ጠገገድ	Continuous playing
6		ባዶ	Quiet	23		ተሰተ	Repeat
7		ጸግተ	Pluck string hard	24		ሰረዝ	Stop
8		ገጸዎ	Gojjam rhythm	25		ቦፍተ	Loud
9		ገገደር	Gondar rhythm	26		ተልተል	Soft
10		ደርዘ	Dorze rhythm	27		አዋር	Short cutoff
11		ወለዎ	Wollamo rhythm	28		ገርድ	Staccato
12		ተገረ	Tigre rhythm	29		ነጥብ	Walking pace
13		ደርብ	Doubled rhythm	30		መስል	Imitate
14		ጠላጥ ገገደር	Middle rhythm Gondar	Pictographic Signs			
15		ጠላጥ ገጸዎ	Middle rhythm Gojjam	31		ጠተ	Pluck mildly (mäsenqo)
Diagrammatic Signs			32		ጠፍር	Scrum strings (mäsenqo)	
16		ሐረተ	Whole rest	33		ከረር	Krar
17		ሁለተ	Half rest	34		ጠሰገጥ	Mäsenqo

	Sign	Name	Meaning
35		ዋሸንት	Wašənt
36		በገኛ	Bäqäna
37		አፄ	Clap
38		ገፄት	Snap fingers
39		ዎላሳ	Ullulate
40		ጥረ	Pluck string (mäsəṅqo)
41		ትኩሽ	Dance (əskəsta)
42		ዎላ	Vibrato
43		ወሰላል	Lengthen
44		በገሰሰት	Close in time
45		ኦላ	Slower
46		ገብ	Ornament
47		ወዝ ጊዳ	End of composition
Composite Signs			
48		ጠርክ	Hit drum frame
49		ዓላ	Hit drum center
50		ወሰገጥ ገባታ	Hit mäsəṅqo sound-board
51		ከረር ገባታ	Hit krar sound-board

NUMERICAL SIGNS

Krar



1	፲
2	፪
3	፫
4	፬
5	፭
6	፮

The signs developed for Orchestra Ethiopia are set forth in Figure 1¹¹. For purposes of discussion and analysis, they are divided into four classes: alphabetic, diagrammatic, pictographic, and numerical¹². Figure 1 presents alphabetic, diagrammatic, and pictographic signs with their Amharic names and musical meanings. The figure also contains numerical signs which indicate melody pitches by specifying the strings (for *krar*, *bägäna*) or fingering (for *mäsängo*, *wasänt*). Only numbers for *krar* in *təzəta* mode are provided in Figure 1.

The alphabetic signs (1-15) borrow members of the Amharic syllabary to represent complex musical phenomena. Signs 1-4 are the initial syllables of the Ethiopian modes (or tuning systems) they represent. Signs 8-15 derive from Amharic phrases describing provincial rhythms. Signs 5-7 indicate a tempo, dynamic level, or articulation, respectively. The alphabetical signs are therefore abbreviations for aspects of regional musical style or indicators of performance practice¹³.

The diagrammatic signs (16-30) are freely created from various geometric forms and designate aspects of duration, dynamics, texture, and articulation. Diagrammatic signs are named either according to their diagrammatic equivalents (sign 24 is named "cross", but indicates "stop") or according to the musical concept they represent (sign 25 is both named and indicates "loud"). All are mnemonic devices which help recall a specific musical activity.

Some of the pictographic signs (31-47) signify the actual object and/or musical activity pictured; other play a mnemonic role. Signs 33-37 indicate the solo instruments pictured, while sign 32 represents the plectrum with which stringed instruments are strummed. Signs 37-47 are more diverse in their naming and in relationship to the musical event. Several portray the body part performing the musical function: sign 37 ("hand") indicates "clap"; sign 38 ("collision") indicates "snap fingers"; sign 39 ("tongue") indicates "ullulation"; and sign 41 ("shoulders") indicates "dance *askästa*". Other pictographs do not relate directly to the musical event. For example,

11 Abebe Wolde provided a list of the signs in random order. I have preserved his drawings of the signs, as well as the names and meanings he supplied.

12 Two sources were particularly useful in arriving at this division: Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar. Being An Introduction to The Study of Hieroglyphs* (3rd. ed. rev; London: Oxford University Press, 1969); and René Labat, *Manuel d'Épigraphie akkadienne* (5th ed.; Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, S.A., 1976).

13 Although two alphabetic signs are spelled ብ (2 and 6), an indication of *Bati* mode would occur only at the beginning of a composition, while the sign indicating "quiet" would be placed within an instrumental part.

sign 40 ("tail") indicates "pluck (*mäsəŋqo*) string", sign 42 ("spring") indicates "vibrato", and sign 44 ("chain") indicates "close in time". Two pictographic signs draw upon zoological associations: sign 45 ("turtle") indicates "slower", and sign 46 ("bee") indicates "ornament".

Four signs overlap categories and are classified as composite signs. Signs 48 and 49 are both pictographic and diagrammatic, indicating the part of the drum head to be struck. Signs 50 and 51 apply the shape of the *mäsəŋqo* and *krar* sound-boards diagrammatically to indicate percussive striking of that part of the instruments.

Ethiopian Church *maləkəkət* clearly inspired signs 1-15. The leaders of Orchestra Ethiopia have borrowed the alphabetic system as a convenient way to represent rhythmic and melodic patterning, although their system differs from the Ethiopian Church's in its relationship to the musical materials¹⁴. A small number of diagrammatic signs are also found in Ethiopian Church notation to indicate aspects of tempo and articulation¹⁵. Both Ethiopian Church and Orchestra Ethiopia notations are closed systems dependent upon knowledge of the oral tradition for their realization.

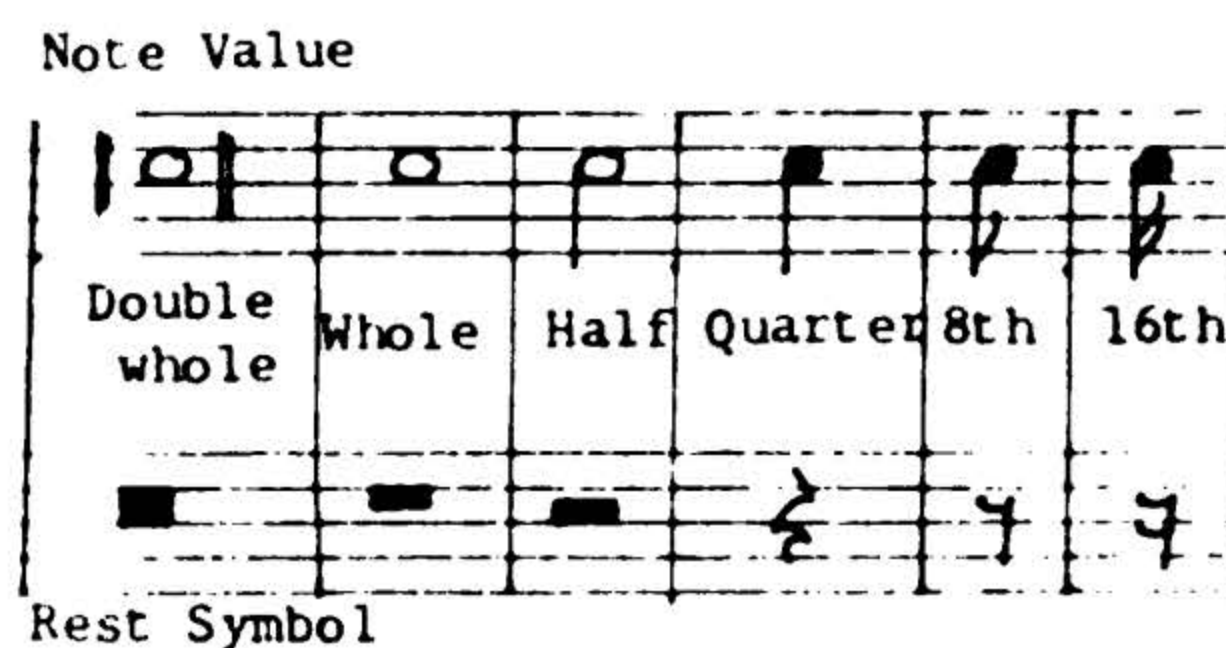


Figure 2: Rest Symbols in Western Musical Notation

- 14 Within the Church notational system, alphabetic signs are derived from the text with which a melodic phrase is commonly associated. These signs would then be placed above a new text which should be sung to the same melody.
- 15 There is some confusion concerning the names of diagrammatic signs within Ethiopian Christian notation. In some sources, both the alphabetic and diagrammatic signs are termed *maləkəkət*. Abba Tito Lepisa, "The Three Modes and the Signs of the Songs in the Ethiopian Liturgy", *Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, II (Addis Ababa, 1966), pp. 166-169. In others, the syllabic signs are termed *maləkəkət* and the diagrammatic signs *sərayu* (*Patterns of Progress*, p. 25). The Ethiopian Church musician with whom I studied said that *sərayu* is a word written out in full instead of abbreviated in *maləkəkət*. Tito Lepisa defines *sərayu* as a duplication of signs (p. 167). My informant, Aleqa Berhanu Makonnen, defined ten diagrammatic signs in Ethiopian Christian notation, which he termed *fidäl maləkəkət*. Interview with Berhanu Makonnen, June 2, 1975.

Musical example 1: Orchestra Ethiopia Notation and its Western Equivalent

The image displays a musical score for a single melodic line, comparing traditional Ethiopian notation with its Western equivalent. The score is organized into three systems, each containing two staves. The top staff of each system uses Ethiopian notation, featuring a series of horizontal lines with various symbols (dots, dashes, and vertical strokes) placed above and below them to indicate pitch and rhythm. The bottom staff of each system shows the Western equivalent, using a standard five-line staff with a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a common time signature (C). The notation is written in a single melodic line, with the Ethiopian notation staff positioned above the Western staff. The first system includes a double bar line and a repeat sign. The second system also includes a double bar line and a repeat sign. The third system concludes with a final double bar line. The overall structure suggests a comparison of how the same musical piece is represented in two different notational systems.

Western notation probably served as a model for some diagrammatic signs. The rests (16-20) are similar in design to the western whole and half rests and are organized according to the same binary system (Figure 2). The mixed symbolic-linear system¹⁶ also has clear precedents in western staff notation. Although there is no indication that Orchestra Ethiopia musicians drew upon it, Chinese *ch'in* notation uses numbers to represent the string to be played¹⁷.

A Musical Example sets forth the Orchestra Ethiopia notation with equivalent western notation below each staff. The pictographic and alphabetic signs above the first system indicate a composition for solo *krar*, played with mild plucking in *taqqata* mode. The alphabetic signs at the beginning of the first musical system are not explained in Orchestra Ethiopia materials, although they probably pertain to the rhythmic content "translated" as quadruple meter. The *taqqata* mode is represented in western notation as an E^b key signature, although no A^b is present in the *taqqata* pitch system.

Other than the above signs at the beginning, only the diagrammatic sign for repetition (23) is found in the body of the notated selection. Pitch is specified through numerical signs deployed along one horizontal line, while rhythmic values are set forth around a lower line. The notation of rhythmic values, not explained in Orchestra Ethiopia materials, resembles diastematic notation used to indicate pitch relationships in early medieval western notation¹⁸. Whole (□) and quarter (Δ) notes are deployed below the line, while eighth (⊕) and sixteenth (⬤) notes intersect the line. Beaming (connecting several notes in groups) is indicated by a line between the signs (ΔΔΔ). Triplet rhythms are notated in a western manner with the number 3 (ḡ) written over beamed note values.

This notational system codifies changes in traditional style. All rhythmic and pitch content is prescribed with no latitude for ornamentation. Rhythmic and melodic content are simplified, leaving little to the discretion of the performer.

Evidence from the musical example indicates that Orchestra Ethiopia musicians may be altering traditional *krar* tunings. A *krar* is customarily tuned with the primary tone (*mällas*) at the sixth string and the same pitch

¹⁶ Charles Seeger, "Prescriptive and Descriptive Music Writing", *Studies in Musicology* 1935-1975 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), pp. 168-169.

¹⁷ William P. Malm, *Japanese Music and Musical Instruments* (Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1959), p. 264.

¹⁸ Diastematic notations employ signs grouped above a line in a pattern corresponding to the size of the desired interval. Curt Sachs, *The Rise of Music in the Ancient World East and West* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1940), p. 138.

an octave higher at the fifth string¹⁹ (See Figure 1). There is considerable confusion in the musical notation between the pitch E (*mällaś*) and E¹, its octave equivalent. According to traditional tuning, the sixth string should represent E and be notated as E , while E¹ should be notated as E^1 . Ambiguity concerning the identity of E and E¹ either reflects a different *krar* tuning or disregard of notational constraints.

Conclusion

Orchestra Ethiopia is itself a creation and reflection of urban Ethiopian society and the dream of a multi-ethnic, yet unified culture. The new notational system was a device through which musicians of diverse ethnic and regional backgrounds could perform together in a new context, and through which a new repertory of music could be taught and transmitted.

The development of the notational system provides a glimpse into musical changes in the Ethiopian capital. Orchestra Ethiopia was not the first folklore orchestra in Addis Ababa—both the National Patriotic Folklore Orchestra and the cultural troupe of the Haile Selassie I Theatre were founded much earlier²⁰. However, these groups learned and performed musical arrangements orally. Western musical notation was used only by the Imperial Court Orchestra, which played a strictly “western” repertoire²¹. By the early 1970’s, Orchestra Ethiopia’s musical needs were no longer met by oral transmission. Their activities had shifted from preservation of provincial musical traditions to innovation in a traditional style. This new creative

19 Ashenafi Kebede, “The Bowl-Lyre of North-East Africa”, p. 386.

20 The National Patriotic Association was founded in around 1935 by Makonnen Habte Wold. *Ethiopian National Patriotic Association, Oldest & Popular Cultural Institution in Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa: Publication of the Ethiopian National Patriotic Association, 1970), p. 3. The Haile Selassie I Theatre band was recruited in 1946 by the municipality of Addis Ababa, and incorporated into activities of the Haile Selassie I Theatre after its inauguration in 1955. *Haile Selassie I Theatre, The Storehouse of Ethiopian Music, Dance & Drama* (Addis Ababa: Publication of the Haile Selassie I Theatre, 1970), p. 8.

21 Members of the Imperial Court Orchestra learned western notation from their conductors as early as 1930. This information was supplied by Gustav Meier, conductor at the University of Michigan School of Music, Ann Arbor, who conducted the Imperial Court Orchestra in Addis Ababa during 1955. Meier recalls that some Orchestra members had studied in Europe or at the Yared School. Orchestra repertory was almost exclusively western “classics” and one favorite was Stravinsky’s “L’histoire du soldat”. Occasionally, members of the Orchestra would play an Ethiopian melody in unison with percussion accompaniment, but these arrangements were never notated.

activity demanded adjustment in the process of transmission, and the musicians chose to develop a system of musical notation.

Recent studies of aspects of urban musical culture in Africa have cautioned against classifying as "imitative" traditions which apparently copy western culture. In a study of dance societies in East Africa, T.O. Ranger concludes that

Beni (*ngoma*), with its overwhelmingly imitative character, turns out in the end to be deeply rooted in pre-colonial dance and competitive modes. In this it serves to remind us that judgements of derivation or creativity need to be more subtle than a mere assumption that everything "modern" comes from the whites²².

Musical folklore groups in Addis Ababa have often been disparaged as flawed and westernized reflections of traditional musical practices. Yet this brief discussion shows that what might be casually attributed to the influence of western notation is solidly linked to precedents within Ethiopian culture. The leaders of Orchestra Ethiopia have not borrowed a notational system. Rather, they have fused Ethiopian and western elements as part of a dynamic musical process.

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²² T.O. Ranger, *Dance and Society in Eastern Africa 1890-1970* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), pp. 6-7.

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